

The Golden Tower and Its Master: A Study of Xiao Yi's (508–555) *Jinlouzi* (“Master of the
Golden Tower”)

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Abstract

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This is a study of the *Jinlouzi* (“Master of the Golden Tower”), a sixth century *zishu* (masters texts), its compiler, Xiao Yi (508–555), and of the cultural and social contexts in which the text was produced. While most of Xiao Yi’s work did not survive in transmission, this compilation bearing Xiao Yi’s self-chosen alternative name “Master of the Golden Tower” has withstood the passage of time. But this is not a study of using the *Jinlouzi* to reconstruct Xiao Yi’s life and thoughts. Nor do I claim that the *Jinlouzi* can be used to trace the overall social and intellectual contexts of the early medieval period. Instead, it is Xiao Yi’s master persona and his quest for becoming a master through the text of the *Jinlouzi* that stand at the center of this study. In six chapters it is shown that Xiao Yi proceeds on the course of the *zishu* tradition at the same time

blazing trail of his own in quest for “masterhood.” Chapters 1 and 2 look into how the master engages in discourses that effectively identify himself as one of the members of an intellectual community. Chapters 3 and 4 discuss how the master establishes his textual authority and creates his legacy where the textual tradition had become diffuse and multiform. Chapters 5 and 6 document how the Master of the Golden Tower took form in the *Jinlouzi* when the masters tradition was being eclipsed by new forms of literary expression, such as *biji* (informal jottings) and the discursive essay. This study reveals a multi-faceted master, who both conforms to the intellectual the *zishu* tradition and goes beyond it by leaving his indelible imprint.

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Introduction

I. Overview: the *Jinlouzi* and Xiao Yi

China's early medieval period, primarily marked by political division, encompasses the centuries from the fall of the Han in 220 CE to the reunification by the Sui in 581. This is a period where literary tradition had become diffuse and multiform and where works proliferated. Only a small percentage of the texts are extant. The bibliographical treatise of the *Sui shu* (presented to the court in 636) notes over 1,064 titles were lost since the sixth century (almost a quarter of the total number of titles listed).¹ By the early thirteenth century, when printing had already been widely developed, Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254–1323) reckoned that about 60–70 percent of the books were lost between the seventh and thirteenth centuries.²

The transmitted texts, especially non-canonical texts, are exceptions. The overall low survival rate for those texts, in a way, ratifies their very significance. Among the texts that survived from the early medieval period, the *Jinlouzi* 金樓子 (The Master of the Golden Tower), commands special attention. It was compiled by Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508–555), Emperor Yuan of Liang (r. 552–555). Although the book was completed mostly before he assumed the throne and his reign only lasted a little more than two years, the *Jinlouzi* was transmitted and indeed survived, in all likelihood, owing to Xiao Yi's imperial identity.

¹ See *Sui shu*, 35.1091.

² See Ma Duanlin 馬端臨, “Zi xu” 自序 of *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 8, cited in Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012), 932.

To be sure, Xiao Yi was not the first literatus emperor in Chinese history. Emperor Wu of Han (r. 141–87 BCE), for example, is credited with composing several literary pieces.³ Among all his culturally accomplished predecessors, Xiao Yi perhaps identifies the most with Cao Pi 曹丕 (187–226), Emperor Wen of Wei (r. 220–226). Apart from his copious literary pieces, which are listed as consisting of 23 *juan* in a Liang period catalog, Cao Pi compiled a *zishu* text, titled *Dian lun* 典論 (Normative disquisitions).⁴ In his preface to the *Jinlouzi*, Xiao Yi cites Cao Pi's dictum about achieving long-lasting fame by “establishing words” (*liyan* 立言), a theme that runs throughout the entire compilation of the *Jinlouzi*.

Although the *Jinlouzi* was probably transmitted by virtue of Xiao Yi's identity as an emperor, Xiao Yi's dubious reputation in history influenced the reception of the *Jinlouzi*. This perceived causal relation between one's personal qualities and his literary style is in keeping with a long-standing tradition of judging one's work according to how the person in question is viewed in history.⁵

The first one who unequivocally expresses his distaste for both Xiao Yi and his work is Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643), who consequently set the tone for the reception of the *Jinlouzi* in

³ Kang Dawei 康達維 (David R. Knechtges), “Han Wudi de fu” 漢武帝的賦, *Disan jie guoji cifaxue xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 第三屆國際辭賦學學術研討會論文集 (Taipei: Guoli zhengzhi daxue wenxueyuan, 1996), 1–14. See also the English version “The Emperor and Literature: Emperor Wu of the Han,” *Imperial Rulership and Cultural Change in Traditional China*, eds. Frederick P Brandauer and Chun-Chien Huang (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 51–76.

⁴ The *Dian lun* consisted of some twenty monograph-chapters. The only complete extant chapter is the “Lun wen” 論文 (Discussing literature), cited in the *Wen xuan* 文選 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 1986), 52.2270–73.

⁵ See *Mengzi zhushu*, 10B.12a–b: “When one reads the poems and writings of the ancients, can it be right not to know something about them as men? Hence one tries to understand the age in which they lived” 頌其詩讀其書, 不知其人, 可乎? 是以論其世也. Trans. D.C. Lau, *Mencius* (London: Penguin Books, 1970), 158.

history.⁶ In his closing remarks on the imperial annals of the *Liang shu*, Wei Zheng's appraisal of Xiao Yi reads:

When the dynasty first encountered difficulty and when lofty gate-towers encircled by invading troops, various sovereign-lords cast away their respective positions and threw up their sleeves [with indignation] and served as defenders of the emperor. As the patriarch of "the Great Boulder," Emperor Yuan was given the responsibility of "the division of the Shan region."⁷ He was entrusted to come to his lord and kin's aid and thus was put in charge of the allied troops. Yet he failed to taste the [bitter flavor of the] gall-bladder [to be determined to wreak vengeance] or to press his hand on his sword hilt [to be ready to defeat the enemy] and he failed to weep tears of blood while laying his head on a glaive [stay vigilant].⁸ Nor could he bring himself to lead his men in charges while submitting his life to the cause.⁹ Instead, embracing his hordes he dawdled and dallied, secretly coveting [the throne]. He sat and watched the changing of timely opportunity, taking it as his personal good fortune to do so. He did not take the execution of traitors of the ilk of [Wang] Mang and [Dong] Zhuo as his priority but rushed to slay his brothers first. He was insidious and unduly mistrustful, antagonistic and ruthless. He often acted with no propriety. He unleashed clever rhetoric to gloss over his wrongdoing and indulged in his bitterness and cruelty to do harm to others.

⁶ See Howard J. Wechsler, *Mirror to the Son of Heaven: Wei Cheng at the Court of T'ang T'ai-tsung* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), 166–87.

⁷ *Fenshan* 分陝 refers to the provisional administrative system during the early reign of King Cheng of Zhou 周成王 (ca. 1042–1021 BCE). After the death of King Wu of Zhou 周武王 (ca. 1034 BCE), the Duke of Zhou 周公 and Duke of Shao 召公 served as dual-regents to assist the underage King Cheng. They practiced a dual-nucleus administration system by dividing Shanzhou 陝州 (corresponding to modern Shan county 陝縣 in Henan) into two parts with the Duke of Zhou given the eastern portion, and the Duke of Shao the western half. See *Shi ji*, 24.1229.

In the Six Dynasties, the strategic position of Jingzhou 荊州 was often compared to that of Shanzhou 陝州, according to which the Zhou royal domain was divided into east and west parts under a dual-nucleus administration system. See *Nan Qi shu*, 15.274.

⁸ This line alludes to the story of Goujian 勾踐, the lord of Yue (r. 496–464 BCE), who was defeated and captured by the lord of neighboring Wu. In order to stay vigilant and determined he slept on firewood and ate a gallbladder every night. After a few years, Goujian seized a favorable opportunity to take revenge by wiping out the state of Wu. See *Shi ji*, 41.1739–56. The *locus classicus* of *qi xue* 泣血 appears in the "Zhun" 屯 hexagram of the *Yi jing*: "profusely weep tears of blood" 泣血漣漣. Trans. Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of Changes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 156.

⁹ The *locus classicus* of the term *zhi ming* 致命 is the "Kun" 困 hexagram of the *Yi jing*: "The noble man would sacrifice his life in pursuit of his goals" 君子以致命遂志. Trans. Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 429.

昔國步初屯，兵纏魏闕，群后釋位，投袂勤王。元帝以盤石之宗，受分陝之任，屬君親之難，居連率之長。不能撫劍嘗膽，枕戈泣血。躬先士卒，致命前驅。遂乃擁眾逡巡，內懷缺望，坐觀時變，以為身幸。不急莽卓之誅，先行昆弟之戮。又沉猜忌酷，多行無禮。騁智辯以飾非，肆忿戾以害物。¹⁰

As far as Wei Zheng is concerned, Xiao Yi only had only himself to blame for his final defeat:

Although the primal villain [viz. Hou Jing] was conquered and eliminated, the sovereign domain was yet to be pacified.¹¹ When the western neighbor reproached, the calamity soon arrived without delay.¹² This is the case where heaven on high relies on someone else to send down a mirror [for one to reflect upon, to draw lessons from]. How would the way of heaven bear false witness to the affairs of the human realm?

雖元惡克剪，社稷未寧。而西鄰責言，禍敗旋及。上天降鑒，此焉假手。天道人事，其可誣乎。¹³

¹⁰ See *Liang shu*, 6.151.

¹¹ This line refers to the rebellion led by Hou Jing 侯景 (503–552), who first offered allegiance to and then rebelled against Liang. See Scott Pearce, “Who, And What, was Hou Jing?” *Early Medieval China* (2000:1): 49–73.

¹² This line refers to the Western Wei army’s invasion of the capital Jiangling in late 554 and early 555. See also Yu Xin 庾信, “Ai Jiangnan fu” 哀江南賦: “We met with the reproaches of the neighbor to the west” 值西鄰之責言 refers to the same event. Trans. William T., Graham Jr., “*The Lament for the South*” Yü Hsin’s “*Ai Chiang-nan fu*” (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 93. The *locus classicus* of the phrase “the reproach of the neighbor to the west” (*xilin zeyan* 西鄰責言) is the *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* (Xigong 15), 14.9b: “The western neighbor’s reproach, / Cannot be redeemed” 西鄰責言，不可償也。It refers to the fact that Jin did not reciprocate Qin’s favor two times, thus, Qin, Jin’s western neighbor’s approaches were justified. Trans. Stephen Durrant, Wai-ye Li, and David Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition / Zuozhuan: Commentary on the “Spring and Autumn Annals.”* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017), 325, note 208. Cf. Yan Zhitui 顏之推, “Guan wosheng fu” 觀我生賦: “In vain we had the true way and out troops were honorable; / Ultimately we failed to withstand the unrighteous army” 徒有道而師直，翻無名之不抗。Trans. Xiaofei Tian, *Family Instructions for the Yan Clan and Other Works by Yan Zhitui (531–590s)* (Boston and Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 491.

¹³ See *Liang shu*, 6.152.

Wei Zheng's criticism, harsh as it is, is not entirely inaccurate. But his disapproval of Xiao Yi as a ruler is too readily carried over to his assessment of Xiao Yi's intellectual accomplishment.

He firmly focused his mind on arts and letters, yet opted for superficial and excessive words while setting the principles of loyalty and trustworthiness aside. He manifested decisiveness and determination in martial affairs, yet his first concern was his flesh and blood kin and his last concern was rebels and rivals.¹⁴ Being conversant with the Six Classics and versed in the hundred masters, being endowed with the learning of Confucius and the capability of the Duke of Zhou, only contributed to inflate his imperious pride and to magnify his adversity and misfortune. What use did they have to retrieve Jinling from its downfall and collapse? How were they able to save Jiangling from its destruction and demise?

其篤志藝文，採浮淫而棄忠信；戎昭果毅，先骨肉而後寇讎。雖口誦六經，心通百氏。有仲尼之學，有公旦之才。適足以益其驕矜，增其禍患。何補金陵之覆沒？何救江陵之滅亡哉？

Apart from the unfavorable opinion about Xiao Yi's personal failings, another reason for the *Jinlouzi* being understudied stemmed from the derivative nature and eclectic compilation method of the compilation itself. In his preface to the *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要, where Wei Zheng looks back at the textual legacy, he writes:¹⁵

From emperors and sovereigns of recent generations, from time to time there have been compilations and compositions. They invariably encompass heaven and earth and enclose all beings. They strove to collect frivolous and gorgeous words and vied to spread absurd and fanciful sayings. Giving free rein to the hearsay accounts of the

¹⁴ The *locus classicus* of the term *rongzhao guoyi* 戎昭果毅 is in the *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* (Xuangong 2), 21.6b: "In martial affairs, to manifest decisiveness and determination in obeying commands is ritual propriety" 戎，昭果毅以聽之之謂禮。Trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *The Zuo Tradition*, 589.

¹⁵ *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 is a digested compendium, comprised of excerpts the Classics, History, and Masters texts. The book was compiled by Wei Zheng 魏徵 et al., under the imperial auspices of Tang Taizong. See Howard J. Wechsler, *Mirror to the Son of Heaven: Wei Cheng at the Court of T'ang T'ai-tsung* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), 166–87.

peripheral learning, they added adornment to the trivial skill of “insect carving.”¹⁶ They wandered and roamed about, to the point of forgetting to return [to their original focus]. Taking different paths, they all headed toward the same end: even though they examined and comprehended the myriad things, still, they went further astray from the provenance of “the creditor’s tally;”¹⁷ in summarizing hundredfold facets of learning, they deviated further from the purport of “in possession of the One.”¹⁸

近古皇王，時有撰述，並皆包括天地，牢籠群有。競采浮豔之詞，爭馳迂誕之說，騁末學之傳聞，飾雕蟲之小技。流蕩忘反，殊途同致。雖辯周萬物，愈失司契之源；術總百端，彌乖得一之旨。¹⁹

Qian Zhongshu 錢鐘書 (1910–1998) is convinced that this passage is directed at the *Jinlouzi*.²⁰ Even if Wei Zheng did not have the *Jinlouzi* in mind when he wrote the preface, his

¹⁶ This alludes to Yang Xiong’s self-deprecating comment on the literary pieces that he wrote in his youth. See *Fa yan, Sibü beiyao*, 2.1a. See also Knechtges, *The Han Rhapsody*, 135, n. 10. Pei Ziyue wrote an essay condemning the prevailing contemporary writing style, which was later given the title “Diaochong lun” 雕蟲論 (Disquisition on insect carving). See *Wenyuan yinghua*, 742.1a–2a. For translations see Jack W. Chen, “Classifications of People and Conduct,” *Early Medieval China: A Source Book*, eds., Swartz et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 267–73; Ping Wang, *The Age of Courtly Writing* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 67–69.

¹⁷ The term *si qi* 司契, literally, “holding the left-hand tally” alludes to *Laozi* 79 “Therefore the sage takes the left-hand [i.e. creditor’s] tally, but exacts no payment from the people. The man of virtue takes charge of the tally; the man of no virtue takes charge of exaction” 是以聖人執左契而不責於人。有德司契，無德司徵。The left-hand tally is the half held by the creditor. Trans. D.C. Lau, *Tao Te Ching* (1963; rpt. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1982), 115. Lu Ji 陸機 in his “Wen fu” 文賦 uses the term as a metaphor for the process of putting words together in a work. A writer holds his ideas, as if holding a creditor’s tally, and waits for the right expression to tally with his thoughts. See “Through phrasing a writer shows his talent, displays his skill/ But through ideas he holds the creditor’s tally and acts as craftsman” 辭程才以效伎/意司契而為匠. Trans. David R. Knechtges, *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature* Vol. Three (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 218–19.

¹⁸ The term *deyi* 得一 alludes to *Laozi* 39: “Of old, these came to be in possession of the One: Heaven in virtue of the One is limpid; Earth in virtue of the One if settle... lords and princes in virtue of the One become leaders in the empire 昔之得一者：天得一以清，地得一以寧... 侯王得一以為天下貞。 Trans. Lau, *Tao Te Ching*, 59.

¹⁹ Wei Zheng 魏徵, “Qunshu zhiyao xu” 群書治要序, in *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 141.9a–11a.

²⁰ See Qian Zhongshu 錢鐘書, *Guanzhui bian* 管錐編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 1398.

distaste for its compilation method and intellectual outlook that the *Jinlouzi* adopts is still unmistakable.

The received text of *Jinlouzi* devotes each chapter to a specific topic. Except for a few chapters that are immediately related to Xiao Yi's personal experience, within the rest of the chapters, most of the entries have parallel versions in other preexisting texts. Close consideration of the entries in those chapters and their sources in other works reveals a diverse collection of famous sayings of historical figures, witty remarks, pithy adages, and prose anecdotes that nevertheless all adhere to an overall thematic subject.

But judging the *Jinlouzi* negatively based on its derivative and eclectic nature is uncalled for. Neither the eclectic approach nor the derivative materials is necessarily an indication of inferior talent, much less flawed character or virtue. During a period in which "original ingenuity" was not sought after as keenly as in modern times, the way in which the *Jinlouzi* harvests and arranges its materials is a continuation of a long textual tradition and a response to the new textual reality of the time.

This point has been well argued by Evan Vincent Nicoll-Johnson in his dissertation titled "Fringes and Seams: Boundaries of Erudition in Early Medieval China," where an array of early medieval texts, including the *Jinlouzi*, was put under detailed examination.²¹ Nicoll-Johnson observes that in the *Jinlouzi*, excerpts from prior texts are "heavily edited according to the role they are meant to play in their new position within the text."²² This arrangement of materials leads him to conclude that the compilation can be seen as "an attempt to create a more precise system of genres for prose anecdotes and narrative that has no counterpart in either imperial

²¹ Evan Vincent Nicoll-Johnson, "Fringes and Seams: Boundaries of Erudition in Early Medieval China," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2017.

²² Nicoll-Johnson, "Fringes and Seams," 25.

bibliographic treatise or literary anthologies.”²³ This novel attempt, according to Nicoll-Johnson, is one of the ways in which the elite literati tried to bring a quickly expanding corpus into some order in their collective quest for scholastic erudition and refined self-expression.

II. Historical Background: the Liang imperial lineage

The Liang imperial clan’s ancestral home was Nan Lanling 南蘭陵 (northwest of modern Changzhou 常州, Jiangsu). It was renamed after their Xiao clan’s place of origin before they migrated to the south in the early fourth century, Lanling 蘭陵 of Donghai 東海 (roughly corresponding to modern Zaozhuang 棗莊, Shandong).²⁴ Although they claimed to be descendants of Xiao He 蕭何 (d. 193 BCE), a prominent minister of Emperor Gaozu of Han (202–195 BCE), the Xiao clan of Lanling remained rather obscure during the period from the Eastern Han to the Western Jin.²⁵

The first individual of the Xiao clan of Lanling who is known in history is Xiao Sihua 蕭思話 (400–455). Xiao Sihua’s aunt Xiao Wenshou 蕭文壽 (343–423) was the stepmother of Liu Yu 劉裕 (363–422), the Song (420–479) founding ruler (r. 420–422).²⁶ When Liu Yu became

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ For a detailed discussion of the history of the Xiao clan, see Cao Daoheng 曹道衡, *Lanling Xiaoshi yu Nanchao wenxue* 蘭陵蕭氏與南朝文學 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 3–4. On the ancestral home of the Xiao clan see Zhenjiang shi lishi wenhua mingcheng yanjiu hui 鎮江市歷史文化名城研究會 and Danyang lishi wenhua yanjiusuo 丹陽市歷史文化研究會, ed., *Qi Liang Xiaoshi guli yanjiu* 齊梁蕭氏故里研究 (Zhenjiang: Jiangdong daxue chubanshe, 2009).

²⁵ This unfounded claim has been deemed highly dubious. See Cao Daoheng, *Lanling Xiaoshi yu Nanchao wenxue*, 3–9.

²⁶ See *Song shu*, 78, 2011; *Song shu*, 41.1280–81.

emperor in 420, Xiao Wenshou was venerated as empress dowager. As a member of the imperial consort family, Xiao Sihua was entrusted with military powers in the Song dynasty.²⁷ Xiao Sihua in turn, promoted a few of his kinsmen, including Xiao Chengzhi 蕭承之 (384–447), whose son Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成 (427–482) became the founder of the Qi dynasty (479–502). Xiao Daocheng's cousin and close confidante Xiao Shunzhi 蕭順之 (d. 492) was Xiao Yan's 蕭衍 (464–549) father. Xiao Shunzhi was granted the title Marquis of Linxiang county 臨湘縣侯 when Xiao Daocheng took the throne in 479. Hence, it was the success of Xiao Sihua's official career that brought about the prosperity of the Xiao clan of Nan Lanling.²⁸

Like members of other lineages of honorable pedigree, members of the Xiao clan of Nan Lanling established themselves among the literati elite by virtue of their requisite intellectual cultivation and eligibility for government office. Both Xiao Daocheng and Xiao Yan, the Qi and Liang founding rulers respectively, though each had substantial military prowess, should be considered as members of the literati elite.²⁹

This is in contrast to the Liu-Song imperial court. Liu Yu was originally not a member of the literati elite.³⁰ Liu Yu's calligraphy was not quite up to standard, so much so that he had to write characters in exceptionally large size to cover this embarrassing shortcoming.³¹ On a separate occasion, when Liu Yu was bluntly contradicted by a literatus at court, he said, rather

²⁷ See Cao Daoheng, *Lanling Xiaoshi yu Nanchao wenxue*, 3–5.

²⁸ See Ochi Shigeaki, "The Southern Dynasties Aristocratic System and Dynastic Change," *Acta Asiatica* 60 (1991): 57.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ It needs to be noted that the Liu-Song imperial house eventually managed to find an inch of land to stand on among the circle of literati elite, through intermarriage with families of pedigree and literary education of young clan members. See Ochi, "The Southern Dynasties Aristocratic System and Dynastic Change," 57.

³¹ See *Song shu*, 42.1305.

apologetically, that “I inherently lack scholarly training. My words and opinions are especially shallow” 我本無術學, 言義尤淺.³²

Xiao Yan himself embraced the ideology of the literati elite long before he became the emperor in 502. During his early years, Xiao Yan was a frequent guest at literary gatherings and cultural activities hosted by Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494), Prince of Jingling 竟陵. The prince was a man of letters and also an ardent patron of literature and Buddhism. Among honored guests of Xiao Ziliang’s salon, Xiao Yan became one of the eight most illustrious ones, collectively known as the Eight Companions of Jingling (Jingling ba you 竟陵八友).³³

In early 502, Emperor He of Qi 齊和帝 (r. 501–502) issued an edict declaring that he “reverently abdicates the throne to the King of Liang [viz. Xiao Yan]” 敬禪於梁.³⁴ Later in this same year, Xiao Yan accepted the abdication and acceded to the throne, and became the founding ruler of the Liang dynasty.

The cultural splendor of the Liang dynasty, which coincides closely with the reign of Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (r. 502–549), has been summarized in *Nan shi*, a compilation that contains histories of the last four Southern dynasties (420–589), as follows:

Ever since he grasped the [prophetic] charts and documents (*tulu*),³⁵ for years His Majesty [Emperor Wu] established and instituted a ritual and music system (*liyue*), honored and exalted the Ruist scholars and cultured elite (*ruya*). Since the royal house moved to the left bank of the Yangtze river, it has been over two hundred

³² See *Song shu*, 64.1696.

³³ See *Nan shi*, 6.168. Xiao Yan has ninety odd poems extant, a considerable number of which were composed at Xiao Ziliang literary gatherings.

³⁴ See *Liang shu*, 1.26.

³⁵ The term *tulu* 圖籙 refers to a prophetic document that presaged a founding emperor’s access to the throne. See Zongli Lu, *Power of the Word: Chen Prophecy in Chinese, Politics AD 265–618* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2003), 17–18, 89.

years, and the cultural and ritual accomplishments brought forth their finest splendor in this place in particular.

及據圖籙,多歷歲年,制造禮樂,敦崇儒雅。自江左以來,年踰二百,文物之盛獨美于茲。³⁶

This passage recounts the glory of the Liang dynasty not in terms of territorial possession, population increase, or military potency, but with reference to its cultural achievements. Under the auspices of the imperial court, the Ruist scholar and cultural elite (*ruya* 儒雅) and the ritual and music system (*liyue* 禮樂), together contributed to the cultural restoration and prosperity of the period.

While embracing his role as both the leader of the literati community and patron of culture and scholarship, Emperor Wu also personally saw to it that his sons and nephews received a proper literary education. His royal princes were all exposed to literati culture from an early age. Emperor Wu appointed expositors-in-waiting (*shijiang* 侍講) and readers-in-waiting (*shidu* 侍讀) among the cream of literati elite to serve as companions and tutors of his royal princes. Each of the princely establishments was also staffed by worthy members of the literati elite circle.³⁷

³⁶ See *Nan shi*, 7.225–26.

³⁷ Xiao Yi's entourage included some of the most distinguished literary men of the time, such as Yan Xie 顏協 (498–539), Yin Keng 陰鏗 (d. ca. 565), Wang Ji 王藉 (d. 547), Liu Zhilin 劉之遴 (477–548), Liu Xiaochuo 劉孝綽 (481–539), Liu Xiaoxian 劉孝先 (fl. 537–553), Liu Xiaosheng 劉孝勝 (537–553), Pei Ziye 裴子野 (469–530), Wang Bao 王褒 (513?–576), Yu Jianwu 庾肩吾 (ca. 487–551), Yu Xin 庾信 (513–581), Xu Ling 徐陵, and Xu Jian 徐儉 (d. 588). See David R. Knechtges and Taiping Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide Part Three* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 1540.

Xiao Yi's intellectual training, like that of his brothers, was fastidiously provided with cultural trappings that were valued highly by the Liang literati elite. His intellectual achievement represents the paradigm of an ideal literatus.

From a young age, Xiao Yi devoted himself to scholarship and the arts. Among the long list of books that he authored or compiled, Xiao Yi wrote a commentary to the *Zhou yi*, *Han shu*, and *Laozi*, in 30, 115, and 10 *juan* respectively. Xiao Yi's literary writings amounted to fifty *juan*. His writings and compositions were widely circulated in his time” 著述辭章, 多行於世.³⁸

According to the *Nan shi*, Xiao Yi was also an accomplished painter and calligrapher:

He once painted a picture of Confucius all by himself, composed an encomium for it, and then wrote it down. His contemporaries called them [the painting, the literary composition, and the calligraphy] “[a work of] three superlative skills.”

自圖宣尼像, 為之贊而書之, 時人謂之三絕.³⁹

While most of Xiao Yi's compilations are no longer extant, his only surviving work, bearing the title his self-chosen alternative name (*biehao* 別號)—Master of the Golden Tower (*Jinlouzi* 金樓子)—attests to the breadth of Xiao Yi's learning and scholarship.

III. Textual Background: the masters texts

³⁸ See *Liang shu*, 5.136; *Nan shi*, 8.246.

³⁹ See *Nan shi*, 8.243.

The original reference of the “Master of the Golden Tower” (*Jinlouzi* 金樓子) is unknown.⁴⁰ The name even fooled some of Xiao Yi contemporaries. Xiao Yi wrote in the “Za ji” chapter of the *Jinlouzi*:

Before I had finished the *Jinlouzi*, I returned from Jingzhou to the capital. At this time, people of the time saying that I was forging gold and making towers. When they come to visit me, after three rounds of toasts, now and again, they would ask to borrow this “golden tower” as a source of diversion and amusement.

余作金樓子未竟，從荊州還都。時有言是鍛真金為樓子者，來詣余，三爵之後，往往乞借金樓子玩弄之。⁴¹

It is clear, though, that the *Jinlouzi* belongs to the *zishu* (Masters Texts) tradition; it is likened to the tradition in a line of intellectual and literary filiation.

Han bibliographers used the label *zhuzi* 諸子 (The Various Masters) to refer to a large corpus of texts, the bulk of which was written from the Warring States into the early Han, roughly from the fifth through the third century BCE.⁴² Traditionally the label is rendered as

⁴⁰ See Chen Zhiping 陳志平 and Xiong Qingyuan 熊清元, *Xiao Yi pingzhuan* 蕭繹評傳 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2018), 164–65. In the “Zhi guai” chapter, Xiao Yi mentions a certain “Master of the Golden Tower the Former” (*qian Jinlou xiansheng* 前金樓先生), who was a Daoist priest from Mt. Song (southwest of modern Dengfeng *shi*, Henan). See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 5.983–84. Chen and Xiong tentatively identify this figure with the Master of the Golden Tower (*Jinlou xiansheng* 金樓先生) mentioned in the *Baopuzi*, who was an alchemist, reputedly versed in converting base metals into gold. See Wang Ming 王明, ed. and comm., *Bopuzi neipian jiaoshi* 抱朴子內篇校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 16.289.

⁴¹ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 6.1084–85.

⁴² See Wiebke Denecke, “Masters” in *The Oxford Handbook of Classical Chinese Literature*, 202. Also see Boltz, W. G. and Schemmel, M. “Theoretical Reflections on Elementary Actions and Instrumental Practices: The Example of the Mohist Canon,” *Spatial Thinking and External Representation: Towards a Historical Epistemology of Space*, ed. M. Schemmel (Berlin: Edition Open Access), 121–44. <http://hdl.handle.net/11858/00-001M-0000-002C-18AD-5>

“philosophy” in studies of pre-modern Chinese literature and intellectual history. That is because, as scholars—first the European Jesuits in China in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and then native Chinese intellectuals in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—sought to discover “classical Chinese philosophy” among Chinese texts, each with a different agenda in mind, and they found most of the texts that can be identified or associated with “philosophy” are placed under the *zhuzi* category.⁴³ This identification has since been criticized and rejected because the assumption anachronistically applies modern Western intellectual categories to classical Chinese thought.⁴⁴

If one defines “philosophical inquiry” as “taking the concepts with which we approach the world themselves into the topic of inquiry,”⁴⁵ then the term “philosophy” does not apply to the large body of *zibu* texts or the bibliographic category of masters works. Most of these texts revolve around “the concepts with which we approach the world” itself, seeking to use empirical knowledge to solve specific problems, ranging from issues that are practical and concrete, such as governance or social etiquette, to inquiries that are abstract and timeless, such as spiritual nourishment or moral ethics. They do not concern themselves with the foundations and presuppositions of the problems in question. They typically purport to impart the kind of intellect that Wiebke Denecke terms as “gnomic wisdom or crafty persuasion.”⁴⁶ Reflective thought about

⁴³ For a detailed discussion of the search for “classical Chinese philosophy,” see Wiebke Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature: Early Chinese Thought from Confucius to Han Feizi* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2010), 4–18.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ See “Philosophy”, *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy*, ed. Simon Blackburn, E-book, Oxford University Press, 2016.

⁴⁶ Wiebke Denecke originally uses the term to describe the *Analects* and other related texts. See Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*, 1. Here I borrow the term to describe most masters texts in general. A similar point is also made by Boltz and Schemmel, “Theoretical Reflections on Elementary Actions and Instrumental Practices,” 9.

particular kinds of thinking—acquisition of knowledge, perception of the world, formation of beliefs—is simply not on their agenda.

A typical *zishu* is centered around one “master” figure as an intellectual authority, who is often seen engaged in dialogues either with his disciples or followers at a “scene of instruction” or with lords, ministers, or other figures in power at a “scene of persuasion.”⁴⁷ The association between masters texts and master figures was first foregrounded and consolidated by these Han bibliographers as an effort to bring transmitted texts into such shape that they were deemed fit to be included in the imperial library catalog.⁴⁸

Denominating a person to be intellectually responsible for a given text was something of a novelty in the early imperial era, given that, as a matter of practice, “early [pre-imperial] texts do not designate the person who puts it together,” (*gushu buti zhuanren* 古書不題撰人), as Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫 (1884–1955) succinctly put it.⁴⁹ In the name of master figure, fluid texts can be effectively rendered into a stable text unit.⁵⁰ A *zishu* presupposes a consistent and self-sufficient system of thought; by the same token, a master figure promises an organic entity of intellect.

Toward the end of the Warring States period, the authoritative voice of the master figure

⁴⁷ See Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 55–60.

⁴⁸ In 26 BCE Emperor Cheng (r. 33–7 BCE) put Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BCE) in charge of editing and cataloguing the books in the imperial library. The catalog of the imperial library, known as the *Qi lüe* 七略 (Seven Summaries), that Liu Xiang had begun was finally finished by his son Liu Xin 劉歆 (d. 23 CE). It was mainly on the basis of the *Qi lüe* that Ban Gu’s 班固 (32–92) “*Yiwen zhi*” 藝文志 of the *Han shu* 漢書, the earliest extant catalog, was compiled.

⁴⁹ See Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, *Yu Jiaxi guji luncong* 余嘉錫古籍論叢 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010), 155–63.

⁵⁰ See Alexander Jamieson Beecroft, “The Birth of the Author: Oral Traditions and the Construction of Authorial Identity in Ancient Greece and China,” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2003, 1–2.

also came to be conveyed in the form of the “expository essay.” In some texts, such as *Sunzi* 孫子 and *Mozi* 墨子, the master’s voice is marked by the introductory label “X子曰 (Master X says)” at the beginning of each intellectual installment. Others such as *Han Fei zi* 韓非子, resort to a strong first-person voice in writing to allude to a master with intellectual authority.

Sima Tan 司馬談 (d. 110 BCE) summarized the pre-imperial intellectual arena in terms of a scheme of “Six Specialties” (*liujia* 六家). In his lengthy intellectual treatise “Liu jia yaozhi” 六家要旨 (The essential purport of the Six Specialties), he specified the “Six Specialties”: “Yin-Yang” 陰陽, “Ru” 儒, “Mo” 墨, “Fa” 法, “Ming” 名, and “Dao” 道. Each specialty can be identified by its distinct intellectual outlook, which sets it apart from and sometimes in contrast to other specialties. Following his model, the “Yiwen zhi” of the *Han shu* sorted masters and masters texts into ten “specialties” (*jia* 家 or “schools”) and further traced their intellectual origins back to antiquity.

The *Shi ji* 史記 compiled by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145–ca. 86 BCE), Sima Tan’s son, represents a significant moment in the transition of masters writing from pre-Han to Han. Sima Qian devoted the “Self-narrative” 自序, the final chapter of the *Shi ji*, to lay out his authorial intention. In so far as his claim to authorship is concerned, Sima Qian might as well be identified as a proto-master of Han, whose mastery of his intellectual content served as a paradigm for later masters.⁵¹ The paradigm consists of three aspects:

⁵¹ This is in agreement with Michael Puett’s reading of the *Shi ji*, in his own words, “as a series of meditations on historiography and cultural problems.” See Michael Puett, *Ambivalence of Creation: Debates Concerning Innovation and Artifice in Early China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 267, n.11. At the same time, I am aware of the fact that there is a lack of

i. Self-expressive, seeking to be understood

In the “Self-account” Sima Qian first relates his father’s educational and intellectual background, and then faithfully reproduces his father’s lengthy treatise “Liu jia yaozhi.” This is followed by an extremely personal account of his father’s conferring an unshakable sense of responsibility on himself, urging him not to relinquish his duty as a grand scribe by virtue of inheritance. He then turns to himself and reveals the force that drove him to compile this work—his poignant suffering and frustration. In seeking to be thoroughly understood, Sima Qian stages a dialogue between himself and an interlocutor Hu Sui 壺遂 to reveal his innermost cares and deep-felt aspirations. He identifies his suffering and frustrations with those of others in history and concludes that compiling a written work is the ultimate catharsis for venting personal suffering and frustration.

ii. Self-awareness, seeking to match earlier masters

Sima Qian’s family heritage and his personal awareness are further inspired by and endowed with a higher intellectual calling, that is, to emulate the deeds of the great sage-master Confucius. Sima Qian recalls that his deceased father used to say to him, “Five hundred years after the Duke of Zhou died Confucius appeared. It has now been five hundred years since the

consensus about Sima Qian’s intention for the *Shi ji* and of the controversy arising from treating the *Shi ji* as the construction of a single author who controls all portions of his texts. See Willard J. Peterson, “Ssu-ma Ch’ien as Cultural Historian” *The Power of Culture: Studies in Chinese Cultural History*, eds. Willard J. Peterson, Andrew H. Plaks, and Ying-shih Yü (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1994), 70–79.

death of Confucius. There must be someone who can succeed to the enlightened ages of the past, who can set right the transmission of the *Book of Changes*, continue the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and search into the world of the *Odes* and *Documents*, *the Rites*, and *the Music*.”⁵² On this, Sima Qian remarks: “Was this not his intention? Was this not his intention? How can I, his son, dare to yield to it?”⁵³

The theory of the cyclical appearance of sages gave Sima Qian a larger-than-life intellectual responsibility, conferred a sense of mission on his composition, and finally enabled him to link himself with the sage and his work with that of the sages. This sense of mission and purpose, in turn, is rendered into a strong authorial presence, that dominates his work.

iii. Strong authorial presence, seeking to “accomplish a discourse of one’s own”

Throughout the entire work, Sima Qian is seen readily making his authorial presence known. The exercising of his authorial control is attested in both what he selected from the pre-existing texts to include and how he chose to present them. In the “Self-narrative” he included an annotated table of contents, where each chapter is outlined by title, accompanied by a short description of the subject.

The “self-narrative” is a testimony to Sima Qian’s conscious effort to take control not only of the content and form of his work but also how his work is intended to be received and interpreted. In his closing remarks of the “Self-narrative” he relates the prospects for his work.

⁵² Trans. Burton Watson, *Ssu-Ma Ch’ien Grand Historian of China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 50.

⁵³ Ibid.

With this work, he seeks to “create the tradition of one family, to supplement the various interpretations of the Six Classics, and to put into order the miscellaneous sayings of the Hundred Schools” 成一家之言, 厥協六經異傳, 整齊百家雜語.⁵⁴ He intends to have his work “placed in the Famous Mountain [the Imperial achieves], a duplicate copy in the capital, where they shall await the sages and worthy gentlemen of later ages” 藏之名山, 副在京師, 俟後世聖人君子.⁵⁵

Both the format and content of the “self-narrative” became a common compilation practice among Han and post-Han masters and intellectuals; Yang Xiong’s 揚雄 *Fa yan* 法言, Ban Gu’s 班固 *Han shu* 漢書, Wang Fu’s 王符 *Qian fu lun* 潜夫論, Wang Chong’s 王充 *Lun heng* 論衡, Ge Hong’s 葛洪 *Baopuzi* 抱朴子, and Liu Xie’s 劉勰 *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 all devote the last chapters of their works to the narrative of the author himself. Though variously titled, those chapters invariably concern themselves with one, two, or all three items of the following agenda: 1) relating to the life of the author; 2) revealing the reasons for writing the work in question; 3) explaining the rationale behind the chapter arrangement of the work.

Tian Xiaofei observes that the form of “Self-narrative” being transplanted from a work of history to “masters texts” indicates that a *zishu* as “no more than a comprehensive history of the self.”⁵⁶ But Sima Qian’s master-like quality arises from nothing more than his keen desire to be understood, his authorial awareness, as well as his authorial control over the meaning and interpretation of his work. In other words, a master is not who one is or what one writes, but

⁵⁴ See *Shi ji*, 130.3319–20.

⁵⁵ See *Shi ji*, 130.3320.

⁵⁶ See Xiaofei, Tian, “The Twilight of the Master: Masters Literature (Zishu) in Early Medieval China,” 126 (2006), 471.

rather arises from the way one anchors the intellectual authority embodied in the text upon a master persona of the author, who is presented as relatable, perhaps over-sharing, but fully on-board with the work in question. A master's text is an embodiment of intellectual authority that bears the name of the master; a master is created and defined by the authorial claim that is laid out in the name of the master.

Sima Qian's persona as "the Grand historian" (*Taishi gong* 太史公) in the *Shi ji* presented a significant template for Han masters to project their written persona into master-hood.⁵⁷ It is through the authorial intention and authorial presence that "the Grand historian" persona represents that the outlook of masters texts gained new momentum.⁵⁸

IV. "Self-Narrative" of the *Jinlouzi*

The last chapter of the fourteen monograph-chapters of the *Jinlouzi* is titled "Zi xu" 自序 (Self-narrative).⁵⁹ The "Zi xu" consists of fragmented entries providing miscellaneous personal accounts of Xiao Yi's childhood memory, early education, pastimes, health condition, and reflection on human transience. The opening lines read:

⁵⁷ His interlocutor in the "Self-narrative" notably addresses him as *fuzi* 夫子, a title reserved for senior masters.

⁵⁸ The *Han shu* records that when Liu Yu 劉宇, king of Dongping 東平王 (r. 52–20 BCE) was summoned to the imperial court, he presented a request for copies of the works of various masters (*zhu zi* 諸子) and of the *Taishi gong shu* 太史公書. See *Han shu*, 80.3324.

⁵⁹ The same chapter is recorded as "Zi xu" 自叙 in the "Jinlouzi" entry of Chao Gongwu's 晁公武 (1105–1180) *Junzhai dushuzhi* 郡齋讀書志. See Sun Meng 孫猛, ed. *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng* 郡齋讀書志校證 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), 12.516. Also see "Zi xu" of the *Jinlouzi* in *Taiping yulan*, 602.8a; 728.10b–11a.

This lifetime in the human realm, how ephemeral and transient! It is like catching sight of the flare from striking flints or a glimpse of the lightning from a gap [in the sky]. Fireflies perish after the arrival of the morning; dew evaporates upon seeing the daylight. How could I afford not to write this “self-narrative”?

人間之世飄忽幾何如? 鑿石見火, 窺隙觀電. 螢睹朝而滅, 露見日而消, 豈可不自序也?

In addition to the “Zi xu” chapter, the current version of the *Jinlouzi*, recovered in the Qing from the Ming encyclopedic compendium, *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典, also has a preface, placed before the first chapter of the *Jinlouzi*. The *Yongle dadian* version was based on an edition prepared by Ye Sen 葉森 in the Zhizheng 至正 (1341–1368) era of the Yuan.⁶⁰

In the manuscript age, authors put their final reflections on completion of a manuscript in a *xu* 敘 (or 序), along with the list of chapter titles (sometimes accompanied by a summary for each chapter).⁶¹ The *xu* was typically copied separately in the last scroll of the manuscript. With the spread of printing in the Song and the development of physical layout and arrangement of books akin to books in the modern sense, authors began to put their *xu* at the beginning of the book as a preface (also known as *xu*, sometime *qian xu* preface, as opposed to *hou xu* postface).⁶²

Therefore, it is possible that Ye Sen, or some Song or Yuan editor before Ye’s time, simply excerpted passages from the original “Zi xu” chapter and placed them at the beginning of the book, according to contemporary custom. The retrospectively assigned preface is well preserved since it was probably cited as a single textual unit in the *Yongle dadian*. The rest of the “Zi xu” was cited in smaller textual units, and thus, is fragmented and disordered.

⁶⁰ See the discussion in the “V. Transmission of the text.”

⁶¹ See Wilkson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, 926–27.

⁶² Ibid.

Xiao Yi's "preface" was written after Xiao Yi ascended the throne as emperor in December, 552.⁶³ The preface appears to be Xiao Yi's reflections on his life thus far as a prince, an official, and an intellectual figure, and hence also serves as a closure to his life before he reigned as an emperor 552–555. Xiao Yi opens the preface, writing:

I, within the subcelestial realm, do not exactly hold menial status.

余於天下為不賤焉。

This line is derived from what the Duke of Zhou reputedly said to his eldest son Boqin: "I am the son of King Wen, the younger brother of King Wu, and the uncle of King Cheng. Within the subcelestial realm, I also do not exactly hold menial status" 我文王之子, 武王之弟, 成王之叔父, 我於天下亦不賤矣.⁶⁴ Xiao Yi was the seventh son of the Liang founding ruler Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (464–549, r. 502–549). In 514 at the age of seven he was enfeoffed as Prince of Xiangdong 湘東.

With mediocre and ordinary talent, I was bestowed "soil in cogon grass" to found my own state [viz. to be enfeoffed as a prince] early in my life.⁶⁵ Enfeoffed at the drainage area of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers, I assumed the post in Jingzhou with the curtains of my chariot raised.⁶⁶ In my early years I served in an acting capacity in the

⁶³ In the "preface" Xiao Yi mentions Zhang Zuan 張纘 (501–552) by his posthumous name Jianxian 簡憲, which was given by Xiao Yi after he ascended the throne as emperor in December, 552. See *Liang shu*, 34.503.

⁶⁴ See *Shi ji*, 33.1518.

⁶⁵ The bestowal of a lump of earth wrapped with cogon grass symbolizes the emperor's granting of the fief and the mound on which the altar to the local gods of grain and soil stood. See *Shang shu zhengyi*, 6.36.

⁶⁶ Shanfu 陝服 (literally the Shan submission zone) refers to the Jingzhou area. In the Six Dynasties, the strategic position of Jingzhou 荊州 was often compared to that of Shanzhou 陝州, according to which the Zhou royal domain was divided into east and west parts under a dual-nucleus administration system. See *Nan Qi shu*, 15.274. The term *qianwei* 牽帷, literally "to lift up the curtains [of a chariot]," alludes to an anecdote about Jia Cong 賈琮 (fl. 184). According to

metropolitan capital as a regent, then later in my life I became a minister residing outside of the capital.

粵以凡庸，早賜茅社。祚土瀟湘，褰帷陝服。早攝神州，晚居外相。

From 522 to 526, Xiao Yi was appointed governor of the metropolitan district of Danyang. At the same time, he was put in charge of military affairs at the Shitou 石頭 fortress near the capital (524–526). In April 549 the capital of Jiankang fell to Hou Jing, who first offered allegiance to and then rebelled against Liang. Emperor Wu, in captivity, managed to send his edict to Xiao Yi in Jiangling. The edict, consisting of a series of emergency appointments, made him palace attendant commissioned with a “battleaxe” warrant [to represent the emperor], area commander-in-chief of all internal and external military affairs, minister of education, and recipient of the edict [with the authority to act at his will as circumstances may require].⁶⁷

Emperor Wu died shortly thereafter on 12 June 549. His elder brother Xiao Gang 蕭綱 (503–551, r. 549–551), the heir apparent, was killed two years after being installed as a puppet emperor. Owing to his strong power base in most of the upper and middle Yangzi area, Xiao Yi was able to suppress the other brothers and nephews who were rivals for the throne. In 552 Xiao Yi’s army finally defeated Hou Jing who subsequently was killed by his own men. Xiao Yi’s reflection on his military career is a rather resigned one. He writes:

the biography of Jia Cong in the *Hou Han shu*, when Jia Cong arrived in Jizhou 冀州 to serve as the regional inspector, he had the curtains of his chariot unfurled, saying, “being a regional inspector one ought to extend his vision and broaden his hearing, to supervise and examine good and bad, how could one lower the screen curtains and shut himself out instead? 刺史當遠視廣聽，糾察美惡，何反垂帷裳以自掩塞乎。 See *Hou Han shu*, 80.1112. Xiao Yi served as regional inspector of Jingzhou 荊州 (administrative headquarters in Jiangling 江陵, modern Jingzhou, Hubei) from 526–539 and 547–555.

⁶⁷ See *Liang shu*, 5.113. Yu Jiaxi takes the “minister residing outside of the capital” as a specific reference to Xiao Yi’s appointment in 549. See Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, *Muluxue fawei* 目錄學發微 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2013), 3.88.

The one who once engaged himself with matters of ritual and sacrifice now has become a person wearing a helmet and armor. When one's resources are limited, yet whose schemes are grand, wherein lies his merit and renown?

昔為俎豆之人，今成介冑之士。智小謀大，功名其安在哉？

During most of his lifetime, Xiao Yi had little expectation of ascending the throne as emperor. This aspect of his life, as Beatrice Spade points out, largely shaped the composition of the *Jinlouzi*.⁶⁸ He believed his composition would prove his merit and gain him recognition. To the self-posed question “wherein lies his merit and renown,” he writes:

May they [my merit and renown] reside in the composition that bears the title “Master of Golden Tower.”

蓋以金樓子為文也。

He promises a work that conveys the very breath of his life. Speaking in the third person, he writes:

While his *qi* does not always follow the writing in due course, his writing invariably makes use of *qi*. Although his intellectual capacity is not particularly adequate to be deployed, he sees to it that all is fashioned in accordance with his heart.⁶⁹ The words that he acquires during leisure moments, with no exception, soothe his breast.

氣不遂文，文常使氣。材不值運，必欲師心。霞閒得語，莫非撫臆。

⁶⁸ See Beatrice Spade, “Jinlouzi 金樓子,” *Early Medieval Chinese Texts A Bibliographical Guide*, eds. Cynthia L. Chennault, et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 154.

⁶⁹ Cf. “Cailüe” 才略, *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍: “Hsi K’ang’s essays express the mind of a master artist, and Juan Chi’s poetry is permeated with his whole spirit and life” 嵇康師心以遣論，阮籍使氣以命詩. Trans. Vincent Yu-chung Shih, *Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 255.

Xiao Yi refers to Cao Pi's and Du Yu's testaments about achieving long-lasting fame by establishing words (*liyan*), a theme that runs throughout the entire compilation of the *Jinlouzi*:

Cao [Pi] Zihuan said: "By establishing his virtue and putting something into writing, one does not decay."⁷⁰ Du [Yu] Yuankai said: "To be deemed virtuous is not something that can be expected to be attained, yet by establishing words one may almost get there."⁷¹ Therefore, hanging the knife and brush at the door and window,⁷² I harbor this aspiration to transmit and compile [books].

曹子桓云: 立德著書, 可以不朽. 杜元凱言: 德者非所企及, 立言或可庶幾. 故戶牖懸刀筆而有述作之志矣.⁷³

In the preface, Xiao Yi freely reveals that he has "three things that cast learning aside and two undertakings from which I cannot free myself" 有三廢學, 二不解, all of which consume his energy for compiling the *Jinlouzi*. He mentions, for example, the time he spent on administrative and military affairs, his interest in miscellaneous arts, his failing health, as well as his inclination for literary composition. Nevertheless, he remains committed to delivering his magnum opus. In the "Li yan" chapter of the *Jinlouzi*, he says:

I shall nourish my inborn nature and my spirit so that I may capture the unicorn with this composition of the *Jinlouzi*.

⁷⁰ This is a paraphrase of a line in Cao Pi's letter to Wang Lang 王朗 (ca. 156–288): "Only when one establishes his virtue and makes his name known does he not decay. The next best thing to do [to achieve this] is to compose pieces and texts" 唯立德揚名, 可以不朽; 其次莫如著篇籍. See *Sanguo zhi*, 2.88; note 1.

⁷¹ See *Jin shu* (by Wang Yin fl. 318–320) cited in Liu Xiaobiao's commentary to the *Shishuo xinyu*. See Xu Zhen'e 徐震堦, ed. and comm., *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian* 世說新語校箋 (1984; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 163.

⁷² Putting a writing brush or stylus and carving knife (to erase errors written or engraved on the bamboo strips) on the wall is a common early medieval trope to describe someone who is assiduous in writing. It is first seen in Wang Chong's biography in the *Hou Han shu*, 49.1629. See Tsuin-hsuei Tsien, *Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), 194–98.

⁷³ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 1.

余將養性養神，獲麟於金樓之制也。

The allusion to “capturing the unicorn” is associated with Confucius. When Lord Ai went hunting to the west in 481 BCE., a unicorn was captured. Upon seeing the unicorn, Confucius reportedly wept and sighed, “my way is at an end” and drew his compilation of the *Chunqiu* to a close.⁷⁴ Xiao Yi envisions the compilation of the *Jinlouzi*, being comparable to Confucius’ compilation of the *Chunqiu*, would once and for all make a name for himself in his own time and in succeeding generations. Xiao Yi takes the words of Guan Zhong and Zhuge Liang as his source of inspiration for the *Jinlouzi*.

I have ventured to hold high regard for Guan Yiwu [Zhong]’s refined discourse and Zhuge Kongming [Liang]’s grand disquisition. Their writings are adequate in articulating affairs of the human realm and in demonstrating the art of governance, at which I have ventured to look with admiration.

竊重管夷吾之雅談，諸葛孔明之宏論。足以言人事，足以陳政術，竊有慕焉。

Xiao Yi’s aspiration to “articulate affairs of the human realm and demonstrate the art of governance” is one of the central themes of Masters Texts that Liu Xie identifies in his treatise on the Masters Texts.⁷⁵

Throughout the preface, Xiao Yi refers to himself in the third person as “the master” (*xiansheng* 先生). This master figure carries with it a potent intellectual authority in the entire

⁷⁴ See *Shi ji*, 47.1942. Also see Du Yu 杜預, “*Chunqiu Zuo shi zhuan xu*” 春秋左氏傳序, in *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 1.1708. The preface is also included in the *Wen xuan*, 45.2037.

⁷⁵ See Yang Mingzhao 楊明照 ed. and comm., *Wenxin diaolong jiaozhu shiyi* 文心雕龍校注拾遺 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), 4.230.

compilation. He writes:

Now I have gathered and compiled [matters] from the beginning of heaven and earth, down to what I have encountered with my own ears and eyes. Using the style name of the master, it is titled “Master of the Golden Tower.” I presume this to be [modeled on] Shi’an [Huangfu Mi]’s *Xuanyan [chunqiu]* and Zhichuan [Ge Hong]’s *Baopu [zi]*.⁷⁶

今纂開闢已來，至乎耳目所接。即以先生為號，名曰金樓子。蓋士安之元晏，稚川之抱朴者焉。

This is a study about the *Jinlouzi*, about the person who produced the text, and about the cultural and social contexts in which the text was produced. My examination of the contexts in which the text was produced and the person who produced the text is meant to facilitate our understanding of the text itself. As such, this is not a study of using the *Jinlouzi* to reconstruct Xiao Yi’s life and thoughts.⁷⁷ Nor do I claim that I can use the *Jinlouzi* to trace the overall social and intellectual contexts of the early medieval period.

In one entry of the *Jinlouzi*, Xiao Yi notes that less than one tenth of Wang Can’s 王粲 (177–217) literary compositions survived to his time, on which he comments: “[It is the case of] seeing a single strand of tiger’s hair, we are left without knowledge of its original stripes” 見虎

⁷⁶ Huangfu Mi’s self-styled sobriquet is Xuanyan xiansheng 玄晏先生 (Master of Arcane Repose); the *Xuanyan chunqiu* 玄晏春秋, originally in three *juan*, only survives in fragments cited in the *Yiwen leiju* and *Taiping yulan*. It can be inferred from the surviving fragments that the *Xuanyan chunqiu* was a chronicle of Huangfu Mi’s life both as private scholar and recluse. Ge Hong’s 葛洪 (283–343) *Baopu zi* 抱朴子 (Master Who Embraces Simplicity) is divided into two parts, the “Nei pian” 內篇 (Inner chapters) of twenty-one *juan* and the “Wai pian” 外篇 (Outer chapter) of thirty *juan*. See *Sui shu*, 33.977; 34.1006.

⁷⁷ Such exercise has already been carried out in Beatrice Spade’s dissertation titled “The Life and Scholarship of Emperor Yüan (508–555) of the Liang as Seen in the Chin-Lou-Tzu,” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1981.

一毛, 不知其斑.⁷⁸ The same observation can be applied to the *Jinlouzi*, which constitutes only one aspect of a complex and multifaceted historical figure and accounts for one reflection of a diffused and multiform sixth-century intellectual world. The importance and relevance of this “strand of tiger’s hair” lie exactly with the fact that it is extant, against all odds, though not exactly in its original form.

V. Transmission of the Text

Both the *Liang shu* and *Nan shi* provide a list of Xiao Yi’s works in the annals of Emperor Yuan. The *Jinlouzi* in ten *juan* is mentioned the *Nan shi* but not in the *Liang shu*.⁷⁹ The bibliographical treatise of the *Sui shu* lists the *Jinlouzi* by his posthumous name Emperor Yuan of Liang in ten *juan* in the “Za jia” 雜家 category of the “Zi bu” 子部.⁸⁰ This categorization is generally followed in later bibliographical treatises and library catalogs. The bibliography treatises of the *Jiu Tang shu* and *Xin Tang shu* both list the *Jinlouzi* in ten *juan*.⁸¹

In the *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本國見在書目錄 of Fujiwara Sukeyo 藤原佐世, a catalog of Chinese books in Japan compiled in 891, Xiao Yi is mentioned by his *zi*

⁷⁸ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 6.1088.

⁷⁹ The *Nan shi* and *Liang shu* provide two almost identical lists of Xiao Yi’s works, except that the *Liang shu* fails to mention the *Jinlouzi* recorded in the *Nan shi*, and *Nan shi* omits *Jiangzhou ji* 江州記 listed in the *Liang shu*. See *Liang shu*, 5.136; *Nan shi*, 8.246. Also see Zhong Shilun 鍾士倫, “Liang shu buzai Jinlouzi kao” 梁書不載金樓子考, *Sichuan daxue xuebao* 3 (2004): 93–97.

⁸⁰ See *Sui shu*, 35.1006.

⁸¹ See *Jiu Tang shu*, 47.2033; *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1534.

Shicheng 世誠.⁸² During the Song dynasty, *Jinlouzi* in ten *juan* is listed both in the *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目 (presented to the court in 1041) and the bibliographical treatise of the *Song shi* 宋史 under the name of the [Xiao] Yi, prince of Xiangdong 湘東, a title by which Xiao Yi was known before he took the throne in 552.⁸³

Yuan Jiong 袁褰, who lived through the Northern and Southern Song transition, gave a detailed account of a *Jinlouzi* manuscript that he saw in the Northern Song imperial library.⁸⁴ The manuscript, according to Yuan Jiong, bore a colophon written by Li Yu 李煜 (937–978), the last emperor of the Southern Tang 李後主 (r. 961–975). About the physical appearance of this manuscript, Yuan Jiong recalls:

The manuscript was transcribed on “Xue Tao paper,”⁸⁵ only *jinzhao* [this day] was erroneously written as *Jin chao* [Jurchen Jin dynasty]. The emperor with the temple name Hui was revulsed by it [the prophecy]. He smeared it [*Jin* 金] with a writing brush and wrote [*jin* 今]. Who would have thought that it turned out to prognosticate the invasion of the Jurchen Jin.

⁸² See *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本國見在書目錄 (Tōkyō: Koten Hozonkai Jimusho, 1925), n/a.

⁸³ The original *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目 was lost by the Southern Song. The received version of the catalog, based on the cumulative editions recovered during the Qing, only includes forty percent of the original. See *Chongwen zongmu jilu* 崇文總目輯錄, *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, 3.18b; 684. See *Song shi*, 205.5208. The bibliographic treatise of the *Song shi* was based on bibliographic treatises of four histories of the current [Song] dynasties, known as *Guoshi* 國史, namely *Sanchao guoshi* 三朝國史, *Liangchao guoshi* 兩朝國史, *Sichao guoshi* 四朝國史, and *Zhongxing sichao guoshi* 中興四朝國史.

⁸⁴ See Yuan Jiong 袁褰, *Fengchuang xiaodu* 楓窗小牘, *Siku quanshu*, 14b–15a.

⁸⁵ Xue Tao 薛濤 (770–832) was a well-known female entertainer and poetess of her time. She exchanged poems on notepaper of her own design. This paper, later known as “Xue Tao paper,” was made of hibiscus skin mixed with powdered hibiscus flower petals to increase its luster. See Tsien Tsuen-hsuei, “Part I: Paper and Printing,” *Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Science and Civilization in China*, Volume 5, ed. Joseph Needham (Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 92–93.

書卷皆薛濤紙所抄，惟今朝字誤作金朝。徽廟惡之，以筆抹去後書，竟如識入金也。

This *Jinlouzi* manuscript was probably one of the texts of more than 20,000 *juan* that were shipped from Jinling to Kaifeng, the capital of the Song, immediately after the annexation of the Southern Tang in 976.⁸⁶ When in 1126, the Jurchen army destroyed Kaifeng and captured Emperor Huizong (1100–1125) and Qinzong (1125–1127) along with other royal family members to the north as hostages, the collection of the Northern Song imperial library was largely destroyed during the turmoil.⁸⁷

But during the Southern Song, the *Jinlouzi* of ten *juan* was still attested in the monograph on bibliography of Zheng Qiao's 鄭樵 (1104–62) *Tong zhi* 通志 (complete in 1149), Chao Gongwu's 晁公武 (1105–1180) *Junzhai dushuzhi* 郡齋讀書志, Chen Zhensun's 陳振孫 (1179–1262) *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題, and the monograph on bibliography of Ma Duanlin's *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (complete in 1319).⁸⁸

Probably due to a lack of interest in literary texts on the part of the Mongol rulers of the Yuan and the first few rulers of the Ming, the practice of cataloging texts in the imperial library

⁸⁶ See *Song huiyao* 宋會要, *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, 1742.15a–b.

⁸⁷ The Southern Song imperial library catalog is not complete. It is reconstructed from the *Yongle dadian*, See Zhao Shiwei 趙士煒, comp. and ed., *Song guoshi yiwenzhi jiben* 宋國史藝文志輯本 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1957).

⁸⁸ They all list the *Jinlouzi* under Xiao Yi's posthumous title Emperor Yuan of Liang. See *Tong zhi* 通志 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1956), 6.649; *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 214.1749; Sun Meng, *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng*, 12.516. See Xu Xiaoman 徐小蠻 and Gu Meihua 顧美華, punc. and coll., *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 19.556.

declined after the Song. No monograph on bibliography was compiled for the standard histories of Liao, Jin, and Yuan.⁸⁹

During the Ming, Jiao Hong's 焦竑 (1540–1612) bibliographical treatise, known as *Guoshi jingji zhi* 國史經籍志, and the catalog of Chen Di's 陳第 (1541–1617) private collection, titled *Shishan tang shumu* 世善堂藏書目錄, both recorded the *Jinlouzi* in ten *juan*.⁹⁰ But neither of them can be cited as evidence to suggest that the *Jinlouzi* was still in circulation by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: the former was entirely based on earlier bibliographical treatises; as for the latter, its credibility has been compromised by some questionable entries included.⁹¹

The *Siku* editors take the fact that the *Jinlouzi* is not mentioned in Song Lian's 宋濂 (1310–1381) *Zhuzi bian* 諸子辨 or Hu Yinglin's 胡應麟 (1551–1602) *Jiuliu xulun* 九流緒論 as an indication that the *Jinlouzi* began to fade into oblivion in the second half of the fourteenth century and did not survive beyond the end of the Ming.⁹²

⁸⁹ The *Jinlouzi* is not recorded in the supplemental bibliographical treatises for the Liao, Jin, and Yuan histories compiled in early Qing. See Ni Can 倪燦, Huang Yuji 黃禹稷, and Qian Daxin 錢大昕, *Liao Jin Yuan yiwenzhi* 遼金元藝文志 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1958).

⁹⁰ When Emperor Shenzong 神宗 of Ming (r. 1572–1620) initiated the production of a history of the current dynasty titled *Guo shi* 國史, Jiao Hong was commissioned to compile a bibliographical treatise for the compilation in 1594. He managed to bring the bibliographical treatise known as *Guoshi jingji zhi* 國史經籍志 to completion on his own, while the compilation project of the *Guo shi* itself was aborted. See *Guoshi jingji zhi* 國史經籍志, in *Yueyatang congshu* 粵雅堂叢書, *Baibu congshu jicheng*, 4B.4b. For Chen Di's collection, see *Shishan tang shumu* 世善堂藏書目錄, *Zhibuzu zhai congshu*, A.19b.

⁹¹ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 29. Chen and Xiong cite Wang Zhongmin 王重民, who suspected that some of Chen Di's descendants recklessly added titles that were not in the original collection to the catalog in order to inflate the prominence the family library.

⁹² See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao ji Siku weishou shumu jinhui shumu* 四庫全書總目提要及四庫未收書目禁燬書目 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1978), 23.10–11.

This assessment is generally accepted by later scholars. Chen and Xiong, however, note a few cases in Ming texts where the *Jinlouzi* is cited, including some well-known works, such as Yang Shen's 楊慎 (1488–1559) *Danqian yulu xulu* 丹鉛餘錄續錄, Li Shizhen's 李時珍 (1518–1593) *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目, and Fang Yizhi's 方以智 (1611–1671) *Tongya* 通雅.⁹³ Taking the words of the Ming authors as a given, Chen and Xiong suggest that there existed an incomplete or digressive version of the *Jinlouzi* during most of the Ming, when the complete ten *juan* version of the work was no longer transmitted.⁹⁴ To reinforce their argument, Chen and Xiong also cite Hu Yinglin's testament, which seems to attest that the *Jinlouzi* was still in circulation in the sixteenth century.⁹⁵

But upon close examination, each of the *Jinlouzi* passages cited in Ming texts that Chen and Xiong enumerate as witnesses to a certain *Jinlouzi* in circulation of the time is also cited in the *Taiping yulan*. It seems more likely that those Ming editors simply excerpted those entries from the *Taiping yulan* but gave the impression that they excerpted them from a copy of *Jinlouzi*.

This is probably what Hu Yinglin was referring to when he says “The *Jinlouzi* is still in circulation 金樓子尚行.” He did not claim that the *Jinlouzi* was still transmitted as one independent textual unit, but instead, said that the *Jinlouzi* was widely cited and thus very much in vogue in his time. There are two reasons for this: first, as the *Siku* scholars note Hu Yinglin made no mention of the *Jinlouzi* in his disquisition on the masters texts, *Jiuliu xulun*; second, Hu referred to the fact that the *Jinlouzi* was still in circulation as yet another case where ““lesser

⁹³ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 29–31. The *Bencao gangmu* specifically lists the *Jinlouzi* as a reference in its bibliography. See *Bencao gangmu*, *Siku quanshu*, 1A.40a.

⁹⁴ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 32.

⁹⁵ “Nowadays only Emperor Yuan's *Jinlouzi* is still in circulation. This is another indication that *xiaoshuo* transmit easily” 今惟元帝金樓子尚行，小說易傳，亦一驗也。 See Hu Yinglin's *Shi sou* 詩藪 cited in Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 31.

persuasions' are easy to transmit" (*xiaoshuo yi zhuan* 小說易傳). This means that he only surmised the nature of the *Jinlouzi* based on the citations recorded in the *Taiping yulan* and other *leishu* compendia, which are predominantly from the "Zhi guai" and "Za ji" chapters of the *Jinlouzi*.

In short, Ming scholars' attempts to put a spin on the books that they had at their disposal does not change the validity of the Siku scholars' original appraisal of the transmission of the *Jinlouzi*, that is, by the end of the Yuan and the beginning of the Ming, there appeared to be no complete copies of the work in circulation.

i. the *Jinlouzi* in six *juan*

In early 1772, the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1735–1796) issued an edict initiating what was to become the unprecedented book-collecting project, the *Siku quanshu* project. He ordered that a search be made for rare books and manuscripts to be forwarded to the capital for examination, transcription, and preservation.⁹⁶

Zhu Yun 朱筠 (1729–1781), then the education commissioner of Anhui, proposed that the reconstitution of texts lost since the Ming Dynasty from fragments preserved in the *Yongle dadian* be undertaken in conjunction with the compilation of the imperial library.⁹⁷ In his petition to the emperor, Zhu Yun writes:

The *Yongle dadian* preserved in the imperial library (inner court library) is an extremely rich assemblage of material. But it breaks the sequence of chapters; and groups them together according to the heading characters of each rhyme within the

⁹⁶ See Kent Guy, *The Emperor's Four Treasuries: Scholars and the State in the Late Ch'ien-lung Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, 1987), 13.

⁹⁷ Guy, *The Emperor's Four Treasuries*, 56–58. Also see Zhu Yun's biography in Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period (1644–1912)* (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1943–44), 198–99.

categories of the four tones [*ping*, *shang*, *qu*, and *ru*]. Such shredding and tattering is virtually the same as being lost. Now I would urge that Your Majesty order court scholars to assemble and copy out [excerpts] and discuss and deliberate about them in order to restore their original appearance. By such means we may obtain several hundred unseen works.

中秘所貯永樂大典，裒集至富，但分析篇次，以四聲韻字為部居，割裂破碎，與散佚無異。請旨敕下儒臣，採輯討論，以還舊觀，可得人間未見書數百種。

Upon reading this edict, the emperor expressed his admiration and approval of it, and thus opened the Hall of Siku quanshu, [ordering scholars to] collate and sort out books presented to the court by various provinces, as well as the [*Yongle*] *dadian*.

上覽奏嘉許，因開四庫全書館，校理各省上進之書及大典。

But the sheer size of the *Yongle dadian* (originally 22,937 *juan*; 11,000 *ce*), as well as the looseness of its arrangement (as Zhu Yun mentioned) made it difficult to carry out such a reconstruction project properly and expeditiously. The emperor ordered the grand councilors themselves to oversee the project. Under their direction, the Hanlin scholars were to serve in rotation as collators, editors, and compilers.⁹⁸

Each of the Hanlin scholars was assigned to go through a certain number of *ce* [volume] of the *Yongle dadian* to note on a slip of paper attached to each *ce* the titles of works included in that *ce*, which are not otherwise in circulation. On the slip, they were also expected to note the number of excerpts of a given lost work, as well as their respective locations in the current *ce*. They then were asked to send the volumes with slips to scribes to copy out all the excerpts. Once all the excerpts were transcribed, gathered together, and sent back to them, the next step for the Hanlin scholars was to carry out preliminary editorial work, in which they would typically rearrange excerpts and make changes as they saw fit. The scribes were then to prepare the formal

⁹⁸ Guy, *The Emperor's Four Treasuries*, 76–77.

first draft of the recovered books based on the editorial work done by the Hanlin scholars and send it back to the scholars for the second round of editorial scrutiny. The second draft, once copied out according to a certain predetermined format, was to be sent back to the Hanlin scholars once again for final proofreading.⁹⁹

The received version of the *Jinlouzi* in six (out of original ten) *juan* was recovered from the *Yongle dadian* in this manner, along with over 500 other lost works that the *Siku* compilers had recovered from the *Yongle dadian*.¹⁰⁰ But since the text is only indirectly transmitted, the reconstructed edition thus should only be accepted as indirect testimony of the original work.

Thanks to the colophon of the Zhibuzu zhai 知不足齋 edition of the *Jinlouzi* by Wang Zuhui 汪祖輝 (1730–1807) dated 1781, we know that Zhou Yongnian 周永年 (1730–1791), a prominent Hanlin scholar, who served as a *Siku* compiler at that time, was primarily responsible for the reconstruction of the *Jinlouzi* from the *Yongle dadian*.

According to Wang Zuhui's account, Zhou Yongnian made an extra copy of the collation draft that he prepared for the *Siku* project, and sent it to his acquaintance Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博 (1728–1814), a textual scholar and a book collector. Bao then commissioned Wu Qian 吳騫 (1733–1813) and Zhu Wenzao 朱文藻 (1735–1806) to separately make further collation notes which he then included in his setting copy of the eventual woodblock printing. This edition of the *Jinlouzi*, with Wu's and Zhu's textual notes, came to be known to us as the Zhibuzuzhai 知不足齋 edition.

⁹⁹ See Zhang Sheng 張升, *Yongle dadian liuchuan yu jiyi yanjiu* 永樂大典流傳與輯佚研究 (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 2010), 125–46.

¹⁰⁰ See Wilkinson, *Chinese History A New Manual*, 921.

Later editions relied on one or the other, or both of the Siku and Zhibuzuzhai editions.¹⁰¹

They have been reconstructed from a common source, a Yuan version of the *Jinlouzi* prepared by Ye Sen in 1343.

ii. The “Zhi zheng” edition cited in the *Yongle dadian*

The Zhibuzuzhai edition contains a line following the original preface, which reads “Written by Ye Sen at the Daxue mingxin Studio of the Xihu Academy, in the fifteenth day of the second month of the spring of the *kuimo* year, the third year of the Zhizheng reign (1343)” 至正三年癸未歲春二月望日, 葉森書於西湖書院大學明新齋.¹⁰²

Among several scholars named Ye Sen who lived roughly through the end of the Southern Song and the beginning of Yuan, Ye Sen, *zi* Jingxiu 景修, a native of Qiantang 錢塘 (modern Hongzhou), has been identified with some confidence as the scholar whose name appears at the end of the original preface of the *Jinlouzi*.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ The *Jinlouzi* in six *juan* was included in the *Longxi jingshe* 龍谿精舍 (Chaoyang, 1917) and *Baizi quanshu* 百子全書 (Saoye shanfang 掃葉山房, Shanghai, 1919). See Fan Xizeng 范希曾, ed. and comm., *Shumu dawen buzheng* 書目答問補正 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), 3.154. Later it was published as part of *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 and *Zishu baijia congshi* 子書百家叢書.

¹⁰² This line is omitted in the *Siku* edition. The *Siku* edition sometimes deleted all the collation notes and important textual information that might have been deemed secondary at the time. See Zhang Sheng 張升, *Yongle dadian liuchuan yu jiyi yanjiu* 永樂大典流傳與輯佚研究, 177–79.

¹⁰³ There are three men of the Yuan dynasty known by the name of Ye Sen recorded in the *Yuaren zhuanji ziliao suoyi* 元人傳記資料索引. See Wang Deyi 王德毅 et al., comps., *Yuanren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 元人傳記資料索引 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 1576–77. Only one of them, Ye Sen from Jiangyin 江陰 (in modern Jiangsu 江蘇) who died in 1322, is given exact dates. The second Ye Sen, a native of Gaoyou 高郵 (in modern Jiangsu) flourished around 1302 [the sixth year of the Dade 大德 reign (1297–1307)]. For the last candidate, Ye Sen from Qiantang 錢塘 (in modern Hangzhou, Zhejiang), the *Suoyin* gives no date. But it does mention that this Ye Sen from Qiantang used to associate with Wu Yan 吾衍 (1268–1311) and Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322). Also see Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 16–17.

The Xihu Academy 西湖書院, located in modern Hangzhou, was built on the basis of the Southern Song National University (Taixue 太學) in 1291.¹⁰⁴ During the Song and Yuan, academies not only stored books and woodblocks but also were establishments where scholars gathered to study, confer on scholarly issues, assemble collections of books, as well as collate and prepare a critical edition of books for printing.¹⁰⁵ This edition could very well be the Yuan *Shuyuan ben* 書院本 (academy published edition) of the *Jinlouzi*. But whether this edition is a complete ten *juan* edition is still an open question.¹⁰⁶

iii. Loose entries of the *Jinlouzi* in one *juan*

In addition to the *Yongle dadian*, the *Taiping yulan* and other *leishu* compilations and literary compendia also cite several dozen *Jinlouzi* excerpts of various length.

Ganzhu ji 紺珠集, an early Southern Song collection of notes on “stories and curious things” 小說奇事, includes thirty-two short entries of *Jinlouzi* excerpts, amounting to one *juan*.¹⁰⁷ One of thirty-two entries does not seem to have a parallel passage in the six-*juan* version of the *Jinlouzi*. These entries appear fragmentary and cursory; each entry is capped with a

¹⁰⁴ For a brief introduction to the Xihu shuyuan 西湖書院, see Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 and Xie Zhuohua 謝灼華, *Zhongguo cangshu tongshi* 中國藏書通史 (Ningbo: Ningbo chubanshe, 2001), 493–94. Also see Ji Xiaofeng 季曉風, *Zhongguo shuyuan cidian* 中國書院辭典 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), 55.

¹⁰⁵ See Fu and Xie, *Zhongguo cangshu shi*, 491–93.

¹⁰⁶ Chen Zhiping disputes the existence of the Yuan Zhizheng edition, see Chen Zhiping 陳志平, “Jinlouzi banben santi” 金樓子版本三題, *Tushuguan zazhi* 30 (2010): 90–91.

¹⁰⁷ According to Chao Gongwu, the *Ganzhu ji* 紺珠集 was compiled by Zhu Shengfei 朱勝非 (1082–1144). *Ganzhu* 紺珠 is an allusion to a magic memory-strengthening pearl from the anecdotal story of Tang minister, Zhang Yue 張說 (667–730), who found that a dark purple pearl had the power to help him remember things. See Sun Meng, *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng*, 13.595.

heading, indicating the object, phenomenon, or event that the given entry records. It is not clear whether the entries were excerpted directly from some compendium of the time, or from an original copy of the *Jinlouzi*.

The same thirty-two entries in one *juan* were included almost verbatim in the *Shuofu zazhu* 說郭雜著 originally compiled by Guo Tuan 郭象 (fl. 1165) of the Southern Song. Ma Junliang 馬俊良 (*jinshi* 1761) published the *Shuofu zazhu* as a part of his *congshu* 叢書 (collectaneum) named *Longwei mishu* 龍威秘書 in 1794. Chen and Xiong are convinced that excerpts included in the *Shuofu zazhu* were directly derived from the *Ganzhu ji*.¹⁰⁸ Those *Jinlouzi* excerpts in the *Ganzhu ji* were subsequently included in a Ming *congshu* 叢書 collection (collectaneum) *Wuchao xiaoshuo* 五朝小說.¹⁰⁹

iv. Modern critical editions

For a long time, the only modern annotated edition of the *Jinlouzi* was Xu Deping's 許德平 *Jinlouzi jiaozhu* 金樓子校注 published in Taipei in 1969.¹¹⁰ The base text of this edition was a manuscript copy of the Siku edition.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 37. Also see Chen Zhiping, "Jinlouzi banben santi," 89–90.

¹⁰⁹ In 1926 the publishing house Saoye shanfang 掃葉山房 in Shanghai reprinted the *Wuchao xiaoshuo* 五朝小說 and renamed it as *Wuchao xiaoshuo daguan* 五朝小說大觀.

¹¹⁰ Xu Deping 許德平, ed. and comm., *Jinlouzi jiaozhu* 金樓子校注 (Taipei: Jiaxin shuini gongsi wenhua jijinhui, 1969).

¹¹¹ The manuscript was prepared by Xie Zhangding 謝章鋌 (1820–1903), who also collated it with the Zhibuzuzhai edition [with Wu's and Zhu's collation notes]. This version was published in the *Zibu zhenben congkan* 子部珍本叢刊 by Xianzhuang shuju in 2012. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 33.

Two more annotated versions of the *Jinlouzi* came out when I just started doing research for my dissertation. The first is Xu Yimin's 許逸民 *Jinlouzi jiaojian* 金樓子校箋 published by the Zhonghua shuju in 2011. The second one, published in 2014 by the Shanghai guji chubanshe, is *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu* 金樓子疏證校注, prepared by Chen Zhiping 陳志平 and Xiong Qingyuan 熊清元. Both editions used the Zhibuzuzhai edition [with Wu's and Zhu's collation notes] as the base text and collated with the Siku edition as well as other versions of the work. Unless otherwise noted, I use Chen and Xiong's critical edition in this study.

Chapter One: In the Name of the Father——The “Xing wang” 興王 (Founding kings) chapter

“Xing wang” 興王 (Founding kings) is the first chapter of the *Jinlouzi*.¹¹² It is an account of the succession of legendary begetters and founding rulers from antiquity. The *locus classicus* of the chapter title is a passage in the *Guo yu* 國語, where *xing wang*, who have the stamina to take critical advice, are put in contrast with ‘complacent kings’ (*yi wang* 逸王).¹¹³

This chapter, at first glance, appears to recapitulate the succession of rulers and their lineages. There are two texts, among others, that could have served as the archetype for the compilation of the chapter. The first is the “Ben ji” 本紀 (“Basic annals”) section of the *Shi ji*, consisting of annals of the rulers from high antiquity to Sima Qian’s time. A more immediate template for the chapter could probably be assigned to Huangfu Mi’s 皇甫謐 (215–282) *Diwang shiji* 帝王世紀 (Genealogical records of emperors and kings), which traces the imperial genealogy even further back than the one recorded in the *Shi ji*.¹¹⁴ The text is most likely to have

¹¹² The chapter title “Xing wang” is listed under the “Wang 王” entry of the *Yongle dadian* (*juan* 6789), which probably means the chapter was cited in its entirety in the *Yongle dadian*.

¹¹³ See *Guo yu* 國語 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 12.410: “Founding kings reward officials who admonish them; complacent kings punish them” 興王賞諫臣，逸王罰之。

¹¹⁴ Although the *Diwang shiji* was lost during or after the Song, enough fragments have survived to inform us about the nature and structure of the original text. See Monique Nagel-Angermann, “*Diwang shiji* 帝王世紀,” *Early Medieval Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, eds. Cynthia L. Chennault, Keith N. Knapp, Alan J. Berkowitz, and Albert E. Dien (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, 2015), 62–66. See also Xu Zongyuan 徐宗元, ed. and comm., *Diwang shiji jicun* 帝王世紀輯存 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964) and *Diwang shiji* 帝王世紀, Lu Ji 陸吉, coll. and punc., (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 2010).

been chronologically arranged; for each ruler, information such as parents, physical appearance, significant deeds, and burial site is typically given.¹¹⁵

The “Xing wang” chapter starts with the time of legendary high antiquity, a time well before the invention of human civilization. This pre-civilization era, defined by ten epochs under sixteen clan names in succession, is followed by a series of nine biographical accounts of euhemerized mythical rulers. Huangdi 黃帝, who marked the beginning of the chronology of the *Shi ji*, comes as the third in line of succession after Baoxi 庖犧 and Yandi 炎帝 respectively. From Huangdi’s reign the transmission of power took place along the hereditary line of succession, until Huangdi’s great-grandson, Diku 帝嚳, replaced his incompetent son with Yao 堯 as the successor. Yao was succeeded by Shun 舜 on account of Shun’s worthiness. After ruling for forty years, Shun deemed his own son an unworthy successor and abdicated to Yu 禹.

The “founding kings” in the chapter after Yu are either dynastic founders or their immediate successors, who carried out and forged ahead with their forefathers’ undertakings.¹¹⁶ As the chapter moves into the imperial era, the narrative focus is directed away from the ruler’s heavenly endowed worthiness to his devotion to governance and his worldly achievements. These emperors are deemed “founding kings” not merely because they reigned as rulers, but also because they either strove for (*xing*) the rise of a new dynasty or brought prosperity (*xing*) to the empire. Xiao Yi notably anchors his survey of “founding kings” on the lengthy tale of his father, Emperor Wu of Liang, founding ruler of the Liang dynasty. In this last entry Xiao Yi makes the

¹¹⁵ See Nagel-Angermann, “Diwang shiji 帝王世紀,” 62.

¹¹⁶ The founding rulers of the short-lived Qin dynasty and that of the Qi dynasty, from whose successor Emperor Wu of Liang received abdication in 502, are both omitted in this account.

case that Emperor Wu deserves a place among the most celebrated founding kings of the past by virtue of his admirable exploits and moral worthiness.

I first establish the way in which knowledge of the past is mustered within the chapter, and then examine how Xiao Yi presents and makes use of it for didactic purposes. I argue that Xiao Yi looked to the past, not for roots, paradigms, or inspiration, but for raw materials to construct a narrative of the topic that conveys his perception of and preoccupation with the notion of kinship. I gauge, as much as the text allows, the extent to which Xiao Yi projected himself as Emperor Wu's successor, the next worthy king poised to rise. This chapter presents a narrative stemming from the depth of the past both as a constant existence of order and hierarchy and an inexhaustible source of continuity. It is against this background that Xiao Yi covertly unraveled what role he sees himself playing and how he plans to engage himself with the role in the evolving discourse on kinship.

I. Rulers Made of Miracles

Founding rulers of the "Xing wang" chapter fall into two camps, those made of miracles and those made of deeds. Founding rulers made of miracles are mythical demigods with a "secular" aptitude for governing their secular domains. Founding kings made of deeds, on the other hand, are capable and worthy rulers who also possess certain superhuman qualities.

Rulers made of miracles are predominately defined by their godly begotten, miraculous conception, supernatural birth, and various auspicious tokens associated with them. A typical example of such a ruler is Shaohao as portrayed in the "Xing wang."

(1) Shaohao of the Jintian clan had two appellations, one was Qionsang, and the other was Emperor Zhuxuan the White emperor. He was Huangdi's son, with the clan name Ji. His mother was named Nüjie. During Huangdi's reign, there was a constellation as big as a rainbow. When it flowed down to the Huazhu, [Nüjie] was stirred and gave birth to Shaohao in Qionsang, this constituted Xuanxiao.

少昊帝金天氏。一號窮桑，二曰白帝朱宣帝。黃帝之子，姬姓。母曰女節。黃帝時有大星如虹，下流華渚。意感生少昊於窮桑，是為元[玄]囂。

(2) He took the clan name Ji, other sources say that his clan name was Ji.

姓姬氏，或云己氏。

(3) He descended and took residence in the area near the Jiang River, where he subsequently ascended the imperial throne. Inheriting the potency of earth, he ruled by virtue of metal. He established his capital in Qufu.

降居江水，以登帝位。以金承土，都曲阜。

(4) [During his reign] there was the auspicious omen of a phoenix.

有鳳鳥之瑞。¹¹⁷

(5) He used birds to arrange administrative departments. The Phoenixes were regulators of the calendar. The Swallows were supervisors of the equinoxes. The Shrikes were supervisors of the solstices. The Orioles were supervisors of the opening of the seasons. The Pheasants were supervisors of the close of seasons. The Snipes were supervisors of conscripts. The Ospreys were supervisors of works. The Falcons were supervisors of corrections. The Turtledoves were supervisors of affairs. Five types of pheasants were leaders for the types of artisans. Nine birds of the *hu* variety were leaders of the nine agricultural activities.¹¹⁸

以鳥紀官。鳳鳥氏為司歷正；元鳥氏為司分；伯趙氏為司至；青鳥氏為司開；丹鳥氏為司閉；祝鳩氏為司徒；睢鳩氏為司空；爽鳩氏為司寇；鶡鳩氏為司事；五雉為五工正；九扈為九農正。

(6) The all under heaven were in great order during his reign.

¹¹⁷ See *Song shu*, 27.761.

¹¹⁸ This paragraph 5) is an abbreviation of a passage in the *Zuo zhuan* (Zhaogong 17), see *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, 48.381–82. Trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition / Zuozhuan*, 1545.

天下大治焉。¹¹⁹

In (1) Shaohao is explicitly referred to as Huangdi's son. This idiosyncratic identification is presumably based on the *Diwang shiji* entry for Shaohao, whereas Qingyang, a name that is traditionally associated with a son of Huangdi, is identified as the courtesy name for Shaohao.¹²⁰ In addition, Shaohao is also referred to as Xuanxiao 玄囂, which also happens to be Qingyang's alternative name mentioned in other sources.¹²¹ Shaohao's clan name (*xing* 姓) is given as "Ji" 姬 in (1). Then a few lines later in (2), "Ji" 姬 is mentioned again, yet this time as his lineage name (*shi* 氏). In addition, "Ji" 己 is also given as an alternative lineage name for Shaohao. This mess identification probably reflects a set of untidy source material in general.

The *Guo yu* claims that "Huangdi's sons numbered twenty-five, and only two of them have the same clan name. Only Qingyang and Yigu took the clan name Ji" 黃帝之子二十五人, 其同姓者二人而已; 唯青陽與夷鼓皆為己姓。¹²² And it goes on to say: "In general among all the sons of Huangdi, amounting to twenty-five; fourteen of them have clan names, constituting twelve clan names. Only Qingyang and Canglin have the same lineage name as Huangdi. Both of them took Ji as their clan name" 凡黃帝之子, 二十五宗; 其得姓者十四人為十二姓。唯青陽與蒼林氏同于黃帝, 故皆為姬姓。¹²³ This passage itself consists of conflicting information. It first claims that only two of the twenty-five sons of Huangdi shared the same clan name and later

¹¹⁹ See Xu Zongyuan, *Diwang shiji jicun*, 27.

¹²⁰ But Shaohao is not explicitly identified as a son of Huangdi in the *Diwang shiji*. See Xu Zongyuan, *Diwang shiji jicun*, 26. For the Shaohao in ancient texts, refer to Bernhard Karlgren, "Legends and Cults in Ancient China," *BMFEA* 18 (1946): 207–09.

¹²¹ See *Shi ji*, 1.10; Xu Zongyuan, *Diwang shiji jicun*, 26.

¹²² See *Guo yu*, 10.356.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

suggests that four of the fourteen sons shared two clan names. The clan name of Qingyang, one of Huangdi's sons, is said to be Yi which was later changed to Ji.

We may speculate that Shaohao, successor of Huangdi, and Qingyang, a son of Huangdi, were originally two different figures that belonged to disparate traditions. In the process of systematizing the cultural tradition, one was identified with the other to form a more conveniently clear-cut hereditary line. The various names that are said to be associated with Shanhao or Qingyang were perhaps one indication of the untidiness of the source material. After all, attributing names of different figures to one and the same figure as alternative names is a natural and expedient way of merging different stories into one.

Another case in point is Shaohao's variant titles (*hao* 號). In the "Xing wang" entry two titles for Shaohao are mentioned, Qionsang 窮桑, and Zhuxuan the White Emperor 白帝朱宣帝. Qionsang was originally a place name. The entry identifies it as Shaohao's birthplace; other sources refer to it as the place where Shaohao first established his settlement.¹²⁴ The second title, Zhuxuan the White Emperor, is mentioned in a fragment of the *Diwang shiji* citing a text called *Di tuchen* 帝圖讖 as its source.¹²⁵

Zhuxuan the White Emperor is also mentioned in a text designated *He tu* 河圖. Song Jun's 宋均 (d. ca. 76) commentary on the text, cited along with the *He tu* passage in Li Shan's 李善 (630–689) commentary on the *Wen xuan* 文選, specifically identifies Zhuxuan in question with Shaohao.¹²⁶ It is interesting to note that the line from the *He tu* that Li Shan cites, describing

¹²⁴ See Xu Zongyuan, ed. and comm., *Diwang shiji jicun*, 26; *Shizi* 尸子 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 3.6a; *Furuitu* 符瑞圖 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 872.2b.

¹²⁵ The same fragment of *Diwang shiji* cited both in the *Taiping yulan*, 79.8a–b and *Yiwen leiju*, 11.211. The citation in the *Yiwen leiju* refers to the source as *Tu chen* 圖讖.

¹²⁶ See *Wen xuan*, 36.1654.

a miraculous conception is identical to that the *Diwang shiji* passage cited both in the *Taiping yulan* and *Chuxue ji*, except for the name of the newborn demigod. While various recessions of the *Diwang shiji* cited in different *leishu* compilations all identify the demigod as Shaohao; the *He tu* passage that Li Shan cites identifies the figure in question as Zhuxuan the White Emperor.

Again, it seems likely that Shaohao and Zhuxuan the White Emperor were two unrelated demigods in different traditions. They have been lumped together as one figure, the same way that Shaohao and Qingyang were merged into one figure. The attribution of two titles to the figure in question represents an effort to reconcile two different textual systems that were available at his time. Rather than choosing one over the other, Xiao Yi decided to present two names as equal alternatives.

A few observations can be made about things that were not apparent in Xiao Yi's compilation agenda. The first is thoroughness. We looked at two entries, both of which consist of an eclectic mix of excerpts from prior texts. But there is no indication that Xiao Yi sought to present a comprehensive account of the ruler in question. In cases where the source text is evident, it is clear that Xiao Yi was selective about what to include in his entry.

Nor does Xiao Yi seem to pay attention to the consistency of the narrative. Disparate textual strata, rather than being woven into the entry, seem to be stitched together with no obvious attempt to conceal the stitching seam. The entire entry at times sounds clumsy and casual without a smooth transition between different excerpts. Due to this attitude of minimal editorial intervention, when conflicting information or incompatible variants arise, Xiao Yi does not seem to be in the least bit bothered. He mostly stays behind the scene, not offering his opinion as a compiler/ editor or trying to resolve discrepancies or variants. Nor does Xiao Yi show eagerness to pursue a moral message. His focus on recycling prior textual material with

minimum editorial presence does not provide an opportunity for the editor to insert a moral comment in the text.

II. From Rulers Made of Miracles to Self-Made Rulers

If Xiao Yi did not aspire to impress or inform, what then exactly was his motive in composing this chapter? I argue that it is to form a consistent narrative of exemplary rulers in history to convey a renewed narrative of kingship that, on the one hand, enjoys the same level of awe and authority invested in the rulers of the past, and, on the other hand, brings some focus to an early medieval ideal of kingship in agreement with Xiao Yi's own individual sensibility.

By Xiao Yi's account, Emperor Guangwu of Eastern Han (r. 25–57) is an embodiment of such ideal kingship in his assiduousness and resourcefulness to succeed.

(1)

1.1 Wenshu, Emperor Shizu of Han, was born on the *jiazi* night of the twelfth month of the first year of Jianping reign (15 January 5 BCE), at the old palace of Emperor Wu.¹²⁷ [At the time] fire-red flames were glowing in the chamber. 1.2 [There were] shadows resembling five unicorns and seven phoenixes [at the time of his birth].

1.1 漢世祖文叔, 建平元年十二月甲子夜生於武帝故宮, 有赤光照室。

1.2 影如五麟七鳳。

(2)

Later Su Boa, the “aura examiner,” served as Wang Mang's (45 BCE–23) envoy. When he arrived in Nanyang, looking at the walled city of Chongling from afar, he said, “How auspicious is this fine vapor, so densely refined and lushly luxuriant.”¹²⁸

後望氣蘇伯阿為王莽使。至南陽, 遙見舂陵城郭, 曰: “佳哉美氣, 鬱鬱葱葱。”

¹²⁷ See *Hou Han shu*, 1B.86.

¹²⁸ See *Hou Han shu*, 1B.86; *Dongguan Han ji*, 1.1a–b.

(3)

3.1 The emperor had a fine beard and eyebrows. He was eight *chi* and seven *cun* tall.¹²⁹

3.2 At the back of his foot, there was a pigment that looked like a silver seal, of one *fen* thick.

3.1 帝美鬚眉，身長八尺七寸。

3.2 腳下有文色如銀印，厚一分。

(4)

4.1 He raised troops during the Gengshi reign (23–25). After he went back to Chongling, his residence, seen from afar, was filled with glowing fire reaching splendidly to the sky.¹³⁰

4.2 He once dreamed about riding a fire-red dragon soaring into the heavens, where he ascended gemstone decorated stairs and a jade carved gate.

4.1 更始起兵，還春陵，遠望舍內，火光赫然屬天。

4.2 夢乘赤龍登天，上珠陸玉闕。

(1–4) recount the emperor’s extraordinary physiognomic features, various auspicious omens associated with his birth, with his whereabouts, and with his military campaign against Wang Mang’s reign. The entire narrative, except for (1.2, 3.2, and 4.2), is attested in Emperor Guangwu’s annals in both the *Dongguan Han ji* and *Hou Han shu*.¹³¹

(5)

As it turned out, he defeated Wang Mang’s troops numbering several million with three thousand men. On account of these [auspicious omens], after assuming the throne, he was able to quell Wei Ao (d. 33), Gongsun Shu (d. 36), and others.

乃以三千人破王莽百萬眾。及即位，故能平隗囂公孫述等。

¹²⁹ See *Hou Han shu*, 1A.1; *Dongguan Han ji*, 1.1a. There is a discrepancy between the *Jinlouzi*’s account and those of the *Dongguan Han ji* and *Hou Han shu* about the emperor’s height. Both *Dongguan Han ji*, 1.1a. *Hou Han shu*, 1A.1 mention the emperor is eight *chi* three *cun*, instead of seven *cun*. See also Hans Bielenstein, “The Restoration of the Han Dynasty, with Prolegomena on the Historiography of the *Hou Han Shu*,” *BMFEA* 26 (1954): 99.

¹³⁰ See *Hou Han shu*, 1B.86.

¹³¹ (1.2) and (3.2) are not attested in transmitted texts; the first part of (4.2) is attested in the biography of Feng Yi 馮異 (d. 34) of the *Hou Han shu*, 17.645. It is also attested in a passage from the *Dongguan Han ji* cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 398.1a.

The voice of the editor/compiler emerges here in this transitional paragraph where the narrative shifts from the emperor's superhumanity to his worldly achievements. Emperor Guangwu's military triumph over Wang Mang, Wei Ao, and Gongsun Shu, has been traditionally characterized as a great restoration ('*zhong xing*' 中興) of order in history. In fact, the term *zhong xing* figures prominently in contemporary accounts of the Emperor Guangwu's achievement to such an extent that this stock phrase became a metonymy for the emperor and his reign.¹³²

(6)

As he had been engaged in warfare for a long time, the emperor grew tired of military affairs and often contemplated retiring [lit. to unload the burden from his shoulders]. Once the heir apparent asked about the matter of attacks and battles, the emperor instructed him saying, "When Duke Ling of Wei asked Confucius about military formations, Confucius declined to respond. This is not what you are capable of reaching."¹³³ Everyday he oversaw affairs from early in the morning and would not rest until the sun slanted west.¹³⁴

在兵既久，厭武事，嘗思息肩。皇太子當問攻戰之事，帝諭曰：“衛靈公問陳於孔子，孔子不對。非爾所及也。”每旦視事，日仄乃罷。

(7)

He abstained from exotic savories and exquisite delicacies presented to him from afar. None of those who had rendered great service to him was executed.

斷遠方餉異味奇珍；功臣高枕無所誅殺。

¹³² See for example, "Zhi" of the *Han shu*, 21B.1024; 22.1035. Emperor Ming Liu (r. 57–75) makes a reference to Emperor Guangwu's "receiving heavenly mandate and bringing restoration" (*shouming zhongxing* 受命中興) in the first edit that he issued as emperor in 57. See *Hou Han shu*, 2.95. Liu Cang 劉蒼 (d. 83) presented "Guangwu shouming zhongxing song" 光武受命中興頌 (Encomium on the receipt of the mandate and the restoration of Emperor Guangwu) to Emperor Ming in 72. See *Hou Han shu*, 42.1436.

¹³³ This alludes to a story recorded in the *Lun yu*. See Cheng Shude 程樹德, ed. and comm., *Lun yu jishi* 論語集釋 (1990; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 31.1049.

¹³⁴ See *Hou Han shu*, 1B.85.

(7) seems to be a paraphrase of a line from a biography of Ma Wu 馬武 (d. 61), an early supporter and attendant of Liu Xiu, the future emperor. It is observed that the emperor demonstrated remarkable forbearance to his early followers who rendered great service to the establishment of the dynasty: “Whenever there was an exquisite delicacy from afar presented to him as a tributary gift, [the emperor] would first grant it to all of the decorated generals; there would be nothing left for his own imperial cook. When they [the decorated generals] achieved meritorious exploits, he expanded their fiefdom, upgraded their rewards but would not give them with government responsibility. Thus they all have preserved their welfare and prosperity, and none of them ended up being executed or exiled.” 遠方貢珍甘, 必先遍賜列侯, 而太官無餘. 有功, 輒增邑賞, 不任以吏職, 故皆保其福祿, 終無誅譴者.¹³⁵

(8)
When he led discussions and explications of guiding principles of the classics with lords and ministers, he would not go to sleep until midnight. The heir apparent admonished him saying, “I am afraid that Your Majesty, as enlightened as Yu and Tang, would be deprived of the blessings of Peng [Zu] and [Lao] Dan. I wish that Your Majesty would attend to your own energy and spirit. The emperor replied, “I take pleasure in doing so; it does not contribute to my fatigue.” Even though he himself was engaged in the great enterprise, he exerted himself diligently as if he was afraid not being able to catch up. Therefore, he was able to manage political system patiently and attentively and to obtain an overall command of the power structure.”¹³⁶

引公卿講論經理, 夜分乃寐. 太子諫曰: “陛下有禹湯之明, 失彭聃之福, 願顧愛精神.” 帝曰: “我自樂之, 不為疲也.” 雖身濟大業, 兢兢如不及. 故能明慎政體, 總覽權綱.

(9)
Once someone presented a swift horse [to him], the emperor said, “With the banners of simurgh-bells (referring to the emperor’s procession by synecdoche) ahead and entourage cavalry following behind, is there anywhere I need to go riding it?” He thus put the horse in his drum-chariot cavalcade.

嘗有獻千里馬者, 帝曰: “鑾旗在前, 屬車在後, 朕乘此安之.” 乃以駕鼓車.

¹³⁵ See *Hou Han shu*, 22.785.

¹³⁶ See *Hou Han shu*, 1B.85.

Both the *Hou Han shu* and *Dongguan Han ji* report that in 37 CE the emperor was presented with a fine warhorse and a precious sword; the emperor put the horse in his ceremonial cavalry and granted the sword to his cavalryman.¹³⁷ The story is cited as evidence of the emperor's conciliatory inclinations. The *Jinlouzi* entry makes no mention of the sword. As for the fine horse presented to him, what the emperor said here turned out to be an abridged version of what Emperor Wen of the Former Han (180–157 BCE) reportedly said to someone who presented a fine horse to the court almost two hundred years before Emperor Guangwu's time.¹³⁸ This misattribution probably arose from the apparent similarity between these two events; both stories serve the same purpose, that is, to fashion their respective protagonists in accordance with the ideal of a culturally accomplished ruler, as opposed to a militarily potent one.

This is in alignment with 13), the last line of the entry, which reads: “[He ordered bows and arrows concealed and had all the horses and oxen released. This bears out the fact that military potency is achieved by ‘halting the dagger-ax’” 戢弓矢散馬牛，信止戈為武也。¹³⁹

(13)

He ordered bows and arrows concealed and had all the horses and oxen released. This bears out the fact that military potency is achieved by “halting the dagger-ax.”¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ See *Hou Han shu*, 76.2457; *Dongguan Han ji*, 1.10.

¹³⁸ See *Han shu*, 64B.2832.

¹³⁹ This alludes to *Zuo zhuan zhengyi* (Xuanguo 12), 23.180 where the Master of Chu explains the word for “martial” *wu* in connection with King Wu's conquest of Shang. He says “In writing, ‘stop’ and ‘dagger-axe’ form ‘martial’” 夫文止戈為武. Trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition*, 661; 660, note 245. The *Shuowen jiezi* entry for *wu* 武 analyzes the character into two components 止 and 戈. The intention is to interpret the word *wu* 武 (martial, military) as *zhi* 止 (stop) and *ge* 戈 (weapon) taken together, i.e. military prowess is to put an end (*zhi*) to armed aggression (*wu*). On the theme of “concealing the weapon” in early Chinese literary tradition, refer to C. H. Wang, *From Ritual to Allegory, Seven Essays in Early Chinese Poetry* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1988), 56–61.

¹⁴⁰ See *Hou Han shu*, 1B.85. (6), (8), and (13) all derived from the last passage of Emperor Guangwu's annals in the *Hou Han shu*.

戢弓矢，散馬牛，信止戈為武也。

(10)

Formerly, [Emperor Guangwu] made a tour of inspection to Chongling, elders of the county pleaded with the emperor to grant them tax exemption for ten years. The emperor replied, “We are in hard times. Three years [of exemption] is an exception already; how could one just think about himself?” Thus he granted a three-year exemption.

初，巡狩舂陵，父老曰：“乞蠲十年。”帝曰：“天下艱難，三年已外，豈能自保？”乃蠲三年。

Both the *Hou Han shu* and *Dongguan Han ji* record Emperor Guangwu’s visit in the third year of the Jianwu 建武 reign (27 CE) to his native place Chongling, where he also held a banquet in honor of his fellow villagers.¹⁴¹ The conversation between the emperor and village elders is not attested in any of the extant texts. The credibility of the source of the *Jinlouzi* entry can be corroborated by the fact that Chongling’s liability for tax and labor was reinstituted in the sixth year of the Jianwu reign (30 CE), exactly three years after the banquet in Chongling.¹⁴²

(11)

[The emperor] demoted courtiers with meritorious exploits, promoted civil servants of literary adeptness.

退勳臣，進文吏。

(12)

He wore clothes of coarse plain silk with no elaborate colors. He did not listen to the sounds of Zheng and Wei [which had been deemed excessive]. He did not hold fans adorned with gemstones or jade. He showed no partiality or preference towards those in his inner chamber, nor did he display biased favor to his close confidants. He had imperial parks demolished and abandoned the practice of shooting and hunting. Communication that he sent to local prefectures and fiefdoms would all be in one bundle of ten lines, consisting of finely executed calligraphy. The custom of being assiduous and moderate prevailed at the time. He composed a *fu* on the auspicious fire-rack [heating rack] (Rui huolong *fu*). [During his reign] officials both at the

¹⁴¹ See *Hou Han shu*, 1A. 35; *Dongguan Han ji*, 1.6b.

¹⁴² See *Hou Han shu*, 1B.47.

central and local levels were not indolent, while the common folk were treated leniently and left alone.¹⁴³

身衣大練, 色無重采. 耳不聽鄭衛之音; 手不持珠玉之扇. 宮房無私愛; 左右無偏恩. 損池籞, 廢戈獵. 賜州國, 並皆一札十行, 細書成文. 勤約之風, 行於上下. 嘗著瑞火籠賦. 內外匪懈, 百姓寬息.

This entry for Emperor Guangwu documents a significant shift in referring to the worthiness of the “founding king” in question. In earlier entries, the worthiness of a ruler is often presented as something that ultimately arose from his respective superhuman quality. One of the five earthly elements a given ruler is attributed with (each of them is given the element generated from the one that is assigned to his predecessor), as a token of potency (*de*) vouchsafed by heaven, is the most primal embodiment the ruler’s inherent worthiness. This perceived worthiness could also be attested to by various auspicious omens, including foreign tribute bearers coming to present exotic gifts to the ruler as we see in the entry for King Wu of Zhou (5).

In the case of Emperor Guangwu of Han, the understanding that the imperial house reigned by virtue of fire is never explicitly mentioned. Serving as an unbroken link to the tradition, it is constantly alluded to, in terms of the glowing fire present of his birth (1.1), the appearance of glaring flames in his residence when he first rose to power (4.1), the fire-red dragon in his dream (4.2), and even the *fu* on the auspicious fire-rack that he allegedly composed (13) can be a reference to this designated element of potency.¹⁴⁴ Compared to those earlier

¹⁴³ This paragraph is a near verbatim account of Fan Ye’s introductory remarks on the biographies of “exemplary officials” (“Xunli liezhuan” 循吏列傳) of the *Hou Han shu*. Fan Ye refers to the emperor’s immaculate conduct as a source of aspiration for his officials. See *Hou Han shu*, 76.2457. The only reference that is not accounted for in 12) is the *fu* piece attributed to the emperor. The way this piece of information is inserted in the middle of an entire chunk of text excerpted from the *Hou Han shu* makes it all the more puzzling.

¹⁴⁴ The Former Han ruled by virtue of fire the color of which was red. On March 26, 26 CE, Emperor Guangwu sacrificed to Heaven and officially established that the Eastern Han imperial house reigns by virtue of fire and the color of the ruling house is red. Thereby, the emperor

entries, however, the worthiness of emperor Guangwu derives less from who he was, his inborn potency, and is more related to what he did, his worldly accomplishment. This transition of the narrative focus takes place in (5), where the emperor's successful military campaigns before and after he ascended the throne are mentioned as the outcome of the emperor's superhuman features and various auspicious omens associated with his early days (1–4).

The rest of the entry presents a comprehensive account of a founding emperor, who drew on military potency to end years of insurgence and chaos (5); as soon as the order was restored, he appropriately displayed an indispensable and the most-celebrated quality for a culturally accomplished ruler—a deep-rooted aversion to warfare and military aggression in (6) and (9); his tactful maneuver in (11) is also befitting his conciliatory inclination. This founding emperor ran his empire with great care and assiduous devotion (8) without showing unchecked favoritism towards his own clan (10). His private conduct (*nei xing* 內行) was also impeccable; he was a frugal, forbearing, fair-minded, and moderate ruler as described in (12). In sum, it is the emperor's “secular” undertakings—in both public and private sphere, in military and cultural terms—rather than his “superhuman” identity that ultimately bears out his enterprising stamina.

As Emperor Guangwu's reign was first and foremost identified by the great restoration (*zhong xing*) of the legacy of Han empire, when he died in 57 he was awarded the temple name Shizu 世祖 “Epochal Fonder” and his mausoleum was named Yuanling 元陵 “Mound of Epoch-making.”¹⁴⁵ Incidentally, Xiao Yi was also given the temple name Shizu and his posthumous title

inaugurated his dynasty as a restoration of the Han. See *Hou Han shu*, 1A.27. See Jack L. Dull, “A Historical Introduction to the Apocryphal (Chan'an–wei) Texts of the Han Dynasty,” Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1966, 186–88. Also see Tiziana Lippiello, *Auspicious Omens and Miracles in Ancient China* (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 2001), 48–49.

¹⁴⁵ I adopt Rafe de Crespigny's rendering of Shizu 世祖. See Rafe de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)* (Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2007), 565.

was Xiaoyuan 孝元 (filial the epoch maker). I will come back to this parallelism between them later.

III. Towards an “Imperial Entrepreneurship”

The “Xing wang” chapter concludes with a lengthy account of his father, Emperor Wu of Liang, founding ruler of the Liang dynasty. Xiao Yi’s account of Emperor Wu, which is also the longest entry, occupying more than one fifth of the length of the entire chapter, consistently observes the narrative convention for “founding kings.”

In this entry Xiao Yi selected excerpts from early texts and pieced together a tailored sketch of the success story of Emperor Wu, who rose by his own efforts and built an empire almost from scratch. Emperor Wu’s undertaking as recounted in the entry can be compared to a tale of “imperial entrepreneurship,” in that the term “entrepreneurship” can be simply put as having initiative and capacity to establish, operate and manage a business venture along with any of its risks to maximize profit.¹⁴⁶ Except, obviously, the “business venture” in our metaphor is the imperial dynasty and rather than to pursue maximum profit, the shared ambition of imperial entrepreneurs is to establish a long-lasting dynasty.

Xiao Yan was a model of an imperial entrepreneur who ventured into almost every intellectual realm. Like a typical successful entrepreneur, one reads about in business biographies, Xiao Yan was said to be both stately and charismatic in his early years.

¹⁴⁶ The words “entrepreneurship” and “enterprising” share the same Latin root *prendere*: ‘to take’ via Old French *entreprendre* feminine past participle (used as a noun) of: ‘something undertaken.’

The emperor was profound, quiet, demure, and reticent. Rarely did he casually mingle with others. Those who were associated with him were all the most talented and intelligent people of the time. He always surrounded himself with the right kind of people. The entrance to his residence was known for accommodating numerous scholars.

深沈靜默，不雜交游，所與往來，一時才雋。至於得人，門稱多士。

In addition, Xiao Yan was also self-motivated, intellectually resourceful, and culturally refined.

The emperor probed into the recondite and inquired after the hidden; he thoroughly explored the internal structures of things and their inherent nature. He thoroughly read ancient documents and records. With his numinously perceptive and keenly insightful intellect, he could remember and recite from memory books that he had read without going through them a second time. Therefore, his knowledge traversed past and present, encompasses and epitomizes both the internal and external. He was capable of categorizing and expounding the correlated and enclosed, intricately deliberating about the “hard and white.”¹⁴⁷

探蹟索隱，窮理盡性，究覽墳籍，神悟知機。讀書不待溫故，一閱皆能成誦憶。所以馳聘古今，備該內外，辨解聯環，論精堅白。

He was also versed in the “six principles” and “four beginnings” [of the *Shi*], and was especially proficient in the ritual system. He composed a literary piece whenever he climbed to a height; none of the pieces were without maximum effect.¹⁴⁸ After he ascended to the court as a young man of twenty *sui*, he was consulted fairly frequently.

六義四始，尤解禮體。登高必賦，莫非警策。弱冠升朝，令問籍甚。

¹⁴⁷ The term “hard and white” is a proposition from ancient logic used to show that two qualities independent of each other cannot co-occur. The term is widely mentioned in pre-Qin masters texts.

¹⁴⁸ See *Han Shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳: “When a gentleman climbs a height, he would inevitably express himself” *junzi denggao bifu* 君子登高必賦. See Xu Weiyu 許維遹, ed. and comm., *Han shi waizhuan jishi* 韓詩外傳集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 7.268. For the term *jingce* 警策 see Lu Ji’s “Wen fu” 文賦: “Even though the multitude of other words is well ordered, / This is needed to produce maximum effect” 立片言而居要，乃一篇之警策. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan* Vol.3, 223.

Given that the emperor is intended to be portrayed along the line of a self-made imperial entrepreneur, Xiao Yi made no secret of Xiao Yan's early career at the Qi court and his association with the prominent literary circles of the time.¹⁴⁹ He recounts:

Wang Jian (452–489), defender-in-chief, the counselor-in-chief of Qi, in admiring the emperor's cultural sophistication, invited him to serve as subsidiary clerk in the Revenue Section. Prince of Jingling of Qi [Xiao Ziliang], minister of education, and cavalry general, who hosted literati gatherings known as the "literati grove" (*shilin*), also treated the emperor cordially with deference.¹⁵⁰

太尉王儉，齊國阿衡，欽上風雅，請為戶曹屬。司徒竟陵王，齊室驃騎，招納士林，待上賓友之禮。

Xiao Yi summarizes Xiao Yan's service at the Qi court as:

He served as peripheral administrator in the law and education sections, assumed positions that enabled him to make friends and cultivate benevolence."¹⁵¹

歷司徒法曹祭酒掾，會友輔仁之職。

¹⁴⁹ This is apparently unthinkable and appalling for some later scholars. Hu Yujin 胡玉縉 (1859–1940), for example, called Xiao Yi "utterly shameless" 不識廉恥 for mentioning his father's service at the Qi court. See Hu Yujin 胡玉縉, *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao buzheng* 四庫全書總目提要補正 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1998), 922–24.

¹⁵⁰ In the "Shuo fan" 說藩 chapter of the *Jinlouzi* Xiao Yi details the gatherings of literati known as Shilin 士林 (literati groves) that Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494), Prince of Jingling 竟陵, hosted at his Western Residence (Xi di 西邸) on Jilong 雞籠 Mountain northeast of the imperial palace grounds. Xiao Yi names eleven regular guests of such gatherings, three of whom also belonged to the group known as "the Eight Companions of Jingling" (Jingling bayou 竟陵八友). See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 3.461–64. A similar but more succinct record is also seen in Xiao Ziliang's biography in *Nan Qi shu*, 40.694. For "the Eight Companions" see *Liang shu*, 1.2. Also see David R. Knechtges and Taiping Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature, A Reference Guide Part One* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 456–57.

¹⁵¹ Cf. *Lun yu* 12/24: "A gentleman makes friends through being cultivated, but looks to friends for support in benevolence" 君子以文會友，以友輔仁. Trans. D. C. Lau, *The Analects* (London: Penguin Books, 1979), 117.

Nor did Xiao Yi make any attempt to conceal the fact that his father once rendered dutiful service for his lord. In late 497 Xiao Yan was sent to repel the incursion of the Northern Wei's army into Yongzhou 雍州 (administrative seat in modern Xiangfan, Hubei).¹⁵² Xiao Yan's military competence was evident in his well-trained and highly disciplined troops as well as his timely effort to relieve disaster after he quelled the incursion.

[Emperor] Ming of Qi (r. 494–498) secretly decreed to appoint the emperor [Xiao Yan] as commandant in Yongzhou (administrative seat in modern Xiangfan, Hubei), to go to Xinye (modern Xinye, Henan) and relieve it [from Northern Wei's aggression]. He started out immediately and led the troops for the long expedition. His commands and orders were clear and strict; no one committed even the slightest offense. He made sure that those who deserved to be rewarded were rewarded and those who did not were not rewarded. Officers and soldiers alike all committed to risk their lives for him.

齊明密敕上為雍州領兵，往救新野。仍即發引，振旅長途。號令清嚴，所過秋毫不犯。信賞分明，士卒咸思盡命。

At the time the grain in the area of the Han and Mian Rivers was overpriced and common folks were starving. The emperor provided relief to those who lacked food and other supplies and made sure that the entire area was not short of any resources.

漢沔穀貴，百姓多饑。上賑救乏絕，闔境不匱。

In the entry, Xiao Yan's eventual ascent of the throne seemed to have been predicted by a number of fanciful events, from inexplicable natural phenomena to prognosticative dreams in (6), (8), (10), (11), (12), and (13). For example, in (10) a certain Buddhist monk envisioned that Xiao Yan would become an emperor and expressed his wish of being brought on board with the “entrepreneurship” when the time comes.¹⁵³ The emperor was characteristically unperturbed on

¹⁵² See *Nan shi*, 5.144.

¹⁵³ The monk said to Xiao Yan, “When one day you [as an emperor] offer the *feng* sacrifice at Mt. Tai, I wish to be sought out” 若封泰山，願能見覓。See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 1.159.

these occasions. His silence was sometimes accompanied by a pregnant smile; but never did he engage himself in any of the prognostication speculations. This is in contrast with Emperor Guangwu, who according to the *Hou Han shu* and many other historical records allowed himself swayed by prognostications and his reign defined by them.¹⁵⁴ Emperor Wu's imperial enterprise, on the other hand, was built on a set of different core values. The one occupying a central position in the narrative is filial piety, a public undertaking as well as private conduct (*nei xing*) in early and early medieval China.¹⁵⁵

IV. Core Value behind Emperor Wu's Enterprise

In Xiao Yi's account, filial piety was part of Xiao Yan's original moral property and was integrated into the design and execution of his imperial enterprise. Apart from Emperor Wu, Shun and his hand-picked successor Yu are both known for their filial piety in the "Xing wang" chapter.¹⁵⁶ But it is in the entry for Emperor Wu that "filial piety" becomes a recurring leitmotif

¹⁵⁴ Emperor Guangwu mainly used prognostications as political propaganda before he became emperor. Later, he grew increasingly obsessed with them: he used prognostications to decide administrative affairs, such as selecting officials and the arrangement of sacrificial ceremony; he also reshaped the state-sponsored education along the lines of prognosticative texts. On prognostication texts during Emperor Guangwu's reign, see Dull, "A Historical Introduction to the Apocryphal (Chan'an-wei) Texts of the Han Dynasty," 183–252.

¹⁵⁵ The *locus classicus* of the term *nei xing* is Sima Qian's "Wudi benji" of *Shi ji*, where Shun's impeccable private conduct, along with his outstanding public performance, qualifies him as a worthy successor to Yao, the incumbent sage ruler. See *Shi ji*, 1.33–34.

¹⁵⁶ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 1.63–85. Shun and Yu represent two aspects of *xiao* (piety): filial devotion to [living] parents and acts of piety directed to deceased ancestors. Shun was "known for his filial devotion [for his parents]" 以孝聞 in his village. See *Shang shu zhengyi*, 2.24b; *Shi ji*, 1.34. In referring to Yu's *xiao* Confucius says, "He [Yu] ate and drank the meanest fare while making offerings to ancestral spirits and gods with the utmost devotion proper to a descendant; wore coarse clothes while sparing no splendor in his robes and caps on

for the narrative, and, indeed, the core value for the emperor's venture. As a young boy, Xiao Yan already displayed a precocious filial sentiment.

Upon suffering the death of Empress Xian [his mother], the emperor [a boy then] wailed and stamped his feet in great grief. Even Gao Chai could not have surpassed his observance of the mourning rites.¹⁵⁷ Every time he read the *Xiaozi zhuan* (Biographies of filial sons), he was always overcome with sorrow and grief so much so that he could not make it to the end of the scroll.¹⁵⁸

及遭獻太后憂，哭踊大至，居喪之哀，高柴不能過也。每讀孝子傳，未曾終軸輒輟書悲慟。

The act of reading filial literature and being emotionally overwhelmed is purported to be a natural, unscripted manifestation of someone's innate filial devotion. This story itself is immediately derived from Xiao Yan's preface to his "Xiaosi fu" 孝思賦 (*Fu* on filial devotion) written in 515.¹⁵⁹ This motif can be further traced to Zhang Kai 張楷 (d. 149), a recluse of the

sacrificial occasions" 薄衣食而致孝於鬼神，卑宮室而致美於黻冕。Also see Cheng Shude, *Lun yu jishi*, 16.561. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 95.

¹⁵⁷ Gao Chai 高柴 was one of Confucius' disciples, known for not showing his teeth (grin) for three years during his observance of the mourning rites. See Wang Pinzhen 王聘珍, ed. and comm., *Da Dai Li ji jigu* 大戴禮記解詁 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 6.111–12; *Kongzi jia yu* 孔子家語, *Sibu congkan*, 3.9a.

¹⁵⁸ This anecdote about becoming emotionally overwhelmed by reading accounts of filial sons due to his extraordinary grief comes from Xiao Yan's own account in his preface of the "Xiaosi fu" 孝思賦 (*Fu* on filial devotion). *Quan Liang wen* 全梁文, "Every time I read the *Xiaozi zhuan*, I cannot help but put down the book before I finish it, bitterly grieving, weeping with my hands pressed against my chest" 每讀孝子傳，未嘗不終軸輟書悲恨，撫心嗚咽，in Yan Kejun 嚴可均, ed. *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 (1959, rpt; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 1.1b. Xiao Yan wrote this piece in 515, after completing the construction of two monasteries in honor of his parents. Keith Knapp notes that the motif of being emotionally stirred by reading accounts of filial sons has been used to demonstrate one's own possession of filial devotion in the early medieval period. See Keith Nathaniel Knapp, *Selfless Offspring, Filial Children and Social Order in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 79.

¹⁵⁹ See *Guang Hongmingji* 廣弘明集, *Sibu congkan*, 29A.6a–b; *Quan Liang wen*, 1.1b–4a.

Eastern Han, renowned for his classical scholarship. According to Xiao Yi's *Xiaode zhuan* 孝德傳 (Accounts of exemplary filial virtue) cited in the *Yiwei leiju*, "whenever [Zhang Kai] read the *Shi* to the line of *ji ren* 棘人 (the wretched one) of "Su guan" 素冠 ("Plain cup" Mao #147) he would always cover his face and weep profusely."¹⁶⁰

Later in his life, (9), (15) and (16) together present a series of colorful performances intended to testify to Xiao Yan's filial piety, where we witness Xiao Yan:

- i) sparing no effort to rush back to his father's sickbed regardless of the cost to his own safety and health; protected [by heaven] from dangers.
- ii) carrying out the rite of mourning dutifully and sincerely;
- iii) practicing asceticism during the period of mourning in which he denies himself worldly comfort and pleasure, such as fine food, government posts, and even a basic sense of happiness;
- iv) living an active life dedicated to serving his deceased parents even after he ascended the throne by exalting his parents' posthumous status, building temples in their honor, arranging lavish sacrificial offerings, and regularly observing weeping and mourning rites;

¹⁶⁰ See *Taiping yulan*, 616.7b. Mao #147 is traditionally interpreted as a poem on a filial son's grief. Keith Knapp also points out that in Wang Pou's 王褒 (fl. 252, d. 311) biography in the *Jin shu* 晉書 [compiled by Wang Yin 王隱] after the death of Wang Pou's father, "Whenever [he] read the *Shi* to the line of 'Alas for my father and mother/ Alas for all their toil in bringing me up' (Mao # 202) he would shed tears over and over, weeping until his lapel is moistened [by his tears]." Knapp, *Selfless Offspring: Filial Children and Social Order in Medieval China*, 79. See *Sanguo zhi*, 11.348–49, note 3. Mao #202, trans. Arthur Waley, *The Book of Song* (New York: Grove Press, 1960), 316. The *Xiaode zhuan* 孝德傳 was compiled from a number of earlier accounts of filial sons: of thirty *juan* is recorded in "Zhu shu" chapter of the *Jinlouzi*. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 5.799. It is also mentioned in Xiao Yi's annals in the *Liang shu*, 5.136.

v) composing literary pieces on the theme of filial piety to show his devotion to his parents.

The emperor's filial piety in these accounts is rendered into a set of formulaic actions. In (9) the emperor's performance of the burial and mourning rites surpasses the prescribed ritual requirements. This motif, known as "exceeding the rites" *guo li* 過禮, is intended to stress the utter sincerity of the emperor's filial devotion.¹⁶¹ For the same reason, in (15) the emperor's private sacrificial offering (*si ji* 私祭) for his parents went beyond the established protocols (*yu zhi* 逾制) and was on a par with ancestral sacrificial offerings in both standards and scale.¹⁶²

In the fortified terrace he built the Temple of Utmost Sublimity, where the hundreds of assorted delicacies on display were comparable in its scale to grand sacrificial offerings. Among them, there were Marquis Sui's pearl and [Bian] He's Jade disc, the round pool on the square well, all of which were of the same standard as displays in the ancestral temple.

臺城內起至敬殿，庶羞百品，若殷薦焉。其中隋珠和璧，圓淵方井，侔於宗廟。

¹⁶¹ For a detailed discussion on the motif of "exceeding the rites" in burial and mourning performance in the early medieval period, refer to Knapp, *Selfless Offspring*, 137–63.

¹⁶² It should be noted that the material wealth of the government was kept apart from the emperor's private belongings. The offerings mentioned above probably came from Xiao Yan's personal possessions. A due observation of such a distinction was an especially valued quality for an emperor in the early medieval period, as shown in the following anecdote about Emperor Taizu of Song (r. 424–453): "[The emperor] once passed through the imperial treasury on his tour of inspection, and said to his entourage, 'This storehouse contains abundant wealth, it is especially admirable and covetable.' His entourage said, 'These are nothing more than Your Majesty's possessions, what is there to admire and long for?' The emperor replied, 'These are all objects of the official court. I have received with deference the sacrifice continued for generations passed down from our former emperors, of which, I often feel unworthy and undeserving.'" 經巡歷至上庫，謂左右曰："此庫內大有錢，殊可羨願。" 左右曰："此縣官之物耳，何羨願耶？" 帝曰："此皆國家之物。吾奉先帝之祀，常懼羞之。" See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 1.143.

The last installment of the entry drives home the message that filial conduct is indicative of one's worthiness to rule and that it was the emperor's filial piety that placed him on the same level as the most exalted sage rulers of antiquity.

17)

Humbly I trace our august sovereign's filial devotion:

With the four seasons moving forward in succession, it does not shift with his
personal circumstances.

With the five phases operating in alternation, it does not alter according to his social
status.

Sitting in solemn silence at the court, he feels regretful thoughts of "transitory
events" even more acutely.¹⁶³

Walking with trailing [robe] and folded [hands] among layered corridors, he endures
the increasingly poignant pain of the "wind tree."¹⁶⁴

He piously observes rules in serving the ancestral temples,
And reverently he comes to sacrifice to the bounds.

Before he could utter any words, his tears stream down; without changing his
countenance he is deeply saddened within.

This is what is referred to as "the grief that one lives with for his entire life." When it
comes to filial piety, there are only four figures in ten thousand years: Shun of Yu,
Yu of Xia, King Wen of Zhou, and the Emperor of Liang.

伏尋我皇之為孝也:

“四運推移, 不以榮落遷貿; 五德更用, 不以貴賤革心.

臨朝端默, 過隙之思彌慚; 垂拱巖廊, 風樹之悲踰切.

齊潔宗廟, 虔事郊禋.

言未發而涕零, 容弗改而傷慟.”

所謂終身之憂者, 是之謂也.

蓋虞舜夏禹, 周文梁帝, 萬載之中, 四人而已.

¹⁶³ This alludes to a line in the *Shuo yuan*, 3.59: “The lifespans of two parents are like glimpsing through a gap in the wall...even though worthy men wish to care for their parents, they will not tarry” 二親之壽, 忽如過隙...賢者欲養, 二親不待.

¹⁶⁴ This alludes to a line in the *Han Shi waizhuan*: “The tree would be still, but the wind will not stop, the son wishes to look after them, but his parents will not tarry” 樹欲靜而風不止, 子欲養而親不待也. See Xu Weiyu, *Han Shi waizhuan jishi*, 9.309. Trans. James Robert Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 292.

What Xiao Yi puts on public display here is no longer *xiao*, filial piety itself, a natural affection and devotion that one is expected of for his parents within the domestic realm, but instead *Xiao*, socially sanctified worthiness to rule that is specifically endorsed by one's public display of filial piety. This filial-piety-indorsed worthiness is reiterated in the "Huang wang" (emperors and sovereigns) chapter of the *Xiaode zhuan*:

The filial devotion of the Son of Heaven, / It is called sageliness and
benevolence.
"Dual-pupils" is a manifestation of innate virtue; / "Triple-pierced ears" convey
the numen inside.¹⁶⁵
August indeed was Emperor Gaozu, / He could ride side by side with Shun and
Yu.
For that which constitutes the guiding principle of heaven and inherent propriety
of earth,¹⁶⁶ / He follows the same compass and square.
His ordainment exceeds the one who reigned for seventy years [viz. Yao],¹⁶⁷ / His
renown surpasses the Three August Ones and Five Emperors.

天子之孝, 曰聖與仁。
重瞳表德, 參漏通神。
皇矣高祖, 連鑣舜禹。
天經地義, 重規沓矩。
道踰七十, 聲超三五。¹⁶⁸

Xiao Yi biographic account for Emperor Wu's imperial enterprise portrayed the emperor as a hard-working, charismatic, and self-reliant founding ruler, who rose by his own efforts. The success story of Emperor Wu's venture is celebrated here as both an inevitable outcome and the ultimate attestation of the core value, *Xiao*, that Xiao Yan upheld throughout his life. The beauty

¹⁶⁵ "Dual-pupils" and "Triple-pierced ears" are physical features traditionally associated with legendary rulers Shun and Yu respectively. See He Ning 何寧, ed. and comm., *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 19.1335; *Song Shu*, 27.762; 763.

¹⁶⁶ This alludes to *Xiao jing zhengyi*, 3.3b: "The guiding principle of heaven, the innate propriety of the earth" 夫孝天之經也, 地之義也。

¹⁶⁷ See *Shang shu zhengyi*, 2.24a.

¹⁶⁸ See *Yiwen leiju*, 20.375.

of prescribing *Xiao* as the core value of an imperial dynasty is that while it endorses the emperor's worthiness to reign, it seems to promise that the enterprise is to be handed down to equally worthy heirs generation after generation, hence the perpetual prosperity of the dynasty.

V. By Virtue of *Xiao*

In medieval Chinese society, *Xiao* was increasingly perceived as a paramount gesture of society that demonstrates a veritable submission to the established social hierarchy, and by extension, to the implied relationship between humankind and heaven. With the presumed interconnection and interdependence between heaven and humankind, a system of thought that first arose in the early Han and still prevailed towards the end of the early medieval period, *Xiao*, when properly cultivated and mobilized, can stir and induce (*gan* 感) commensurate responses (*ying* 應) on the part of heaven above.

Xiao Yi's preface to the *Xiaode zhuan* documents how *Xiao* is perceived to have the power to bring about natural wonders and heavenly rewards.

That which constitutes the guiding principle of heaven and inherent propriety of earth,¹⁶⁹ even sages cannot add anything to it.¹⁷⁰ That which takes the plumbing

¹⁶⁹ See *Xiao jing zhengyi*, 3.3b.

¹⁷⁰ In "Sheng zhi" chapter of the *Xiao jing*, Zengzi allegedly asks Confucius, "I venture to ask, given the virtue of a sage, is there really nothing by which he could add to *xiao* (filial piety)?" 敢問聖人之德，無以加於孝乎？ To which Confucius gives a negative answer. See *Xiao jing zhengyi*, 5.1a. Also see Yang Xiong's *Fa yan* 法言 "Filial duty is surely best of all! All is encompassed in that single word *xiao*, meaning 'honoring the ancestors and family reverence.' No person, not even the sage, could say or do anything more than that" 孝至孝，至矣乎。一言而該，聖人不加焉。 Trans. Michael Nylan, *Exemplary Figures Fayan* (Seattle: University of

of beginnings and the summing up of endings is no other than the way of filial devotion.¹⁷¹ It can cause sweet springs to gush on their own and stop nearby flames from spreading to one's own house.¹⁷² It brings shining gold out from the earth and divine maidens down from heaven.¹⁷³ The [great] extent to which it, when stimulated, is able to arouse commensurate correspondence deserves to be celebrated."¹⁷⁴

夫天經地義，聖人不加。原始要終，莫踰孝道。能使甘泉自涌，鄰火不焚。地出黃金，天降神女。感通之至，良有可稱。¹⁷⁵

Xiao Yi opens the preface with a line from the *Xiao jing*, which puts *Xiao* on a par with heaven and earth, thereby equating it with the ultimate metaphysical principle or the Way.¹⁷⁶ The following line again alludes to a *Xiao jing* passage; the wording is borrowed from Yang Xiong's discussion of *Xiao* in the *Fa yan*.¹⁷⁷ Xiao Yi then enumerates examples of heaven's favorable responses to *Xiao*, ranging from material wealth to auspicious omens, with references to the notion of Change (*yi*) in the "Xi ci" commentary to the *Zhou yi*. "Taking the plumbing of beginnings and the summing up of endings" 原始要終 speaks of *Xiao*'s all-encompassing

Washington Press, 2014), 224. Cf. "Xi ci" of the *Zhou yi zhengyi*, 715b: "The *Changes*, how perfect it is" 易其至矣乎. Trans. Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 56.

¹⁷¹ Cf. "Xi ci" of *Zhou yi zhengyi*, 8.20a: "As a book, the *Changes* takes the plumbing of beginnings and the summing up of endings as materials" 易之為書也，原始要終，以為質也. Trans. Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 90.

¹⁷² See *Taiping yulan*, 411.2a.

¹⁷³ See *Taiping yulan*, 411.8b–9a.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. "Xi ci" of *Zhou yi zhengyi*, 7.24b: "The *Changes* is without consciousness and is without deliberate action. Being utterly still it does not initiate movement, but when stimulated it is commensurate with all the causes for everything that happens in the world" 易无思也，无為也，寂然不動，感而遂通天下之故. Trans. Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 63.

¹⁷⁵ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 5.837.

¹⁷⁶ See Knapp, *Selfless Offspring*, 90; Knapp credits Masuru Ikezawa for first noting the similarity between *xiao* and Taoist *dao*, 228 note 37.

¹⁷⁷ The *Fa yan* passage where the line is imbedded also bears a reference to the "Xi ci" commentary; see *Zhou yi zhengyi*, 8.20a.

mastery over worldly events; “the [great] extent to which it, when stimulated, is able to arouse commensurate correspondence” 感通之至 refers to the correlatively indicative attribute of *Xiao*.

In light of this all-encompassing indicative power of *Xiao* as perceived in the early medieval period, Xiao Yan’s extraordinary physiognomic features, miracles, and numerous accounts of prophetic phenomena recorded in the entry, are intended to be both the reflection and outcome of his *Xiao*. By the same token, Xiao Yan’s eventual ascent to the throne is to be interpreted as the ultimate heavenly reward. *Xiao*, therefore, amounts to a moralized token of political legitimacy, “mandate of heaven,” with which both Emperor Wu of Liang’s superhumanity and worldly achievement are attached into allegorical narrative context.

VI. “In the Name of the Father”

One does not have to go far to recognize that Xiao Yi extols his father’s *Xiao* in order to draw attention to his own filial devotion to his father. Xiao Yi’s ulterior motive of putting his own moral worthiness on public display is unmistakable. In his appraisal of “Tian xing” 天性 (In-born nature) chapter of the *Xiaode zhuan*, Xiao Yi recycles the motif of becoming emotionally overwhelmed by reading accounts of filial sons that were used to depict his father’s filial devotion in the “Xing wang.”

To those who gave birth to me and nurtured me, / Brought me up and fed me,
Took care of me and protected me, / When shall I have the chance to reciprocate?
The kindness that I would like to repay, / Is too vast to cross with a raft.
Filial devotion the size of a streamlet or a speck of dust, / Is tantamount to
parental tenderness the size of rivers and oceans.
I set aside the book and heave a sigh, / Tears stream down endlessly.

生之育之, 長之畜之.
顧我復我, 答施何時.
欲報之德, 不可方思.
涓塵之孝, 河海之慈.
廢書歎息, 泣下漣漣.¹⁷⁸

This effort to call attention to his filial piety becomes more apparent in Xiao Yi's deliberation on Xiao Yan's posthumous title, where Xiao Yi finalized his proposal with his own intense filial feelings about the deceased emperor.

I am poignantly grieved for his majesty's "ascending the road;"¹⁷⁹ / The grief is so deep that [all sensual pleasures] are to be ceased and concealed.¹⁸⁰ / Such vexation and grievance, such bitterness and poison, / All pierce acutely through my heart and marrow.¹⁸¹ Because of the wind, the tree would not be still,¹⁸² / When would I climb the "wooded hill"?¹⁸³ / Thinking of the ways in which he

¹⁷⁸ See *Yiwei leiju*, 20.375.

¹⁷⁹ The term *zhi fang* 陟方 (ascending the road) is a euphemism for the death of a ruler. The *locus classicus* of the term is the *Shang shu zhengyi*, 3.29b: "Fifty years [after he took the throne] Shun ascended the road [on his tour of inspection] and died" 五十載, 陟方乃死.

¹⁸⁰ This again alludes to the *Shang shu zhengyi*, 3.18b: "[When Yao died] the people mourned for him as for a parent. For three years within the four seas people ceased and conceal the eight [kinds of] sounds [music]" 百姓如喪考妣. 三載, 四海遏密八音.

¹⁸¹ For the term *fan yuan* 煩冤, see *Chu ci buzhu*, 146: "[M]y burning wrongs, in tumult,/ Are choked within and cannot find an outlet" 蹇蹇之煩冤兮, 陷滯而不發. The *locus classicus* of the term *tu du* is *Shang shu zhushu*, 8.10a–b: "Suffering from his [Jie, the last ruler of Xia] cruel injuries, unable to endure the bitterness and poison, you people from different corners of the domain all plead with the spirits and deities above and below not to be condemned" 爾萬方百姓, 罹其凶害, 弗忍荼毒, 並告無辜于上下神祇.

¹⁸² See Xu Weiyu, *Han Shi waizhuan jishi*, 9.309.

¹⁸³ See Mao # 110, *Mao Shi zhengyi*, 18.7b: "I climb that wooded hill/ and look towards where my father is" 陟彼岵兮/ 瞻望父兮. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 115.

made admirable efforts in attending to the “nine exploits,”¹⁸⁴ / I look up and bow to the ground, in awe of his “seven potencies.”¹⁸⁵

慟切陟方，哀深遏密。煩冤荼毒，貫切心髓。風樹不靜，陟岵何期。思所以欽若九功，仰稽七德。¹⁸⁶

In the “Li yan” chapter, he mentions news of Emperor Wu’s death which he learned when Jiangkang was still occupied by Hou Jing and his rebel troops.

The ancestral temple is [far away] in the capital, the northern barbarian people are yet to be exterminated. Pressing my heart, I cry out in agony. [My misery] went beyond the redemption of myriads of grief.

而宗廟在都，匈奴未滅。拊心長叫，萬恨不追。

He reflects on the proper conduct of *xiao* as stipulated in the *Xiao jing*:

In private, I have complied with what is set forth in the *Xiao jing*, that is, one should always orient himself in accordance to the example of the deceased emperor. As a general principle, one shall carry out the conduct of the deceased emperor.

竊尋孝經所說，必稱先王。蓋是先王之行，不敢以不行也。¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Cf. *Shang shu zhushu*, 2.9a: “He was able to make bright his lofty virtue” 欽若昊天. Trans. Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Documents* (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1950), 1. The “nine exploits” (*jiu gong* 九功) refers to “six treasuries” *liu fu* 六府 (namely water, fire, metal, wood, earth and grain) and “three official affairs” (rectifying the virtue, facilitate the employment, and substantiate the living beings). See *Zuo zhuan zhengyi* (Wengong 7), 9A.7a. Trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition*, 507.

¹⁸⁵ The “seven potencies” (*qi de* 七德) refers to the seven potencies of the quality of *wu* 武 (martial prowess). Specified in *Zuo zhuan zhengyi* (Xuangong 12), 23.21b: “Martial greatness, then, prohibits violence, stores away weapons, preserves what is great, confirms achievements, brings repose to the people harmonizes the multitudes, and expands wealth” 夫武禁暴，戢兵，保大，定功，安民，和眾，豐財者也. Trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition*, 661.

¹⁸⁶ Xiao Yan died in the fifth month of 549. In the eleventh month of the same year, he was given the posthumous title Wu. See *Liang shu*, 3.95. The composition is cited in *Yiwen leiju*, 14.265–66.

¹⁸⁷ See *Xiao jing*: “They do not presume to wear robes other than those appointed by the laws of the ancient kings, nor to speak words other than those sanctioned by their speech, nor to exhibit conduct other than that exemplified by their virtuous ways” 非先王之法服不敢服，非先王之法

He then recalls both his parents' private sacrificial offering for their respective parents:

I have humbly observed that he [the emperor] built the Temple of Utmost Sublimity [separately from the existing ancestral temple] inside the fortified terrace, where the hundreds of assorted delicacies were presented for daily and monthly sacrificial offerings. He also prepared a rear chamber [in the temple], where he went every morning and evening to greet his parents, as if they were alive. On the first and fifteenth days of every month, the deceased emperor overcame with grief and wept bitterly. Lady Xuan of cultivated countenance [Xiao Yi's mother] had her parents' images carved. Everyday, morning and evening, she paid tribute and served them [the statues] with utter reverence and devotion. For over four decades of her life, she carried out filial duty by assuming and cultivating her ancestors' deeds and merits. Even Ding Lan was no match for her.¹⁸⁸

伏見臺內別造至敬殿，甘旨百品，月祭日記，又為寢室，昏定晨省，如平生焉。先帝朔望，盡哀慟哭。又宣修容奉造二親像，朝夕禮敬，虔事孜孜，四十年中，聿修功德，追薦繼孝，丁蘭無以尚此。

Xiao Yi admired his parents' filial piety and himself was a filial son to his parents.

Accordingly, he exhibits his filial piety according to his parents' filial conduct:

I, Yi, in admiration of my late parents' splendid examples, have enshrined their statues on the Buddhist altar to receive sacrificial offerings. I have put flowers, prayer flags, candles, and lamps on display and arranged Buddhist monks and nuns to press their heads against their feet before the statues, in order to properly attest to the solicitude of the crow [who provides for his parents]. My care and affection for

言不敢道，非先王之德行不敢行。Trans. James Legge, *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1966), 469.

¹⁸⁸ Ding Lan 丁蘭 was known for his filial devotion, who treated a statue of his dead parent as if it were alive. See Cao Zhi's "Lingzhi pian": Ding Lan while young lost his, / And pitied himself so early orphaned and alone. He carved wood to be represent his parents, / And morning and night brought them the three sacrificial animals" 丁蘭少失母，自傷早孤。刻木當嚴親，朝夕致三牲。Trans. Robert Joe Cutter, *The Poetry of Cao Zhi* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2021), 295.

them cannot fully reciprocate [those of my parents].¹⁸⁹ In an unanticipated way, I have been put through a hundred ordeals in my prime years.

繹竊慕考妣之盛則，立尊像供養於道場。內設花幡燈燭，使僧尼頂禮。正以烏鳥之心，係戀罔極。不厭丁年之內，遭此百憂。

Three years after Xiao Yan's death, Xiao Yi assumed the Liang imperial throne in 552; the only era name under his reign is Chengsheng 承聖 "Succeeding to his great sageness" (552–555). This perhaps can be seen as one expression of his *Xiao* devotion to his father. After all, the ultimate exercise of *Xiao* is to carry out one's forefather's endeavors; as anyone with even limited education of the time could recall, Confucius once said, "If, for three years, a man makes no changes to his father's way, he can be said to be a filial son" 三年無改於父之道，可謂孝矣。¹⁹⁰ Xiao Yi's persistent effort to present himself as a filial son and a worthy successor during his lifetime eventually paid off when he died in 555. "Xiao," the original core value of his father's imperial enterprise, then became part of Xiao Yi's posthumous title—Emperor "filial the epoch maker" (Xiaoyuan 孝元).¹⁹¹

His second posthumous identity "the restoring ruler" also figured prominently in Xiao Yi's enterprise building. As mentioned above, Xiao Yi was also given the temple name Shizu, the same as Emperor Guangwu, the great restorer of Han. It seems that Xiao Yi himself identified rather strongly with Emperor Guangwu. For example, in the "Li yan" chapter of the *Jinlouzi*, he

¹⁸⁹ See Mao # 202: "If I would return your kindness, / It is like great Heaven, limitless" 欲報之德/昊天罔極.

¹⁹⁰ See Cheng Shude, *Lun yu jishi*, 2.42; 8.274.

¹⁹¹ See *Liang shu*, 5.135.

weighed into the debate about the relative worthiness of Emperor Gaozu and Guangwu of Han and ruled unequivocally in favor of the latter.¹⁹²

Conclusion

In conclusion, the nature of the “Xing wang” is hard to determine, as it lacks a consistent and clearly identifiable narrative motive or editorial purpose. It seems that this first chapter already displays a vein of the complex, inconsistent, multi-facet nature of the compilation. It is conceivable that Xiao Yi first set out to provide a digressive account of the “founding kings” in history, and added the last entry after his father died in 549, which was, indeed, when he saw a real possibility for him to accede to the throne.

His account of his father, Emperor Wu of Liang, does not reveal any personal knowledge about the emperor that is not already known in history.¹⁹³ Xiao Yi instead draws on his father’s filial piety to stake out the emperor’s worthiness to reign. At the same time, he puts his own filial piety on public display. By virtue of *Xiao*, Xiao Yi derives his worthiness from that of his father, the founding ruler of the dynasty. In the name of the father, Xiao Yi was aspired to restore order and bring prosperity back to the dynasty.

But Xiao Yi’s “grand restoration” venture soon went into bankruptcy in early 555 when

¹⁹² See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 4.649–50.

¹⁹³ This is in stark contrast with Xiao Yi’s account of his mother’s life in the “Houfei” 后妃 chapter, where Xiao Yi took on a personal tone and provided information that is otherwise unattested. See Kōzen Hiroshi 興膳宏, “You erzi xiede yipian muqin zhuan—guanyu *Jinlouzi* houfei zhuan” 由兒子寫的一篇母親傳—關於《金樓子》后妃傳, *Han Wei Liuchao wenxue yu zongjiao* 漢魏六朝文學與宗教, ed. Ge Xiaoyin 葛曉音 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), 8–19.

the Western Wei defeated Xiao Yi's army and took him captive; Xiao Yi was put to death at the age of forty-six. His entrepreneurial ambition and outlook only survived in vain via his posthumous titles, "filial the epoch maker," while the epoch crumpled and the line of succession served with his death. As Yu Xin 庾信 (513–581) bluntly put in his "Lament for the South" (Ai Jiangnan fu 哀江南賦): "The order-imposing ruler was cut off suddenly; / The restoring monarch received no sacrifices" 撥亂之主忽焉, 中興之宗不祀.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Trans. Graham, *The Lament for the South*: Yü Hsin's *'Ai Chiang-nan fu*, ' 98–99.

Chapter Two: In the Name of the Son——“Zhong zhi” 終制 (Final arrangements) and “Jie zi” 戒子 (Instructions for my sons) chapters

In the “Zhong zhi” and “Jie zi” chapters, Xiao Yi commits his parental instructive gestures to existing textual traditions. He quotes extensively from existing literature while also directly addressing his own sons, who were expected to adhere to his parental advice and carry out his wishes for his burial arrangements. As is the case with many famous pieces of familial admonition and testimonies of burial arrangements that have survived from the early imperial and early medieval period, “Zhong zhi” and “Jie zi” too were written with a wider audience—beyond the primary addressees within Xiao Yi’s household—in mind. While his role as a patriarch lends an immediate weight of authority to his writings, the expanded prospective audience presents a wholesome opportunity for him to brand himself in a way that best serves his interest.

These two chapters reveal how Xiao Yi masterfully articulates his wishes for his sons and his burial in compliance with social convention and expectations of the times and takes control of his image, identity, and legacy in the name of the son.

The textual integrity of these two chapters, however, appears very much in question, since neither of these two chapters was cited in the *Yongle dadian* in their entirety. The content of the received version of the “Zhong zhi” seems to be a coherent piece of writing that was composed when Xiao Yi was once critically ill and convinced that he was going to die soon.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ Xiao Yi’s close confidante Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–ca. 591, alt. death year ca. 593) mentions that Xiao Yi recovered from a serious illness when he served as governor Jiangzhou 江州

But there is not enough information to help us establish under what circumstances this piece was excerpted from the *Yongle dadian*. We do know that the original excerpt did not have a title; the current title was added by the *Siku* editors.¹⁹⁶ Apart from the opening passage which probably was intended to serve as a preface, the chapter can be divided into two parts: Xiao Yi citation of other people's burial arrangements and his instructions for his own.

The “Jie zi” chapter consists of fourteen self-contained entries. These fourteen entries in the current version of the chapter can be divided into three categories: 1) quotations, proverbs, and words of wisdom, excerpted from earlier texts; 2) summaries or paraphrases of historical stories from which a moral message can be drawn; and 3) excerpts of other people's letters of admonition presented to their offspring. Every now and then Xiao Yi attaches his terse remarks to, or passing on his judgment on, words and deeds of people of the past that he cites in the chapter.

These entries seem to have been assembled in no particular order, which could suggest an accumulative compiling method. But we simply do not know how much the current arrangement of the entries reflects its original order as we know next to nothing about how the chapter was actually restored from excerpts or how confident were the earlier editors to assign each entry to the “Jie zi” chapter? As such, there is no basis for us to judge whether the chapter is fully composed or not. The *Siku* editors falsely identified the first entry of the “Jie zi” chapter in

(administrative seat in Nanchang 南昌, modern Nanchang, Jiangxi). Based on this claim, Chen and Xiong suggest that this chapter was written during Xiao Yi's term in Jiangzhou from 540 to 547. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.308; Wang Liqi 王利器, ed. and comm., *Yanshi jiaxun jijie* 顏氏家訓集解 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 2.124.

¹⁹⁶ This is noted in the Zhibuzu zhai edition of the *Jinlouzi*. “Zhong zhi” is one of the fourteen chapter titles listed that Ye Sen noted in his postscript to the original preface. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 16.

the received version as the preface to the chapter, and thus deemed the chapter “complete and fully composed from beginning to end” 首尾完整.¹⁹⁷

These two chapters were finished well before Xiao Y assumed the throne in 552, probably even before Xiao Yan’s death in 549. In the “Jie zi” chapter, Xiao Yi refers to the current time as “with a ruler worthy of Yao and Shun presiding over [the realm] and this dynasty poised to last a thousand years” 方今堯舜在上, 千載一朝.¹⁹⁸ In the “Zhong zhi” chapter, he wrote: “Upon my demise, you may drape imperial attire around my shoulders to show that I would never cease to remember the etiquette required of a subject [of His Majesty]” 吾之亡也, 可以王服周身, 示不忘臣禮.¹⁹⁹

I. The Existing Traditions

The tradition of directly addressing younger members of one’s family presenting them with some words of wisdom and admonitory instructions goes way back in history. In the “Zhao ce” 詔策 (Edicts and proclamations) chapter of the *Wenxin diaolong*, Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465–ca. 521) briefly outlines the origin and development of the “Jie zi” tradition:

Jie means “to caution against.” Yu praised “the function of *jie* as beneficial.”²⁰⁰ The sire-lord ranks first among the most venerated; the reverence for him is boundless with regards to all three roles [as father, ruler, and teacher].²⁰¹ Emperor Gaozu of

¹⁹⁷ See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 217.18b–20a.

¹⁹⁸ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaoshi*, 2.329.

¹⁹⁹ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaoshi*, 2.323.

²⁰⁰ The original line in the *Shang shu* should be construed as “to caution them with acts of beneficence.” Judging from the way Liu Xie cites this line, it is possible that Liu Xie deliberately construes this line as “the function of *jie* is beneficial.”

²⁰¹ See *Guo yu*, 7.251.

Han's (202–195 BCE.) decree addressed to the heir apparent and Dongfang Shuo's admonishment to his sons are both "testamentary commands before death."²⁰² From Ma Yuan downward, each has left behind his admonishment to his family.²⁰³ Lady Ban's (viz. Ban Zhao ca. 49–ca. 120) instructions for her daughters make her worthy of the title of "female teacher."²⁰⁴

戒者，慎也。禹稱“戒之用休。”君父至尊，在三罔極。漢高祖之敕太子，東方朔之戒子，亦顧命之作也。及馬援以下，各貽家戒。班姬女戒，足稱母師矣。²⁰⁵

Liu Xie traces this tradition to the beginning of social hierarchy, when the head of the hierarchy, a patriarch, monarch, and teacher, employs this genre to address his progeny, subjects, and disciples. As the tradition further develops, parental admonishment, largely determined by personal experience and primary concern in life, differs from one household to another.

According to the circumstances under which the admonishments and instructions are presented, Antje Richter divided four Han letters of familial admonishments into two types: interventional

²⁰² For Emperor Gaozu's decree addressed to his heir apparent see Zhou Lengqie 周楞伽, *Yin Yun Xiaoshuo jizhu* 殷芸小說輯注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1984), 5. For a discussion of the authenticity of the decree, see Yao Jun 姚軍, " 'Guwenyuan' suoshou 'Han Gaozu shouchi taizi' kaolun" 古文苑所收漢高祖手敕太子考論, *Qiu suo* (2013/6): 70–72. For Dongfang Shuo's admonishment, see *Han shu*, 65.2874. Trans. Burton Watson, *Courtier and Commoner in ancient China: Selections from the History of the Former Han* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 106. "Gu meng" 顧命 (Testamentary command before death) is a chapter in the *Shang shu*, allegedly composed by King Cheng before he died, commanding Duke of Shao and Duke of Bi assisting the heir apparent King Kang. See *Shang shu zhengyi*, 18.13b.

²⁰³ Ma Yuan wrote a letter cautioning his two facetious nephews from readily speaking of and heaping scorn on errors of others. See *Hou Han shu*, 24.844–45. For a translation see Hans Frankel, "Ma Yuan: Letters to His Nephews Ma Yan and Ma Dun," *Renditions* 41 & 42 (Spring and Autumn 1994): 4–6.

²⁰⁴ Ban Zhao's *Nü jie* 女誡 provides guidance to young women on proper behavior. See *Hou Han shu*, 84.2786–91. For a complete translation see Wilt Idema and Beata Grant, *The Red Brush: Writing Women of Imperial China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2004), 36–42.

²⁰⁵ See Yang Mingzhao, *Zengding Wenxin diaolong jiaozhu*, 4.266.

and testamentary.²⁰⁶ The former was motivated by the need to rectify certain faults or transgressions of the addressees, as in the case of Ma Yuan's 馬援 (13 BCE–49 CE) reprimand directed to his nephews;²⁰⁷ the latter was a response to an immediate change of settings for either the addressee, who is embarking on a journey, setting off to take an official post, or being married off and going to live with the husband's family, or the addresser, who is anticipating his imminent death, as in the case of Dongfang Shuo's 東方朔 (fl. 140–130 BCE) final words of wisdom for his son.²⁰⁸

By the fourth and fifth century, the term “admonish” (*jie* 戒) came to be used interchangeably with “instruct” (*xun* 訓), as in the case of Tao Qian's 陶潛 (365?–427) letter presented to his sons.²⁰⁹

Among the growing number of “parental instructions” in the fourth and fifth centuries, Yan Yanzhi's 顏延之 (384–456) “Ting gao” 庭誥 (Instructions from the courtyard) stands out as one of the earliest of these instructions to appear as an independent work.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ See Antje Richter, “Between Letter and Testament: Letters of Familial Admonition in Han and Six Dynasties China” *A History of Chinese Letters and Epistolary Culture*, ed. Antje Richter (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 248–49.

²⁰⁷ Ma Yuan's admonishment is cited in its entirety in Ma's biography the *Hou Han shu*; Xiao Yi specifically mentions a copy of *Hou Han shu* in his collection. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.372.

²⁰⁸ See *Han shu*, 65.2874.

²⁰⁹ See Albert E. Dien, “Custom and Society: The Family Instructions of Mr. Yan,” *Early Medieval China: A Sourcebook*, eds. Wendy Swartz, et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 496. Tao Qian's letter is cited in *Song shu*, 93.2289–90. Trans. A.R. Davis, *T'ao Yüan-ming (AD 365–427) His Works and Their Meaning* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, c1983), 228–30. An excerpt of the letter is also cited in the “Jie zi” of the *Jinlouzi*, see Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.340–41.

²¹⁰ See Albert E. Dien, “Custom and Society: The Family Instructions of Mr. Yan,” *Early Medieval China: A Sourcebook*, eds. Wendy Swartz, et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 496. The abridged version of the work is cited in Shen Yue's 沈約 (441–513) *Song shu*. See *Song shu*, 73.1893–902; fragments are also cited in *Taiping yulan*, 593.8b–9a.

Towards the sixth century, Yan Zhitui, from the same Yan clan, five generations removed from Yan Yanzhi, wrote an entire monograph, titled *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 (Family instructions of the Yan clan), based on this tradition.²¹¹

The “Zhong zhi” tradition, involving one’s instructions for his burial arrangements, could thus be seen as an outgrowth of the testamentary type of familial admonition. The tradition emerged in the midst of a significant transformation in the literati’s attitude toward burial practices during the Han and the early medieval period. It is expected to be employed for one to declare his wish for “austere burials” (*bozang* 薄葬), as opposed to “extravagant burials” (*houzang* 厚葬) customarily practiced mainly in the Han and pre-imperial period.²¹²

The earliest extant burial instructions, known by the name “Zhong zhi,” is Cao Pi’s edict issued in 222, in which he expresses his wish to scale down his burial.²¹³ This is the first known occurrence of the term *zhong zhi* as a prose genre. Following this example, Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179–251), posthumously known as Emperor Xuan of Western Jin, composed a “Zhong zhi” stipulating that he wished no mound to be erected and no trees to be planted [to mark the tomb], and he would like to be buried wearing everyday clothing, and with no consecrated vessels

²¹¹ For a detailed case study of the early medieval burial practice, refer to Albert E. Dien, “Instructions for the Grave, the Case of Yan Zhitui,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* (1995/8): 41–58. See also Albert E. Dien, “Yanshi jiaxun,” *Early Medieval Chinese Texts*, eds. Cynthia L. Chennault, Keith N. Knapp, Alan J. Berkowitz, and Albert E. Dien, (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2015), 436–41. Ssu-Yü Teng, trans. *Family Instructions for the Yen clan: Yen-shih chia-hsün* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968); Tian, *Family Instructions for the Yan Clan and Other Works by Yan Zhitui* (531–590s).

²¹² See Keith N. Knapp, “Heaven and Death According to Huangfu Mi, a Third Century Confucian,” *Early Medieval China* 6 (2000), 15.

²¹³ See *Sanguo zhi*, 2.81–82.

(*mingqi* 明器) by his side.²¹⁴ Mu Bing 沐并 (d. ca. 250), a contemporary of Cao Pi and Sima Yi and a renowned official, also composed a “Zhong zhi” to “instruct his sons to prepare a modest burial” 誠其子以儉葬.²¹⁵

At least by Western Jin (265–316), the “Zhong zhi” had well-established conventions for providing instructions about one’s own burial arrangement that was accessible to contemporary literati. As a genre, “Zhong zhi” typically stakes out “austere burial” as its central theme, directly addresses the attestator’s sons and grandsons, to whom the writer entrusts his burial arrangement. On the other hand, the “Zhong zhi” could reach and appeal to a wider putative readership with shared values. At times skillful writers introduce variations where the genre allows for it. Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215–282), for example, turns his “Zhong zhi” into a lengthy reflective essay, which he titled “Du zhong” 篤終 (Steadfast expiry).²¹⁶ The last chapter of Yan Zhitui’s *Yanshi jiaxun* is titled “Zhong zhi” in which he specifies his instructions for his funeral and burial, in keeping with the principle of “austere burials.”

II. Xiao Yi’s Parental Admonishment in the “Jie zi”

In the opening entry of the “Jie zi” chapter, Xiao Yi cites Dongfang Shuo’s proverbial wisdom of how to cope with the world, which he rejects as an outdated coping strategy in

²¹⁴ See *Jin shu*, 1.20.

²¹⁵ The piece is an example of the overlap between these two traditions. See *Wei lue* 魏略 cited in *Sanguo zhi*, 23.661–62. Antje Richter also mentions Wang Xiang’s 王祥 (185–169) “Testament Teaching His Sons and Grandsons” (Xun zisun yiling 訓子孫遺令), *Jin shu*, 33.989.

²¹⁶ See *Jinshu*, 51.1416–18. For a detailed discussion of Huangfu Mi’s “Du zhong” consult Knapp, “Heaven and Death According to Huangfu Mi, A Third-century Confucian,” 15–27.

troubled times. He then encourages his addressees more vigorously to commit themselves to this-worldly undertakings.

Although he [Dongfang Shuo] elaborates on this subject in great detail, what he said does not apply to our time. With a ruler worthy of Yao and Shun presiding over [the realm] and this dynasty poised to last a thousand years, everyone should consider how to exert oneself [to serve the state]. I do not want you folks to follow that model [of Dongfang Shuo].

詳其為談，異乎今之世也。方今堯舜在上，千載一朝，人思自勉，吾不欲使汝曹為之也。²¹⁷

The fact that the validity of words of wisdom is contingent on its compatibility with and applicability to the contemporary environment reveals that the tradition does not concern itself with some timeless moral conduct, but instead with a pragmatic and time-specific way of engaging with the real world.

Since the overall message is to engage with the world and to seek to be employed by society, one of the worldly concerns is naturally to engage with the world in the capacity of an official. In entry 12, Xiao Yi cites two anecdotes to give his instructions on the best practice in serving in government office.

Each time when presented with wholehearted words Ren Jia/Gu would immediately copy them into the scratch book that he carries around with him. Since he took a position in the forbidden bureau (the imperial palace), he never sealed his private letter to his family.²¹⁸ What a fine example. After you enter officialdom, may it be an exemplar for you. In the past when asked about trees in the Warm Chamber Kong Guang (65–5 BCE) only smiled but never replied.²¹⁹ There truly is a basis for this.

²¹⁷ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.329.

²¹⁸ Ren Gu/Jia served as a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates at the court of Wei. See *Sanguo zhi*, 27. 748; note 6. The word *shu* 書 in the first line is supplemented accordingly.

²¹⁹ See Kong Guang's biography in *Han shu*, 81.3354. The Warm Chamber (Wen shi 温室) was the name of a Han palace that had portraits and encomia of prominent personages painted on its walls.

任嘏每獻忠言，輒手[書]懷草，自在禁省，歸書不封。何其美乎。入仕之後，此其勸哉。昔孔光有人問溫室之樹，笑而不答。誠有以也。

In the next entry, Xiao Yi recounts a story first recorded in the *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 to instruct his addressees how properly to serve in office. When Jigao 季羔 [Gao Chai] served as minister of punishment in Wei, he had an offender's foot amputated. That person [who had his foot amputated] later offered shelter for Jigao during a time of political turmoil in the state of Wei. When asked why he did not take revenge on Jigao, he replied that it is because he understands that Jigao's imposing punishment on him was not out of personal animus but in accordance with the law.²²⁰ Xiao Yi ends his account with Confucius' comment on it: "What a fine way of serving as a government official: applying the law in a consistent and uniform manner" 善哉為吏，其用法一也。²²¹

Beyond ensuring best practices in officialdom, Xiao Yi's concern for the well-being of the younger generation in this chapter also includes some pragmatic advice on how to steer clear of common pitfalls in real life. Such pragmatic advice usually involves exercising caution, propriety, and modesty. For example, in the next entry, Xiao Yi cites two stock proverbs with an instruction to his addressees to commit them to memory.

An inscription on a bronze statue in the ancestral temple of Houji reads, "Be aware, do not speak too much, for the more one speaks the more flaws he reveals; do not intervene too much, for the more one intervenes the more [unanticipated]

²²⁰ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.359–60. For the original story, see *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語, *Sibu congkan*, 2.3a–b; trans. Robert Paul Kramers, *K'ung Tzŭ Chia Yü: The School Sayings of Confucius* (Leiden: Brill, 1949), 232–33. Chen Qiyu 陳奇猷, ed. and comm., *Han Feizi jishi* 韓非子集釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1974), 12.677. See Xiang Zonglu 向宗魯, ed. and comm., *Shuo yuan jiaozheng* 說苑校證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 14.362–64.

²²¹ Ibid.

consequences there are. Never say ‘what harm can it do?’ The disaster that comes with it could be long-lasting. Never say what damage can it inflict?’ The disaster that comes with it could loom large. Cui Ziyu [Yuan]’s (78-143) inscription on the right [side of the table] reads, “Do not speak of other people’s shortcomings; do not speak of one’s own long suits. Do not dwell on things that you bestowed on others; never forget favors that are being bestowed [on you] by others.” These two inscriptions are equally worthy to be rehearsed and recited regularly.

后稷廟堂金人銘曰：“戒之哉，無多言，多言多敗；無多事，多事多患。勿謂何傷，其禍將長；勿謂何害，其禍將大。”²²² 崔子玉座右銘曰：“無道人之短；無說已之長。施人慎勿念；受恩慎勿忘。”²²³ 凡此兩銘，並可習誦。

Elaborating on the need to exercise caution, in the next entry, Xiao Yi bases his admonishment on Ma Yuan’s letter presented to his nephews, Pei Songzhi’s critiques, as well as the contemporary consensus on the topic.

Ma Wenyan [Yuan] once said, “When you two hear of any offense committed by somebody, you should act as if you had heard the personal name of one of your parents, that is, your ears can hear it, but your mouth cannot utter it. Then fondness for discussing other people’s weaknesses, the groundless criticism of proper authority, these are things which I greatly detest, and I would rather die than hear junior members of my family behaving like that. Long Bogao [Shu] (d. 88) is honest, sincere, and discreet. He is modest and frugal, morally pure and thrifty. I love and esteem him and want you to take him as a model. Du Jiliang [Bao] shares other people’s sorrows and joys. So everybody came to his father’s funeral, from several commanderies. I love and esteem him, but I do not want you to take him as a model. If you try to model yourselves after Long Bogao and fail, you can still be discreet and well-behaved, as the saying illustrates: “If you do not succeed in sculpting a swan, the result will still look like a duck.” But if you try to model yourselves after Du Jiliang and fail, [you will have the misfortune of sinking to the level of notorious playboys,]²²⁴ as another saying illustrates: “If you try to paint a tiger and fail, the picture will look like a dog.”²²⁵

馬文淵曰：“聞人之過失，如聞親之名。親之名可聞而口不可得言也。好論人長短，忘其善惡者，甯死不願聞也。龍伯高敦厚周慎，謙約節儉，吾愛之重之，願汝曹效之。杜季良憂人之憂，樂人之樂。父喪致客，數郡畢至，吾愛之重之，不願汝曹效之。

²²² See *Shuo yuan*, 10.258; *Kongzi jiayu*, 3a–b.

²²³ See *Wen xuan*, 56.2409.

²²⁴ The line in parentheses is supplemented according to Ma Yuan’s letter recorded in the *Hou Han shu*. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.334, 336 note 10.

²²⁵ Trans Frankel, “Ma Yuan: Letters to His Nephews Ma Yan and Ma Dun,” 6.

效伯高不得，猶為謹敕之士，所謂刻鵠不成尚類鶩者也。效季良不得，所謂畫虎不成反類狗者也。”²²⁶

He then cites Pei Songzhi's judgment of Ma's instructions.

Pei Songzhi deems that [Ma] Yuan's admonishment consists of words of utmost incisiveness and indelible lessons. [He also says] when it comes to commenting on people's behavior, right and wrong are already exposed before the world; this is a case of producing admonishment according to what is good and bad, and so on. Nevertheless, as for the instruction [praising] the merits of Long Baogao and speaking of Du Jiliang's wrongdoing:

裴松之以為援此戒，可謂切至之言，不刊之訓。若乃行事得失已暴於世。因其善惡，即以為戒云。然戒龍伯高之美，言杜季良之惡[行]。²²⁷

²²⁶ Ma Yuan's admonishment is cited in its entirety in Ma's biography in the *Hou Han shu*; Xiao Yi specifically mentions a copy of *Hou Han shu* in his collection. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.372. On Ma Yuan's letters see Eva Yuen-wah Chung, "A Study of the *Shu* (Letters) of the Han Dynasty," Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 148–49; Frankel, "Ma Yuan: Letters to His Nephews Ma Yan and Ma Dun," 4–6.

²²⁷ This sentence seems to be incomplete. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.337 note 14. Pei Songzhi's original comment reads: "Your servant Songzhi regards this piece of admonishment by Ma Yuan as words of utmost incisiveness and indelible lessons. In all cases one should only speak of other people's misconduct and misbehavior that fall into the category of 'transgressions of the inner chamber.' For those [transgressions], not known to others, are up to oneself to reveal. When it comes to commenting on people's behavior, right and wrong are already exposed in front of people of the age. This is a case of producing admonishment according to what is good and bad. It is superior compared to the former case. But [Ma] Yuan's admonishment, which praises Long Bogao's merits and speaks of Du Jiliang's demerits, causes the affairs [being judged] in accordance with their respective agents in which case Jiliang is deemed defeated. Could there be any more serious offense of using words to do harm others than this? This goes against what he said in his admonishment." 臣松之以為援之此誠，可謂切至之言，不刊之訓也。凡道人過失，蓋謂居室之愆，人未之知，則由己而發者也。若乃行事，得失已暴於世，因其善惡，即以為誠，方之於彼，則有愈焉。然援誠稱龍伯高之美，言杜季良之惡，致使事微時主，季良以敗。言之傷人，孰大於此？與其所誠，自相違伐。 See *Sanguo zhi*, 27.746–47; note 2. Also note that Xiao Yi's excerpts from Ma Yuan's original parental admonishment and Pei Songzhi's critique are not cited verbatim. Producing a verbatim citation apparently was not a major concern for Xiao Yi. There may be two reasons for this. First, excerpts are too familiar to Xiao Yi and his perspective readers to cite. Second, Xiao Yi is more interested in engaging in the existing discourse than simply parroting his predecessor's words.

I would say it would be better to express one's ideas/opinion by relying on the ancients.

吾謂託古人以見意, 斯為善也.

Xiao Yi's last comment is most likely derived from Wang Chang's 王昶 (d. 259) remarks on Xu Gan 徐幹 (170–217), whose conduct Wang deems preferable and recommends his sons to imitate. He writes, "When there is something that he [Xu Gan] wants to pass judgment on, he would express his opinion by relying on the ancients, instead of speaking ill of his contemporaries" 其有所是非, 則託古人以見其意, 當時無所褒貶.²²⁸ Pei Songzhi also expresses his approval of the principle of "conferring one's intention to people of the past and keeping [the reputation of] his contemporaries intact" 寄旨古人, 無傷當時 in his commentary on Wang Chang's letter presented to his sons.²²⁹

Each of the three parts of the entry demonstrates an emphasis on this-worldly concerns. Ma Yuan sets out to address what he sees as a specific behavioral blunder rather than a general moral concern. His preference for one of the two contemporary figures over the other as the exemplars for his sons and nephews to emulate is entirely based on practical rather than moral considerations. It is also on the grounds of practicality, not morality, that Pei Songzhi expresses his reservation.

In the next entry Xiao Yi opens with Xiang Lang's 向朗 (d. 247) parental admonishment in which he cautions his addressees about extravagance, vulgarity, self-indulgence, and other poor lifestyle choices.

²²⁸ See *Sanguo zhi*, 27.747.

²²⁹ It is along the same line that Pei Songzhi praises Dongfang Shuo's admonishment for his sons, which Xiao Yi cites at the beginning of the chapter. See *Sanguo zhi*, 27.747; note 5.

Xiang Lang left instructions to his sons, which read, “Being impoverished should not be something of concern; congeniality should be the most valuable quality. May you all exert yourself to comply with this [my word] and use it to cautiously hold your behavior in check.”

向朗遺言戒子曰：“貧非人患，以和為貴。汝其勉之，以為深戒。”²³⁰

Occasions, when someone holds wine drinking parties is something one can take pleasure in yet, should not become addicted to. Gatherings at which music is performed can be made simple yet cannot be eschewed. Excessively colored splendor, extraordinary ornaments, outlandish apparel, and exquisitely fine cuisine are things that you shall take care not to indulge in.

酒酌之設，可樂而不可嗜。聲樂之會，可簡而不可違。淫華怪飾，奇服麗食，慎毋為也。²³¹

Apart from best practices in officialdom and private life, interpersonal relations is another real-world subject that letters of familial admonition often address.

In entry 14, Xiao Yi specifically instructs his addressees to choose people with whom they associate wisely and cautiously. To address this topic, he enumerates four historical anecdotes, each involving someone preemptively severing an ill-advised association and by doing so sparing himself any unanticipated consequences of the relationship.²³² He then makes a passing reference to Wang Dan 王丹 (fl. ca. 25) and Zhu Mu 朱穆 (100–163). The former, in commenting on how precarious private relationships can be, famously said, “The way of forming an association is too tricky to be put into words...very few people can bring it [private association] to completion 交道之難，未易言也...全之者鮮矣.”²³³ The latter wrote, “Disquisition on Severing Relations” (Juejiao lun 絕交論) to express his views on friendship and

²³⁰ See *Sanguo zhi*, 41.1010; note 3.

²³¹ This passage was abridged from Yan Yanzhi’s “Ting gao.” See *Song shu*, 73.1897–88.

²³² See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.361–62.

²³³ See *Hou Han shu*, 27.931–32.

moral issues that involved in private associations.²³⁴ Referring to Wang Dan's comment and Zhu Mu's disquisition, Xiao Yi concludes the entry by saying, "The expression of intent is deep [in these two cases], which most pressing calls for a careful consideration" 此有深意, 最宜思之.²³⁵

On this topic of how to get along with others, Xiao Yi cites an aphorism attributed to Zengzi to stake out a behavioral guideline.

Zengzi said: "When [men] are too familiar, they are gross to each other. When [men] are too aloof, they are not affectionate [enough]. Therefore the familiarity of a nobleman is [just] enough to [bring about] contact and stimulation, and his aloofness is [just] enough to accomplish the rites."

曾子曰: "狎甚則相簡, 莊甚則不親. 是故君子之狎足以交歡, 其莊足以成禮也."²³⁶

A *junzi* (gentleman) here is seen more as a conveyer of proper social behavior than as an embodiment of moral principles. Similarly, "*junzi*" mentioned in the next entry represents a pattern of proper behavior against which Xiao Yi reflects his reckless youthful days with regret.

He first cites a dictum attributed to Lord Xiang of Shan:

"A gentleman would not acclaim himself. He would invariably defer to others lest he overshadow others."

"君子不自稱也. 必以讓也. 惡其蓋人也."²³⁷

²³⁴ This piece only survives in fragments. See *Hou Han shu*, 43. For a discussion of the composition see Mark Laurent Asselin, *A Significant Season Cai Yong (CA. 133–192) and His Contemporaries* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2010), 135–42; trans. 349–51.

²³⁵ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.360.

²³⁶ See *Shuo yuan*, 16.402; *Kongzi jiayu*, 2.20a. Trans. Kramers, *K'ung Tzŭ Chia Yü*, 247.

²³⁷ See *Guo yu*, 2.84; the *Guo yu* passage reads *fei* 非 for *bi* 必.

He then acknowledges his imprudent conduct as a young man and asks his addressees to learn from his mistake.

I was valued among literati celebrities of the court when I was in my twentieth year. I expressed myself freely amidst wine and poetry, chanting and recanting while whistling self-contently. I was as assured of myself as if I were as steady as a mountain; I treated others indifferently as if they were weeds. I was fond of making verbose tirades, greatly engaged myself in passing judgment on others, but later on I greatly regretted it. You should guard yourself against this.

吾弱年重之中朝名士，抑揚於詩酒之際，吟詠於嘯傲之間。自得如山，忽人如草。好為辭費，頗事抑揚。末甚悔之，以為深戒。²³⁸

On the same note, Xiao Yi cites a passage from Wang Chang's 王昶 (d. 259) letter presented to his sons and grandsons to caution his addressees about acting in undue confidence of their own ability.²³⁹

In any given case, when one is accomplished, rarely does he not become overbearing; when one is competent, seldom does he not become self-important. Being overbearing would lead him to prevail over others, being self-important would lead him to inflict offense on others. Those who prevail over others would himself be prevailed over; those who inflict offense on others himself would be inflicted offense on.

夫人有善，鮮不自伐；有能，寡不自矜。伐則掩人，矜則陵人。掩人者人亦掩之，陵人者人亦陵之也。

The inclination to act on one's intuition ought to be curbed by proper cultivation of his behavior, as made clear in a passage excerpted from Yan Yanzhi's "Ting gao."

The [demonstrations] of joy and anger are something that cannot be negated by human nature. They usually arise from narrow-mindedness and end with a broad perspective. But when one displays joy excessively, he comes across as less respectable; when one displays anger to its extreme then he becomes less dignified. If

²³⁸ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.348.

²³⁹ For Wang Chang's letter see *Sanguo zhi*, 27.744–47.

one can embody contentment and tranquility and to accommodate generosity and kindness, it is excellent. Great joy sways one's heart; it only takes a slight quelling to set it at ease. Extreme anger tips over one's true nature; with a small dose of perseverance, it will be put to an end. Therefore, when one does not display an echoing [indicative] countenance when he takes action or goes astray from proper measure when he acts, I deem it a case of excellence.

喜怒哀者，性所不能無。常起於褊量，而止於宏識。然喜過則不重，怒過則不威。能以恬漠為體，寬裕為器，善矣。大喜蕩心，微抑則定；甚怒傾性，小忍則歇。故動無響容，舉無失度，則為善也。

Another recurring topic of the tradition of familial admonition is the importance of education, which is often emphasized as practical preparation for office, rather than a path toward self-fulfillment or moral cultivation.²⁴⁰ This is certainly the case with Xiao Yi's parental advice on the matter.

In general, learning must regard the Five Classics as the foundation. That is to say, you should read nothing but works written by the sages. Once you have read those texts a hundred times, then the implied meaning will appear on its own. As for other books, you may broadly browse through them but no more than that. Since the standard histories bear witness to gain and loss, and success and failure, [reading the histories] is pivotal for managing the state. Beyond the Five Classics, it is appropriate to take the standard histories as the priority. Genealogies used to set the highbred apart from the low and to tell right from wrong, are what you should pay special attention to. They either provide information about the relationship among kinsmen within a clan or about the rise and decline of a given family. "Wearers of robes and caps" (recognized clans enjoying various privileges) of several generations are something one cannot afford not to be familiar with.²⁴¹

凡讀書必以五經為本，所謂非聖人之書勿讀。讀之百遍，其義自見。此外眾書，自可泛觀耳。正史既見得失成敗，此經國之所急。五經之外宜以正史為先。譜牒，所以別貴賤明是非，尤宜留意。或復中表親疏，或復通塞升降，百世衣冠，不可不悉。

²⁴⁰ Albert Dien made this observation in discussing the importance of education in Yan Zhitui's familial instructions. See Dien, "Custom and Society, The Family Instructions of Mr. Yan," 498.

²⁴¹ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.355.

Xiao Yi's addressees are all expected to hold official posts and manages government affairs; he undoubtedly wants to see them succeed in public service. As such, his advice for them—to equip themselves with textual knowledge pertaining to statecraft—is hardheaded and success-oriented. Ultimately, the future prosperity of the family is dependent on the success of his offspring.

In sum, Xiao Yi's admonishment for his sons is fraught with real-world concerns: certain people to stay away from, common pitfalls to steer clear of, ill-advised choices to guard themselves against, past experiences to draw lessons from, social protocols to be aware of, and certain impulses to keep in check. Such real-world concerns built into the tradition of familial admonition arose from a sense of crisis and urgency in the early medieval period. Albert E. Dien observes that attention paid to the social patterns of behavior among the growing number of familial instructions that came to appear in the Six Dynasties reflect an attempt to “pass on family traditions of behavior in danger of being lost because of the uprooting of families and social disorder.”²⁴²

With his parental admonishment, Xiao Yi wants to see to it that each of his sons turns out to be a capable, well-informed, and sensible member of the society, whose conduct impeccably complies with the societal values and by conduct himself well in office he would be able to preserve and advance the social standing of the family and carry on the family patrimony.

III. Xiao Yi's Final Instructions in the “Zhong zhi”

²⁴² See Dien, “Custom and Society: The Family Instructions of Mr. Yan,” 496.

Xiao Yi opens his “Zhong zhi” chapter by candidly referring to his frail health and declining age. Xiao Yi’s reflection on life and death is nevertheless somber and dignified, followed by a cliché, “when there is life there is death.” His apparent contentment, as well as the implied inclination to let things take their natural course, serves as an acknowledgment of the prevailing social and cultural discourse on burial arrangement.

Even though I eagerly wish that I could carry on for an extended period, how could I manage now with this illness? It so happens that this is a sweltering summer, with melting metal and simmering stones.²⁴³ My life-force and breath are faint and feeble, my mind and consciousness faded and fretted. In all likelihood I will not be sustained for long; it [my condition] can be likened to a candle flickering in the wind. In any case, when there is life there is death; even those with the most comprehensive attainment would eventually get their fair share.

吾企及推延, 豈能及病. 偶屬炎夏, 流金煎石. 氣息綿微, 心用惝恍. 慮不支久, 方從風燭. 夫有生必有死, 達人恆分.

This is followed by a brief reference to some of the most elaborate burial practices in ancient times:

The Zhou tradition was to use decorations such as funerary drapes and feathers [to screen off the coffin] and embroidered banners [to embellish the coffin]. There were cases such as Lord Wen of Jin requesting to build a tunnel [in his tomb]²⁴⁴ and Huan, the minister of war, making a stone coffin for himself.²⁴⁵

周室有牆翬之飾, 旌銘之儀. 晉文公請隧, 桓司馬石槨.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ Cf. “Zhao hun” *Chu ci*: “Ten suns that come out together/melting metal, dissolving stone” 十日代出/ 流金鑠石些. Trans. David Hawkes, *The Songs of the South* (1985; rpt. London: Penguin Books, 2011), 224.

²⁴⁴ This refers to the anecdote recorded in the *Guo yu*, where Lord Wen of Jin requested to have an underground tunnel built in his tomb, a burial arrangement only the son of Heaven was entitled to enjoy. See *Guoyu*, 2.54.

²⁴⁵ According to the *Li ji*, Huan, the minister of war, it took three years to have a stone coffin made for himself without it’s being finished, about which Confucius commented, “How extravagant it is. When it comes to death, one would be better off to quickly decay away” 若是其靡也. 死不如速朽之愈也. See *Li ji zhengyi*, 8.7a.

²⁴⁶ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.309.

After he unequivocally denounces these earlier burial practices as “nonsensical” (*fei wei* 非謂), Xiao Yi enumerates an array of pre-Han and Han masters, whose treatises and teachings might be different, “denouncing lavish burial practice is one thing that they all have in common” 俱非厚葬, 孱若一也.

With the expectation of “pro-austere burial” having been fulfilled, Xiao Yi begins a survey of the “Zhong zhi” tradition before making his decision about his own burial arrangements, as he puts it:

“For the propriety of attending to one’s own burial, I shall deliberate on it and use my discretion in finalizing it.”

送終之禮, 思以裁之.²⁴⁷

Among all of the attestators of their final arrangements that Xiao Yi cites here, most of them refer to an austere burial arrangement as a matter of principle without citing any specific reasons. With those few who do give reasons to opt for an austere burial, some point out that lavish burial is prone to tomb robbery (Hao Zhao 郝昭 fl. 227) and some refer to their vegetarianism lifestyle as a reason (He Bing 何並, ca. 1st century BCE). While the actual request varies from case to case, the austerity of the burial arrangement comes down to three aspects: 1) the preparing of the body for burial; 2) burial site; 3) burial objects.

The most common requirement for the burial preparation is dressing the body in ordinary clothing (*shifu* 時服) and placed it in a simple coffin, for example, Shi Bao 石苞 (d. 273) and

²⁴⁷ The word *cai* 裁 (lit. to tailor, alter, and modify) is used to mean “come to a final determination about something” here.

Hao Zhao. Sometimes, special requests are made about the burial attire. Zhang Huan's 張奐 (104–181), for example, requested to be donned with “tabby silk head-cloth” 幅巾, the kind of apparel that complies with his identity as a Ruist scholar.²⁴⁸ There are extreme cases where the preparation is instructed to be reduced into wrapping the body with a single piece of plain cloth (Lu Zhi 盧植 d. 192), a straw mat (Huangfu Mi), or nothing at all (Yang Gui 楊貴, *zi* Wangsun 王孫, fl. ca. 132 BCE and Jiang Yingxuan 江應玄²⁴⁹).

This minimalist attitude is also extended to burial objects. Emperor Cheng of Jin (r. 325–342), for example, decreed that no tomb straw-figurines (*chuling* 芻靈) or miniature clay carts (*tuche* 塗車) is to be placed in the imperial mausoleum.²⁵⁰ Pei Qian's 裴潛 (d. 244) final arraignments only allow a few pottery utensils (*wuqi* 瓦器) to be interred into the tomb and nothing more. Zhao Qi's 趙岐 (108–201) death wish: to have portraits of his cultural heroes buried with him when he dies, is rejected by Xiao Yi in line with the “less is more” principle of burial practice.

Not much importance is attached to the burial site or tomb architecture either in these final arrangements. In some cases, there is no pre-arranged burial site to begin with; the attestator simply asks to be buried promptly with as little fuss as possible (Lu Zhi, Mu Bing, and Huangfu Mi). Among them, Mu Bing notably forbids other family members to be buried in the same tomb with him. Likewise, Pei Qian specifies that his tomb only accommodates one burial site [for

²⁴⁸ See *Fuzi* cited in Pei Songzhi's commentary on the *Sanguo zhi*, 1.54; note 2.

²⁴⁹ The only surviving reference to Jiang Yingxuan 江應玄 (the original text reads *xuan* as *yuan* 元) is the *Wenshi zhuan* 文士傳 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 496.2a.

²⁵⁰ This decree was issued in regard to the burial arrangement of his wife, Empresses Du, who died in 341. See *Jin shu*, 32.974.

himself]. It is also common to instruct that no mound is to be raised as tumulus, no tree is to be planted on the burial (Mu Bing and Shi Bao).

Aligning himself with the “austere burial,” as expected of the “Zhong zhi” tradition, Xiao Yi formulates his own death instructions:

Upon my demise, you may drape imperial attire around my shoulders to show that I would never cease to remember the etiquette required of a subject [of His Majesty].²⁵¹ I would like the “Qu li” [chapter of the *Li ji*] in one scroll, *Xiao jing* in one bundle, and a *Xiaozi zhuan*, along with one of [the thirteen] swords made by Tao Hongjing to be taken with me.²⁵² Beyond that, no pearls or jade should be interred, and make sure that copper coins will not be buried.

吾之亡也，可以王服周身，示不忘臣禮。曲禮一卷，孝經一帙，孝子傳，並陶華陽劍一口以自隨。此外珠玉不入，銅錢勿藏也。

First, he requests to be garbed in imperial attire consistent with his identity as an imperial prince, a subject to the emperor. Xiao Yi then instructs that a set of written texts, all related to filial piety, to be included in his burial inventory. Last, Xiao Yi wishes to be buried with one of the thirteen swords, which Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536) cast under the auspices of Emperor Wu of Liang. According to *Gujin daojian lu* 古今刀劍錄 (Register of ancient and recent swords) [attributed to Tao Hongjing] cited in the *Taiping yulan*, each of these thirteen swords bears a certain numinous quality, as well as an imposing inscription, which reads, “He who takes up [this sword] shall put the four realms in perpetual peace” 服之者永治四方.²⁵³

²⁵¹ Note that Xiao Yi refers to himself as a subject of His Majesty here.

²⁵² Xiao Yi combined different compilations of the *Xiaozi zhuan* available at his time and compiled *Xiaode zhuan* in thirty *juan*. See Chen and Xiaong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 5.799. Also see *Liang shu*, 5.136; *Nan shi*, 8.246; *Sui shu*, 33.976. For a complete list of all the compilations titled *Xiaozi zhuan* compiled during the Northern and Southern Dynasties (317–589), refer to Knapp, *Selfless Offspring*, 62–63.

²⁵³ See *Taiping yulan*, 343.9b–10a.

Different from perfunctory and ad hoc burial objects seen in earlier death testaments, the items on Xiao Yi's burial checklist are deliberately thought out. The burial attrite is intended to, in his words, put his identity as a subject on public display. By the same token, the written texts and the sword that he requests to be buried with him are tokens of cultural values that he seeks to be identified with. What Xiao Yi sought to address is certainly not his needs in the afterlife, but rather, his preoccupation with his identity and legacy in this world.

The earliest known case in which the attestator instructs to have written texts placed in his tomb is probably Zhou Pan's 周磐 (49–121) final instructions for his son.²⁵⁴ He asked his sons to “bind bamboo strips of two *chi* and four *cun* in length; copy one section of the ‘Yao dian’; place them in front of the coffin along with a book knife and a brush” 編二尺四寸簡, 寫堯典一篇, 并刀筆各一, 以置棺前.²⁵⁵ This, in his own words, is to “indicate that I shall not put the sagely way into oblivion” 云不忘聖道.²⁵⁶

Another well-known example of putting written texts on his burial checklist is Huangfu Mi's instructions for his burial arrangements. He makes known that he would not want any of his personal items to be buried with him; all he wishes to bring to the tomb is “one scroll of the *Xiao jing*, to show that I shall not cease to remember the way of being filial” 孝經一卷, 示不忘孝道.²⁵⁷ The message is clear; he seeks to be identified with the virtue of filial piety in this world.

Other than the specified texts and sword, Xiao Yi makes it clear that he does not want to have consecrated vessels or material valuables interred in his tomb.

²⁵⁴ See *Hou Han shu*, 39.1312.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ See *Jin shu*, 51.1418.

Do not arrange any of the stone screens, wood figurines, chariots and horses, clay carts, and straw artifacts in the burial vault. Golden silkworms cannot be counted on to produce silk. Clay roosters cannot be employed to lord over breaking dawn. Take care not to use blood and raw meat in conducting [animal] sacrifices.

壙中石屏風、木人、車馬、塗車、芻靈之物, 一切勿為. 金蠶無吐絲之實; 瓦雞乏司晨之用. 慎無以血臚腥為祭也.

On the matter of burial site, Xiao Yi mentions four historical figures each of whom in their death instructions requested to be buried next to the tomb of a worthy man of the past, to which he comments, “the cases of those four masters are at odds with my wish” 彼四子者, 異乎吾之意也. He then goes on to speak of the burial site that he apparently arranged in advance.

At the northeast corner of the mountainous region, in front of the little tomb of the Shisheng mausoleum, you may mound a burial vault. This has been fully specified in a separate layout.²⁵⁸

山地東北隅, 始生山陵小墓之前, 可以為塚, 已具別圖.

He wishes that his burial site will be a place where his remains would be accommodated, his memory honored.

May my *hun*-soul be attended upon deferentially, and my remains have a place of refuge.

庶魂兮有奉, 歸骨有地.

²⁵⁸ The Shisheng mausoleum 始生山陵 is not otherwise known. It was probably where Xiao Yi's mother, Ruan Lingying 阮令羸 (474–540 or 543), was buried. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.297. According to the *Liang shu*, Lady Ruan died in the sixth year of the Datong reign (540) and was buried in Mt Tongwang 通望 in Jiangning 江寧. See *Liang shu*, 7.163. In the “Houfei” (Imperial consorts) chapter of the *Jinlouzi*, however, Xiao Yi clearly notes that his mother died in the ninth year of the Datong Reign (543), the *guihai* year. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.297. It seems likely that at some point during the transmission of the *Liang shu*, the graph for “nine” (九) was mistaken for “six” (六) due to the graphic similarity.

Using a subjective *shu*, Xiao Yi expresses his death wish tentatively, without giving away his attitude to posthumous sentience. This is in keeping with the tradition of “Zhong zhi” which in general is more preoccupied with this-worldly concerns than other-worldly affairs. As such, the tradition prescribes a rational attitude towards life and death: once’s inevitable and, in some cases, imminent death is to be accepted calmly with no misgivings. The gesture of composing the burial instructions in advance and expressing his wish at sickbed in itself is a dignified testimony to the attestator’s peace of mind.

For the same reason, the topic of posthumous sentience is rarely brought up for deliberation in the tradition. When it is mentioned occasionally, it is only for the sake of argument, most typically as a deterrent or disincentive to a “lavish burial” arrangement.²⁵⁹ For example, Cao Pi specifically warned should his instruction not be adhered to faithfully, and “if indeed the death are sentient, I shall not bestow any blessings on you” 使死者有知, 将不福汝.²⁶⁰ Similarly, in referring to tombs with lavish burial objects, which are susceptible to looting,

²⁵⁹ Other than being treated sporadically in some of the non-mainstream texts, the topic of afterlife remains largely absent in pre-Buddhist China. When asked the question “when people die, are they sentient or not?” 死人有知無知也, Confucius rather deftly refrains from making known his attitude. This noncommittal attitude to the topic of “posthumous sentience” is common in pre-Qin and Han texts in general. In those texts, the phrase “*you zhi* 有知” (sentient) is invariably mentioned in hypothetical terms, preceded by *ru* 如, *shi* 使, or *ruo* 若. The antithesis between the term “*youzhi* and “*wuzhi* 無知” (insentient) is only brought up for rhetorical purpose, to demonstrate that an event in question would amount to a fundamentally comparable or compatible outcome in both hypothetical circumstances. Such stories can be readily found in early texts such *Zhangguo ce* 戰國策 and *Wu Yue chunqiu* 吳越春秋. See Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 18.474–75. The same story is also recorded in the *Kongzi jiayu*, 2.10b. Trans. Kramers, *K’ung Tzû Chia Yü*, 238. For a thorough discussion of the topic in ancient China, refer to Paul R. Goldin, “The Consciousness of the Dead as a Philosophical Problem in Ancient China,” *The Good Life and Conceptions of Life in Early China and Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, ed. R.A.H. King (Digital Edition: De Gruyter, 2015), 59–92.

²⁶⁰ See *Sanguo zhi*, 2.82.

causing the vault to be destroyed and the corpus to be exposed, Huangfu Mi wrote, “If there exists the *hun*-soul with numinous realization, then it would perish from this world harboring resentful bitterness, and exist as an aggrieved ghost for a long time” 魂而有靈, 則冤悲沒世, 長為恨鬼。²⁶¹

In sum, the “Zhong zhi” chapter shows the process by which Xiao Yi determines his burial arrangements in a frame of reference provided by the tradition of the “Zhong zhi.” First of all, by choosing to give instructions on his burial in the form of “Zhong zhi,” Xiao Yi is unequivocally committed to an austere burial. In faced with his imminent death when he composed this piece, Xiao Yi adopts a poised and placid attitude, befitting the general attitude toward death in the “Zhong zhi” tradition. Throughout the piece, Xiao Yi is more concerned with this-worldly ventures than with his other-worldly welfare; the issue of posthumous sentience is entirely omitted here as well. Each of the three aspects of his burial arrangements, namely burial attire, burial site, and burial items, points to a certain way in which he wishes to be associated or identified.

VI. Written in the Name of the Son

In these two chapters, “Jie zi” and “Zhong zhi,” Xiao Yi, in the name of his sons, attends to his worldly concerns over the well-being of his sons, the familial patrimony, as well as his posthumous image and legacy. However, when Xiao Yi was writing these two chapters, contemplating on his inevitable death and welfare of his family, he would never have expected

²⁶¹ See *Jin shu*, 51.1418.

that as the Liang imperial house was about to brace for one crisis after another within a decade, before its eventual collapse. Nor could he possibly have anticipated that he would die as an emperor in the hands of his regicidal nephew. Not only did his hope for his sons to carry on the hereditary family patrimony come to naught, his effort to control his burial, and by implication, his posthumous image and legacy also turned out to be a doomed attempt.

Xiao Yi assumed the Liang throne in 552 in Jiangling (modern Jingzhou municipality, Hubei); his regime was under assault from the north by the forces of the Western Wei. His nephew Xiao Cha 蕭詧 (519–562), who defected to the Western Wei, sought to avenge Xiao Yi's slaying of Xiao Cha's brother Xiao Yu 蕭譽 (519–550). In late 554 the Western Wei launched an attack and soon laid siege to Jiangling the new capital of the Liang dynasty. In early 555, Xiao Yi and two of his sons were captured and executed by Xiao Cha with the Western Wei's blessing. Xiao Cha personally saw to it that Xiao Yi was buried in a slovenly manner:

[Xiao Cha] ordered the corpus wrapped in a shroud, gathered in a grass mat, bound with floss-grass, and buried outside of the Jinyang gate, using a single chariot.

使以布帊纏尸，斂以蒲席，束以白茅，以車一乘，葬於津陽門外。²⁶²

Xiao Yi's successor, his only surviving son, was then forced to abdicate the throne in 557 to the general Chen Baxian 陳霸先 (503–559), the founding ruler of Chen, and was subsequently murdered less than a year later. When Chen Baxian's successor, Emperor Wen of Chen (r. 560–566) assumed the throne in 560, he decided to relocate Xiao Yi's coffin from its original burial site in Jiangling to Jiankang. The edict reads:

Emperor Xiaoyuan of Liang encountered and suffered afflictions and calamities. His coffin had been displaced from the proper burial site. Since in the past I used to face

²⁶² See *Nan shi*, 8.245.

north [serving as a subject of Liang], this [his coffin being displaced] conflicts with conventional norms, and thus I sent out envoys to bring it back, and to keep it in a nearby lodging place before burial. Since there is a previously arranged burial site in Jiangning, it is appropriate to immediately inter the coffin as divined. The hearses and funeral banners, rites, and procedures will observe the etiquette standard of Liang. This is in accordance with the precedent of [the burial of] Emperor Xian of Han arranged by the emperor of Wei.

梁孝元遭離多難，靈輓播越。朕昔經北面，有異常倫，遣使迎接，以次近路。江寧既是舊塋，宜即安卜，車旗禮章，悉用梁典，依魏葬漢獻帝故事。²⁶³

The “previously arranged burial site in Jiangning” most likely refers to the site that Xiao Yi mentions in the “Zhong zhi,” which should be in the immediate vicinity with Lady Ruan’s tomb.²⁶⁴ Zhang Dunyi’s 張敦頤 (*jinshi* 1138) *Liuchao shiji leibian* 六朝事跡類編 refers to Xiao Yi’s burial site in Jiangning as Yingning ling 穎寧陵.²⁶⁵ As Mt Tongwang 通望, the place where

²⁶³ See *Chen shu*, 3.50.

²⁶⁴ Lady Ruan was given the honorary posthumous title “Wenxuan 文宣 Empress,” after Xiao Yi ascended the imperial throne in 552. Accordingly, her original burial site was to be brought up to the standard of an imperial mausoleum. There are a number of precedents in the Six Dynasties. For example, when Liu Yu became emperor in 420, he retroactively gave the name “Xingning” 興寧 to the burial site of his mother, who died in 363. See *Song shu*, 41.1280. In 494, Emperor Ming of Qi (r. 494–498), Xiao Luan, retroactively gave the name “Xiu’an ling” 脩安 to his parents’ tomb. See *Nan Qi shu*, 45.788.

²⁶⁵ This name is not otherwise attested. See Zhang Chenshi 張忱石, ed. and punc. *Liuchao shiji leibian* 六朝事跡類編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 19. Wang Zhigao 王志高 argues that the Yingning ling refers to two burial sites together, Xiao Yi’s and Lady Ruan’s, next to each other. He points out that Liang imperial mausoleums all have single-character names, except Xiao Shunzhi’s “Jianning ling” 建寧陵, Xiao Tong’s “Anning ling” 安寧陵, and Xiao Yi’s “Yingning ling” 穎寧陵, all of which have two-character names with “Ning” being the second character. He speculates that the additional “Ning” indicates that in the immediate vicinity of the primary mausoleum there is a secondary burial site for the mother of the person buried in the primary mausoleum; the mother died before his son and was given the title of empresses posthumously. See Wang Zhigao 王志高, “Danyang Sanchenggaan Nanchao lingmu shishou muzhu shenfen ji xiangguan wenti kaoding” 丹陽三城港南朝陵墓石獸墓主身份及相關問題考訂, *Dongnan wenhua* 224 (2011): 69. Xiao Yan’s parents, Xiao Shunzhi 蕭順之 and Zhang Shangrou 張尚柔, both died long before Xiao Yan found the Liang dynasty, were given the title of Emperor Wen and Empress Xian posthumously in 502. See *Liang shu*, 2.35. Their burial site in Nanling was “Jian ling” 建陵 according to the *Nan shi*. But it was referred to as

Lady Ruan is said to be buried, is not otherwise attested, the exact location of Xiao Yi's burial site is yet to be determined.²⁶⁶

V. "Here Lies One Whose Name was Writ in Water" — Xiao Yi's Final Burial Site

In 1934, Zhu Xizu 朱希祖 (1879–1944), chair of the History Department of National Central University (Guoli zhongyang daxue 國立中央大學) in Nanjing, who also served as the director of the Central Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities (Wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui 文物保管委員會), conducted a systematical survey of Six Dynasties tombs in Nanjing and its suburbs, accompanied by his eldest son Zhu Xie 朱偰 (1907–1968).

On September 29, 1934, they visited an unidentified tomb in Fangqi miao 方旗廟 about one *li* west of modern Jiangning *zhen*, Nanjing.²⁶⁷ On April 4, 1935, Zhu Xie visited the site the second time to document the pair of sculptured chimeras (*bixie* 辟邪) found in front of the tomb.²⁶⁸

"Jianning ling" 建寧陵 in the *Liang shu*. See *Nan shi*, 6.186; 7.216; *Liang shu*, 3.88. For Xiao Tong's "Anning ling," Wang Zhigao argues that the "Ning" in the name refers to the mausoleum of Lady Ding, Xiao Tong's mother, which according to the *Nan shi* is named "Ning ling" 寧陵. See *Nan shi*, 12.340. In theory, only emperors, imperial heirs, empresses could be buried in imperial mausoleums. But Lady Ding was not only a prominent imperial consort but also the mother of the heir apparent, the future emperor. Lady Ding's status at court was on a par with the heir apparent. See *Liang shu*, 7.161; *Nan shi*, 12.340.

²⁶⁶ See *Liuchao lingmu diaocha baogao* 六朝陵墓調查報告 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2010), 80.

²⁶⁷ See *Liuchao lingmu diaocha baogao*, 146.

²⁶⁸ Ibid. See figure 1 and figure 2, excerpted from See Zhu Xie 朱偰, *Jiankang Lanling Liuchao lingmu tukao* 建康蘭陵六朝陵墓圖考 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936). Also see Albert E. Dien's discussion on chimeras found before the royal tombs in the Six Dynasties in *Six Dynasties Civilization* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 191.

In his *Jiankang Lanling Liuchao lingmu tukao* 建康蘭陵六朝陵墓圖考 published in the following year, Zhu Xie tentatively assigns this tomb to Xiao Ni 蕭嶷 (444–492), prince of Yuzhang.²⁶⁹ This attribution has been followed by many later scholars.²⁷⁰ But as Wang Zhigao and Shen Hongmin 沈宏敏 point out, Zhu Xie mistakenly identifies Jinniushan 金牛山, where Xiao Ni was buried, with the Jinniugang 金牛坑 [阬] of Tongshan 銅山 in Jiangning.²⁷¹

Xiao Ni's burial site should not be far from the tomb of his nephew, Xiao Changmao 蕭長懋 (458–493), in Danyang. According to the *Nan shi*, when Xiao Ziliang went along with the coffins of Xiao Ni and Xiao Changmao (who died nine months after Xiao Ni) to their respective burial sites, he requested to be buried a place where he can, in his own words, “See my uncle [Xiao Ni] in the north and my brother [Xiao Changmao] straight ahead” 北瞻吾叔, 前望吾兄.²⁷² It is thus unlikely that Xiao Ni's tomb would be in Jiangning, more than 60 miles away from Danyang.

One of the biggest issues with attributing this unassigned tomb in Fangqimiao to Xiao Yi, however, is that the chimeras found in front of the tomb are with no horns, which were typically placed before the tombs of princes.²⁷³ Yet Emperor Wen of Chen's edict clearly indicates that

²⁶⁹ See Zhu Xie, *Jiankang Lanling Liuchao lingmu tukao*, 52.

²⁷⁰ See for example, Yang Kuang 楊寬, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidu shi yanjiu* 中國古代陵寢制度史研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), 242; Luo Zongzhen 羅宗真, *Wei Jin Nanchao kaogu* 魏晉南北朝考古 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), 95; He Yun'ao 賀雲翱 and Guo Yi 郭怡, *Gudai lingqin* 古代陵寢 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2008), 198. See also Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, 72–73.

²⁷¹ See Wang Zhigao 王志高 and Shen Hongmin 沈宏敏, “Nanjing Fangqimiao Nanchao lingmu muzhu kao” 南京方旗廟南朝陵墓墓主考, *Jiangsu difangzhi* (2005/3): 47–49.

²⁷² Xiao Ziliang was referring to Mt Zuxing 祖塋 and was subsequently buried there one year later. See *Nan shi*, 44.1104.

²⁷³ See Zhu Xie, *Jiankang Lanling Liuchao lingmu tukao*, 13–14. See also Luo Zongzhen, *Wei Jin Nanchao kaogu*, 105–07. Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, 458; note 76.

Xiao Yi was to be buried as an emperor. The gesture of reburying an emperor of the previous dynasty according to culturally prescribed burial rites is to claim moral worthiness and to reinforce the political legitimacy of the Chen dynasty as the successor of the Liang dynasty. It seems baseless to speculate that the horned chimeras prescribed to an emperor's tomb would be readily downgraded to un-horned ones as Wang and Shen suggest.



Figure 1: The left chimera (*bixie*) in front of the Fangqi miao tomb, from *Liuchao lingmu diaocha baogao*



Figure 2: The right chimera (*bixie*) in front of the Fangqi miao tomb, from *Liuchao lingmu diaocha baogao*

Chapter Three: The Best of Times and the Worst of Times——“Zhu shu” 著書 (Book compiling) and “Ju shu” 聚書 (Book collecting) chapters

Xiao Yi was a vigorous intellectual figure. While carrying out important official duties, he also found time to venture into a variety of intellectual pursuits. Among them, compiling and collecting books were the two intellectual undertakings that brought him both fame and notoriety and thus, had the most immediate bearing on his identity as a scholar literatus, “the master of the Golden Tower.”

Xiao Yi’s commitment to book compiling, which some of his contemporaries found peculiar, is well documented in history. Xiao Yi’s cousin Xiao Gong 蕭恭 (ca. 498–549), for example, referred disapprovingly to Xiao Yi as one of “those who denied themselves life’s pleasures” 不好歡樂, who do not do anything but “staring at the beams and compile books” 看屋梁而著書.²⁷⁴ “After thousands of autumns and a myriad of years,” he asked rhetorically, “would anyone even bother to transmit those books?” 千秋萬歲, 誰傳此者.²⁷⁵

As an avid book collector, Xiao Yi acquired a private library of breadth and size having no equal in his day. After visiting Xiao Yi’s library, Yu Jianwu 庾肩吾 (487–551) wrote: “Five carts of books are heaped in one chest; / The seven-layered gallery reaches the clouds” 五車方累篋, 七閣自連雲.²⁷⁶ Xiao Yi also paid fastidious attention to the quality of the paper, ink, and

²⁷⁴ See *Liang shu*, 22.349.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ This is the second couplet of Yu Jianwu’s poem titled “He Liu mingfu guan Xiangdong wang shu” 和劉明府觀湘東王書 (A Companion Piece for the Honorable Liu’s Poem on ‘Viewing the Book Collection of the Prince of Xiangdong’). See *Quan Liang shi*, 23.1991. The Honorable Liu

calligraphy of the books he procured, which, according to Tian Xiaofei, makes him a book connoisseur, a real book collector.²⁷⁷

The “Zhu shu” and “Ju shu” chapters of the *Jinlouzi* document in detail Xiao Yi’s achievement as a book collector and compiler. These two chapters were finished about the same time, most likely shortly before Xiao Yi assumed the throne in late 552. The last item was added to the “Zhu shu” chapter in 552. According to the *Nan shi*, Xiao Yi composed *Huaijiu zhuan* 懷舊傳 (Accounts of my past recollections) after he put Xiao Bi 蕭賁 (d. 552) to death, to further defame his character.²⁷⁸ Thus the “Zhu shu” chapter, in which the *Huaijiu zhuan* is listed as *Huaijiu zhi* 懷舊志 (Records of my past recollections), was then completed after Xiao Bi’s death in 552.²⁷⁹

The last dateable major acquisition of Xiao Yi’s collecting in the “Ju shu” was the books previously owned by Xiao Ke 蕭恪 (d. 552), the Prince of Nanping 南平. When the Hou Jing rebellion broke out, Xiao Ke, then the regional inspector of Yingzhou 郢州 (modern Wuchang, Hubei), submitted to the authority of Xiao Yi. Xiao Ke died on October 18, 552, shortly after Xiao Yi made him regional inspector of Yangzhou.²⁸⁰ Xiao Ke’s books subsequently came into

might refer to Liu Zhilin 劉之遴 (478–549) or his younger brother Liu Zhiheng 劉之亨; both of the brothers served as governor of Nanjun. “Five carts” alludes to the five carts of books that Hui Shi owned. See *Zhuangzi jishi*, 33.1102.

²⁷⁷ Xiaofei Tian, “Book Collecting and Cataloging in the Age of Manuscript Culture,” *Early Medieval China, A Sourcebook*, eds. Wendy Swartz, et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 309.

²⁷⁸ See *Nan shi*, 44.1106. Xiao Yi also speaks ill about Xiao Bi’s character in the “Li yan” chapter of the *Jinlouzi*, see Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 4.677.

²⁷⁹ According to the *Nan shi*, Xiao Bi offended Xiao Yi by commenting on the war proclamation that Xiao Yi issued against Hou Jing’s army in the second month of 552. Xiao Bi was subsequently put into prison where he died of starvation. See *Nan shi*, 44.1106. See Chen Zhiping and Xiong Qingyuan, *Xiao Yi pingzhuan*, 171. Note that they misdated the year when Xiao Yi issued the war proclamation as 551.

²⁸⁰ See *Liang shu*, 22.348–50. For the exact date of Xiao Ke’s death, refer to *Liang shu*, 5.131.

the possession of Xiao Yi. At the end of the “Ju shu” chapter Xiao Yi notes that he was forty-six *sui* at the time and his book collection amounted to more than 80,000 *juan*. He then wrote: “[My collection is to the imperial collection as] the collection of the King of Hejian was to that of the Han imperial house, and perhaps even surpasses it [the Liang imperial house’s collection] 河間之侔漢室，頗謂過之矣.”²⁸¹ Yu Jiaxi pointed out that it is unlikely that Xiao Yi, after ascending the throne, would compare himself to Liu De, less likely would he compare his collection with that of the Liang imperial library.²⁸² Assuming that the information that Xiao Yi provides in the chapter is accurate, it is possible to narrow the window for finalizing the chapter to less than two months: from Xiao Ke’s death on October 18, 552 and before Xiao Yi officially assumed the throne on December 13, 552.²⁸³

Xiao Yi’s book compiling and book collecting were not merely idiosyncratic obsessions, but rather were the natural outgrowth of a period when the inherited and incremental cultural deposits reached their highest and most abundant point over the centuries since the fall of the Han. In this chapter, I will examine 1) how Xiao Yi exploited the intellectual resources of a written tradition through these two intellectual activities; and 2) how his intellectual exploits contributed to the overall Liang imperial commitment to “all-encompassing-ness” as an effort to establish cultural authority.

²⁸¹ The King of Hejian 河間 refers to Liu De 劉德, the second son of Emperor Jing 景帝 (r. 157–141 BCE). He was quite learned and reportedly had a book collection as large as the imperial library. See *Han Shu*, 53.2409–11. See also Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (221B.C–A.D.24)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 290.

²⁸² See Yu Jiaxi, *Muluxue fawei*, 3.87–88.

²⁸³ For accounting a person’s age in pre-modern China, refer to Wilkinson, *Chinese History A New Manual*: “From the Nanbeichao to the twentieth century, the age in *sui* 歲 before a person’s birthday is two years greater than the actual age. After the birthday, the full-year age catches up one year, so the age in *sui* is only a year in advance of the actual age.” Wilkinson, *Chinese History A New Manual*, 161.

I. A Renewed Quest for “All-Encompassing-ness”

Under the auspices of the Han empire there arose a pursuit for “all-encompassing-ness,” defined and driven by the new concept of a unified empire.²⁸⁴ Han scholars and court officials were mobilized to contribute to this newly-found intellectual ideal, whether it was to comprehensively account for the entire reality within the radius of empire or to establish a continuous line of narrative that connects the present to the past. As Mark Edward Lewis aptly observes, “completeness or totality” in the early imperial period was deemed “the highest form of textual authority.”²⁸⁵

Even though the unified Han empire existed more as a cultural aspiration than as a clearly defined political ideal, the pursuit for “all-encompassing-ness” was carried out throughout the early medieval period. By the first half of the sixth century, this quest gave rise to a state-sponsored effort to “exploit intellectual resources of the Chinese written tradition.”²⁸⁶

As soon as Emperor Wu of Liang marched into the Qi capital Jiankang to ascend the throne in 502, among many other important and pressing things to attend to, he first sent his general Lü Sengzhen 呂僧珍 (453–511) to take over the Qi imperial collection.²⁸⁷ The one who advised this action was Liu Yun 柳惔 (465–517). In a memorandum to the emperor, Liu pleaded

²⁸⁴ This has been discussed in great detail in Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 287–336.

²⁸⁵ Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 287.

²⁸⁶ I adopt this expression from David R. Olson’s definition for “literacy,” i.e. the ability to “exploit intellectual resources of a written tradition.” See David R. Olson, *The World on Paper: The Conceptual and Cognitive Implications of Writing and Reading* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 247.

²⁸⁷ See *Liang shu*, 1.13.

with the emperor to follow the precedent set by Emperor Gaozu of Han (r. 202–195 BCE) who made it a priority to take over the Qin imperial library to secure a peaceful and rightful transmission of power.²⁸⁸ Emperor Wu was well aware that the legitimacy and authority of a dynasty rest upon, more than anything else, the ruling house's role as the patron of intellectual resources of the written tradition.

Under the auspices of the imperial house, commoners were encouraged to present to the court available volumes, especially rare books, to be examined and cataloged, and imperial envoys were dispatched to gather or transcribe whatever textual fragments they came across. In addition to the imperial library (*mishu sheng* 秘書省), built in 502, two depositories for books, Garden of Lustrous Groves 華林園 (*Hualin yuan*) and Hall of Literary Virtue 文德殿 (*Wende dian*) were established, where textually competent scholars were recruited to collate and organize ancient historical documents.²⁸⁹

In 505, Liu Jun 劉峻 (462–521) presented a catalog of more than 23,000 *juan* of books housed in the Hall of Literary Virtue to the throne.²⁹⁰ A complete catalog of the Liang imperial library, titled *Liang Tianjian liunian sibu shu mulu* 梁天監六年四部書目錄 (Four categories catalog of the imperial library in the sixth year of the Tianjian reign of Liang), was presented to the throne in 507 by Ren Fang 任昉 (460–508) and Yin Jun 殷鈞 (484–532), the director and

²⁸⁸ See *Liang shu*, 21.331.

²⁸⁹ All the Buddhist books were housed in the Garden of Lustrous Groves and non-Buddhist books were kept in the Hall of Literary virtue. See *Liang shu*, 49.686.

²⁹⁰ The full title of the category is *Liang Tianjian sinian wende zhengyu sibu ji shushu shu mulu* 梁天監四年文德正御四部及術數書目錄. Since the books dealing with *shushu* 術數 (occult arts) are considered to form a separate category, the *Shushu shu mulu* 術數書目錄 was compiled by Zu Xuan 祖暉, an expert in *shushu*. See Tang Mingyuan 唐明元, *Wei Jin Nanbei chao muluxue yanjiu* 魏晉南北朝目錄學研究 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shu, 2009), 105–08.

vice-director of the imperial library. In 515, Sengshao 僧紹 presented texts in the Buddhist canons category in the Garden of Lustrous Groves (*Hualin Fodian jingmu* 華林佛殿經目) to the throne.²⁹¹

There were many avid book collectors among members of the Liang imperial family. *Liang Donggong sibu mulu* 梁東宮四部目錄 (Four categories catalog of the Eastern Palace) in four *juan*, compiled by Liu Zun 劉遵 (488–535) cataloged the collection of 30,000 *juan* of books that belonged to the heir apparent, Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531). The collection of Xiao Li 蕭勵, Marquis of Wuping, also reached to 30,000 *juan*.²⁹² Another member of the imperial family, Xiao Jing 蕭靜 (d. 549), was not only an accomplished book collector but also a competent textual scholar.²⁹³ Private collections of Liang officials were also of considerable size. Shen Yue had to 20,000 *juan*;²⁹⁴ Ren Fang, Wang Sengru, and Zhang Mian 張緬 (490–531) each gathered over 10,000 *juan* of books.²⁹⁵ But no single collection comes close to Xiao Yi's 80,000 *juan* collection.

The Liang imperial house also patronized *leishu* 類書 (literally “classified compendium”) compilation projects. The *leishu*, in its typical form, purports to command an organized system of knowledge of the world and, at least in its early forms, was intended to serve as guides for imperial administrative practice.²⁹⁶ The very first *leishu* compilation in Chinese history, *Huang*

²⁹¹ See *Liang shu*, 49.686.

²⁹² See *Nan shi*, 51.1263.

²⁹³ See *Liang shu*, 22.350.

²⁹⁴ See *Liang shu* 13.242; *Nan shi*, 57.1412.

²⁹⁵ See *Liang shu*, 14.254; 33.474; 34.492; *Nan shi*, 56.1388.

²⁹⁶ See Tian, *Beacon Fire and Shooting Star*, 132–33; Hu Daojing 胡道靜, *Zhongguo gudai de leishu* 中國古代的類書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 1–3.

lan 皇覽 (Imperial conspectus), compiled ca. 220–222 under the auspices of Emperor Wen of Wei, had been long celebrated as an emblem of imperial command of culture and knowledge.²⁹⁷

After the compilation of the *Huang lan* it was not until the end of fifth century that *leishu* compilation of a similar scale began to accumulate.²⁹⁸ The *Shouguang shuyuan* 壽光書苑 (Garden of [excerpts of] collection of the Library of Long-lasting Luster) in 200 *juan* was the first *leishu* compiled in the Liang.²⁹⁹ Soon thereafter, Emperor Wu's brother Xiao Xiu 蕭秀 (475–518), the Prince of Ancheng 安成, commissioned Liu Jun to compile the *Lei yuan* 類苑 (Garden of classified extracts) in 120 *juan*.³⁰⁰ Emperor Wu, not to be outdone, subsequently recruited five scholars to compile the *Hualin bianlüe* 華林遍略 (A comprehensive summary of the collection of the Garden of Lustrous Groves) in 620 *juan*.³⁰¹

²⁹⁷ The book was lost by the Song dynasty. But from various fragmentary descriptions of the book, we know that it contained excerpts from a large number of works arranged into various categories. It is allegedly of more than a thousand *juan*. See also Liu Quanbo 劉全波, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao leishu bianzuan yanjiu* 魏晉南北朝類書編纂研究 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2018), 92–126. See also Knechtges and Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature*, 400–01.

²⁹⁸ Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494), Prince of Jingling of Qi, sponsored the compilation of the *Sibu yaolüe* 四部要略 (Essential summaries in four categories), a 1,000 *juan leishu* that was organized in the fashion of the *Huang lan*. See *Nan Qi shu*, 40.698. Also see Liu Quanbo, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao leishu bianzuan yanjiu*, 134–37.

²⁹⁹ Hu Daojing speculates that the compilation was produced when the scholars were assigned to inventory and survey all the books housed in the imperial library in the early years of Emperor Wu's reign. See Hu Daojing, *Zhongguo gudai de leishu*, 57–58. Also see Liu Quanbo, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao leishu bianzuan yanjiu*, 138–43.

³⁰⁰ See *Liang shu*, 50.702. See also Liu Quanbo, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao leishu bianzuan yanjiu*, 143–59.

³⁰¹ See *Nan shi*, 49.1220. See also Liu Quanbo, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao leishu bianzuan yanjiu*, 159–73. *Hualin bianlüe* probably lost during the Song. In the early twentieth century, Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 identified fragment of an early *leishu* discovered in Dunhuang as the Northern Qi *leishu* compilation *Xiuwendian yulan* 修文殿御覽. But Hung Yeh 洪業 (William Hung) argued that the fragments probably belong to the Liang *leishu Hualin bianlüe* instead. See Hung Yeh 洪業, “Suowei Xiuwendian yulan zhe” 所謂修文殿御覽者, *Yanjing xuebao* 12 (1932): 2499–558.

The compilations of library catalogs and encyclopedic compendia reflect the Liang imperial court's effort to obtain an overall command of the inherited written tradition in the imperial domain. This pursuit for "all-encompassing-ness" also inspired the emperor to compile a comprehensive and conclusive discourse of the past. In 517, Emperor Wu commissioned his court officials, among them, Wu Jun 吳均 (469–520), to compile a *Tong shi* 通史 (Comprehensive history) that covered Chinese history from earliest times to the Qi dynasty.³⁰² The compilation, which is not extant, was reported to have consisted of 600 *juan*, containing prefaces and appraisals that the emperor composed himself.³⁰³

According to Liu Zhiji, the *Tong shi* expanded on the records of the *Shi ji* for pre-imperial history. As for the imperial history, it "comprehensively cites existing annals and biographies" 全錄當時紀傳 and arranged the materials so that "each account runs smoothly from the beginning to the end unimpeded, with one following the another according to their innate properties" 上下通達, 臭味相依.³⁰⁴ The emperor once revealed his expectation for the compilation, saying, "When this *Tong shi* that I am producing is finished, numerous other historical accounts can be discarded" 我造通史, 此書若成, 衆史可廢.³⁰⁵ His ambition to establish a tradition that would, once and for all, render other traditions irrelevant, starkly contrasts with Sima Qian's vision of "putting forward the words of one school of thought (or a single family)" 成一家之言. In a period where traditions had become diffuse and multiform,

³⁰² Wu Jun completed the annals and hereditary houses sections but died in 520 before he finished the biographies. See Wu Jun's biography in the *Liang shu*, 49.699.

³⁰³ See *Liang shu*, 3.97. The *Tong shi* is listed in the bibliographic treatise of the *Sui shu* in 480 *juan*. Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661–721) however, reports that the compilation amounts to six hundred and twenty *juan*. See *Sui shu*, 33.956; See Pu Qilong 浦起龍, ed. and comm., *Shi tong tongshi* 史通通釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 1.18.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ See *Liang shu*, 35.511.

Emperor Wu's intellectual venture was intended to inspire a sense of both continuity and authority. As a way of exercising authority, for example, the *Tong shi* put the Tuoba clan of the Northern Wei in the "Yidi zhuan" 夷狄傳 (Biographies of the non-Han people in the east and north).³⁰⁶

Other members of the Liang imperial family took it upon themselves to perpetuate a similar sense of continuity and authority. Xiao Tong's *Wen xuan* 文選 (Selections of Refined Literature) attempts to make sense of a demarcated portion of the literary world of his time in relation to the cultural past.³⁰⁷ In the preface to the *Wen xuan*, Xiao Tong acknowledges the natural tendency of literature to become more ornate and complex over time. Unlike some of the late imperial and early medieval scholars, however, he does not view the changes and complexities as evidence of decline, stylistically or morally, from hallowed high antiquity.³⁰⁸ As far as Xiao Tong was concerned, the time in which he lived might as well be the best of times.

³⁰⁶ This is hardly surprising given that the southern dynasties all traced themselves back to the Eastern Jin. But for Liu Zhiji, it is noteworthy, since the Tang had received power from the Sui, who received it from the Northern Zhou, who received it from the Western Wei.

³⁰⁷ Note the word *xuan* 選 belongs to the same *xiesheng* series as *zhuan* 撰 mentioned. I am prepared to argue that the word emphasizes the well-founded-ness of the selection, i.e. to select from a well-laid ground, to select based on an exhaustive search, a well-casted and thoroughly-surveyed selection. As seen in Cheng Shude, *Lun yu jishi*, 25.1129: "When Shun possessed the empire, he selected from the multitude, and raised Gao Yao, and by so doing put those who were not benevolent at great distance" 舜有天下, 選於眾. 舉皋陶, 不仁者遠矣. Trans. Lau, *Analects*, 117. Also in Chen Li, *Bohu tong shuzheng*, 10.474: "She who is to be married into the imperial household is first necessarily selected among daughters of big states" 王者之娶, 必先選于大國之女. Cf. *ze* 擇 'to make a selection [committing oneself to specific choice(s)]' as in *ze ri* 擇日: pick a [specific auspicious] date.

³⁰⁸ The notion of the "degeneration of literary form" seems prevalent among the late imperial and early medieval scholars. For this sentiment see for example Ban Gu's bibliographical treatises of the *Han shu*; Yang Xiong's preface to the *Fa yan*. It can be inferred also from Pei Ziye's "Diaochong lun" (Treatise on carving insects), and, to some extent, from Liu Xie's *Wenxin diaolong*, especially in the last chapter, in which he states the purpose of his treatise. On this see Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, 13–15.

Standing at the apex of the textual tradition, he recounts that he had spent much of his leisure time:

Reading through the garden of letters,
Extensively perusing the forest of literature.
Always my mind was enraptured and my eyes were absorbed in what they saw,
And as time went by I was oblivious of fatigue.
Since the Zhou and Han,
Long ago, in the remote past,
There have been seven dynastic changes,
And over a thousand years have gone by.
The names of men of letters and great talents overflow the blue bags,
And the texts of swift writings from moist brushes fill the yellow covers.³⁰⁹

歷觀文囿, 泛覽辭林, 未嘗不心遊目想, 移晷忘倦。
自姬漢以來, 眇焉悠邈。時更七代, 數逾千祀。詞人才子, 則名溢於縹囊。飛文染翰,
則卷盈乎緗帙。

He also acknowledges the urgency and importance of taking up the daunting task to manage all the texts.

Unless one omits the weeds,
And collects only the purest blossoms,
Though one doubles his efforts,
It will be difficult to read more than half.³¹⁰

自非略其蕪穢, 集其清英。蓋欲兼功太半, 難矣!

These two metaphors, weeds as a metaphor for unruly literary outgrowth and blossoms for worthy ones, arise from the tradition of comparing the literary anthology to a botanic garden.³¹¹ As such, the act of compiling an anthology is much like that of gardening: both take

³⁰⁹ Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 87.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ This point has been aptly made in David R. Knechtges, “Culling the Weeds and Selecting Prime Blossoms The Anthology in Early Medieval China,” *Culture and Power in the*

planning (how to landscape the garden), selecting (what to properly include in the garden), and planting (weeding out the unwanted ones and putting the chosen ones in order) according to a particular scheme.³¹² The *Wen xuan* is a manicured literary garden with a compilation scheme clearly laid out, with pieces selected based on an overall grasp of the accumulated pieces, and a competent editorial judgment with respect to an individual piece's proper place within the anthology.

From the Zhou house of remote past
To this sage era—
In all it makes thirty chapters.
Its title is *The Selections of Refined Literature*.³¹³

遠自周室, 迄於聖代, 都為三十卷, 名曰《文選》云耳.

If Xiao Tong was inspired to produce an authoritative anthology that brought some order to the realm of belles-lettres, Xiao Yi was motivated by the broader prospect of a cultural tradition with the established order and recognized authorities for texts. Like his brother, Xiao Yi also speaks of the anxiety that arose from the realization that the sheer scope and extent of knowledge far exceeded one's ability to master it.

Various Masters flourished during the Warring States period, and literary collections first proliferated during the Han. Up to this day, every school/ hereditary house produces compilations, and each person has his own collection. Among them, those that are finely written may be sufficient to express feelings and inclinations, and to make rites and customs become steady and unswaying; those that are poorly compiled only consume bamboo slips and wooden tablets, while wearing down later generations. Those of the past have accumulated, and those to come have yet to stop coming. One, raising his foot, sets out to study, could not comprehend everything

Reconstitution of the Chinese Realm, 200–600, eds. Scott Pearce, Audrey Spiro, and Patricia Ebrey (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 2001), 203.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 91.

even when his hair turns white. Sometimes, what was valued in the past is treated lightly now, and what is valued now was deemed worthless in the past.

諸子興於戰國, 文集盛於二漢. 至家家有製, 人人有集. 其美者足以敘情志, 敦風俗; 其弊者祇以煩簡牘, 疲後生. 往者既積, 來者未已, 翹足志學, 白首不遍. 或昔之所重今反輕, 今之所重, 古之所賤.³¹⁴

Xiao Yi appeals to the literati of his generation to establish a competent grasp of the written texts, or in his words, to become “learned” *xue* 學.

Alas, among those erudite and percipient later-born men of my generation, those who can evaluate differences and similarities, trim and organize the weeds and overgrowth, so that each scroll may be free of defects and blemishes, and in reading comprehensively there will be no [textual] legacy left out; this may be referred to as “learned.”

嗟我後生博遠之士, 有能品藻異同, 刪整蕪穢, 使卷無瑕玷, 覽無遺功, 可謂學矣.

As the cultural legacy had become increasingly diffuse and multiform in front of his eyes, there was a sense of urgency, i.e. “If not now, when?” as well as a sense of responsibility, i.e. “If not me, who?” This sense of urgency and responsibility can be seen in the surviving prefaces to some of the books that Xiao Yi lists in the “Zhu shu.” Among them is the *Illustrations of Tribute Bearers* (“Zhigong tu” 職貢圖).³¹⁵

³¹⁴ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 4.659.

³¹⁵ Although the original painting has been lost, a fragment of a Song reproduction has survived, portraying a series of individual figures of foreign envoys each coming to present tributes to the Liang court. The extant Song replica consists of twelve envoys, each accompanied by a short passage describing the geographical location, history, and customs of the country in question. It is now preserved in the National Museum of China in Beijing 中國國家博物館. Scholars do not agree on the extent to which the Song replica reflects Xiao Yi’s original work. For a detailed study of the “Zhigong tu” refer to Enoki Kazuo, “The Liang chih-kung-t’u,” *Studia Asiatica* (1998): 318–83. The original preface to it is cited in the *Yiwen leiju*, 55.996–97.

In the preface, Xiao Yi first traces the *zhi gong* tradition to the paradigm to what purports to be part of the administrative apparatus of the royal state of Zhou as laid out in the *Zhou li*. The paradigm involves an administrative center surrounded by a periphery of polities and peoples that submitted to the authority of the center. He then mentioned that by virtue of its cultural superiority and military potency, the Han empire transformed the paradigm into an ideal of “using virtue to cordially accept allegiance of people from remote regions” (*yide huaiyuan* 以德懷遠). This cultural ideal, according to Xiao Yi, is splendidly restored in his father’s reign, he wrote:

During the four decades His Majesty has ruled the sub-celestial realm,
With his garments trailing, he has brought benefit to his subjects;
Sitting in the lofty hall, he gives recognition to the myriad kingdoms coming to pay
tribute.

皇帝君臨天下之四十載，
垂衣裳而賴兆民，坐巖廊而彰萬國。

Xiao Yi considers it his responsibility to account for the *zhi gong* ideal taking form in this time and age in which he lived and to give full credit to the cultural rationale behind the empire that, as far as he was concerned, no less worthy than the Han. Xiao Yi mentions that, in the capacity of regional inspector of Jingzhou, he made inquiry of the “tribute bearers” who supposedly came to pay homage to the Liang court.

Because I, your vassal, am talentless, receiving the honor of your majesty’s appointment, I serve on the upper reaches of the river. [Here] the songs of the Yi became fully formed pieces, and Hunnish people assembled from afar. They knocked at the gate of the pass and begged for an audience, and knocked their foreheads against the ground. They lined up like a long river flowing all the way from the Jingzhou city gate. I examine their appearance and demeanor, and trace [the origins of] their ways and customs. If someone has come to pay court at the capital without passing through Hannan,³¹⁶ I have separately engaged in inquiry and information

³¹⁶ Hannan 漢南 “south of the Han River” here refers to Jingzhou.

gathering to expand what I have seen and heard. I title this *Illustrations of Tribute Bearers*.³¹⁷

臣以不佞,推轂上游,夷歌成章,胡人遙集,款開蹶角,沿泝荊門.瞻其容貌,訴其風俗.如有來朝京輦,不涉漢南,別加訪採,以廣聞見.名爲職貢圖云爾.

In this part of the preface, Xiao Yi directly informs the emperor that he seeks to contribute to the general knowledge of the *zhi gong* tradition under the auspices of the emperor. Xiao Yi does not aspire to be exhaustive but does promise to account for, as much as possible, the tribute bearer that comes into the orbit of the empire.

The works of Emperor Wu and those of his two sons reveal a common pursuit for “all-encompassing-ness” —a quest for the intellectual recourses of the Chinese written tradition—that is fundamental to the intellectual outlook and identity of the Liang imperial court. This pursuit, on one level, is a continuation of a long textual tradition and a response to a new textual reality. Beyond that, as the imperial house had been increasingly identified with the role of the patron of the written tradition, its legitimacy and authority were more than ever rested in a comprehensive and competent command of all written knowledge. It was in this context that, Xiao Yi, as a member of the imperial house, went out of his way to appeal to the overall quest for a culled, classified, and cultivated intellectual “all-encompassing-ness,” on the one hand, seeking to enhance the authority of his imperial house, and, on the other hand, to claim his own regal authority.

II. “Zhu shu” 著書 (Book Compiling)

³¹⁷ My translation is based on Joe Cutter, “Preface to Illustrations of Tribute Bearers” Unpublished manuscript.

The “Zhu shu” chapter consists of works that Xiao Yi composed, compiled, or commissioned, and the prefaces to the work cited.³¹⁸ The list consists of thirty-eight compilations, covering all four categories of the bibliographic classification scheme first established in Xun Xu’s 荀勗 (ca. 217–288) catalog prepared for the collection of the Western Jin imperial archives.³¹⁹ The last item on the list, a Buddhist compendium, the *Neidian boyao* 內典博要 (Comprehensive essence of the Inner [Buddhist] Canon), resides outside the range of the four-fold bibliographic classification scheme.³²⁰ Twenty-nine out of the thirty-eight listed items are accompanied by Xiao Yi’s original comments, providing more details about the compilation in question.³²¹ Xiao Yi consistently refers to himself in the third person, “Jinlou,” in the commentary. Xiao Yi uses different verbs in the commentary to describe how he put the compilations together.

³¹⁸ This list of works, originally attached to the “Ju shu” (Book collecting) chapter in the *Yongle dadian*, was filed separately under the heading “Zhu shu” by the *Siku* editors. From the *Yongle dadian* the editors retrieved five additional fragmentary entries that appear to be prefaces to some of books cited in the “Zhu shu.” Therefore, the *Siku* editors excerpted Xiao Yi’s prefaces from later compilation and reinserted them in the chapter. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 5.795–96.

³¹⁹ The catalog titled *Zhongjing xinbu* 中經新簿 (A new catalog of the palace texts), the structure of which was based on the catalog of the Wei palace library, known as the *Zhongjing* 中經 (Catalog of the palace texts), compiled by Zheng Mo 鄭默 (213–280). See *Sui shu*, 32.906–07. The order of the four categories was finalized by Li Chong 李充 (d. ca. 362), in the Eastern Jin imperial catalog, known as the *Jin Yuandi sibushumu* 晉元帝四部書目 (Catalog of the palace texts of Emperor Yuan of Jin). The list cited in the “Zhu shu” follows this finalized sequence of the four categories.

³²⁰ The *Neidian boyao* was compiled by Yu Xiaojing 虞孝敬 under the auspices of Xiao Yi; see Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗, *Sui shu “Jingji zhi” kaozheng* 隋書經籍志考證 (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2011), 1269–70.

³²¹ In one case, Xiao Yi notes that the compilation was unfinished (*wei cheng* 未成). The number of *juan* he mentions in the note falls short of what he claimed in the main entry, which seems to suggest that the compilation project was carried out with a predetermined goal. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 5.798.

i. *zhu* 著

The word *zhu*, which appears in the chapter title, figures prominently in the entire *Jinlouzi*. In his preface to the work, Xiao Yi cites Cao Pi saying, “By establishing his virtue and putting something into writing / or “compose in writing”, one does not decay” 立德著書, 可以不朽.³²² Also in the preface, Xiao Yi refers to himself as someone who “engages in writing without surcease” 著書不息.

In his commentary that accompanied the list of works in the chapter, Xiao Yi refers to only the first item, *Lian shan* 連山, as a text he puts into writing (*zhu*).

The Golden Scriptorium first involved himself in the composition of this work when he was twenty *sui*; the undertaking was not accomplished until he was in his thirtieth year. He personally attended to the composition and editing of the text, to which he applied his maximum efforts.

金樓年在弱冠著此書, 至於立年其功始就. 躬親筆削, 極有其勢.

ii. *zuan* 纂

To the second item *Jinlou mijue* 金樓秘訣 (Recondite acroama of the Golden Scriptorium), Xiao Yi notes:

[This work] was compiled by the Golden Scriptorium, consisting of miscellaneous anecdotes in fulfillment of the *Lian [shan]*. There is nothing extraordinary about it.

金樓纂, 即連雜事, 無奇也.

³²² This is a paraphrase of a line in Cao Pi’s letter to Wang Lang 王朗 (ca. 156–288): “Only when one establishes his virtue and makes his name known does he not decay. The next best thing to do [to archive this] is to compose pieces and texts” 唯立德揚名, 可以不朽; 其次莫如著篇籍. See *Sanguo zhi*, 2.88; note 1.

This is the only case in this chapter where Xiao Yi describes his compilation as a product of engaging in *zuan*. The word *zuan* seems to emphasize the practice of amassing rather than the actual compiling. A good example is the following passage from the “Li yan” chapter of the *Jinlouzi*.

It has been over thirty years since I started reading military texts as a young boy. From several thousands of scrolls of texts that I have searched through and assembled, I scraped together only one bundle [ten scrolls or less]. The cream of the crop is thoroughly accommodated in it.

吾少讀兵書，三十餘年。搜纂數千，止為一帙。菁華領袖，備在其中。³²³

The word *zuan* is glossed in the *Er ya* 爾雅 in the same line with words such as *yin* 胤, *si* 嗣, *xu* 續, and *ji* 繼, all meaning to continue, succeed, or more specifically, to join end to end.

Xiao Yi probably uses *zuan* to indicate that the *Jinlou mijue* was an outgrowth of the previously mentioned *Lian shan*.³²⁴

³²³ Chen and Xiong suggest that the text in question is *Yu tao* 玉韜 (Jade sheathing) listed in the “Zhu shu” chapter as one bundle of ten scrolls. Also see “Za ji” of the *Jinlouzi*: “I am fond of composing literary pieces and of putting forth in writing... I was able to compose poems as early as six *sui*. Among all the texts I compiled, the *Yu dao* is the finest. 余好為詩賦及著書... 余六歲能為詩，其後著書之中，唯玉韜最善。 See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 4. 679–80; 6.1127.

³²⁴ The title *Jinlou mijue* is not otherwise attested. Xin Deyong 辛德勇 suspects that the *Jinlou mijue* might be an alternative title for *Dong lin* 洞林, a text listed in both the *Liang shu* and *Sui shu* in three *juan* but left out in this chapter. In his studies of the bibliographical treatises of the *Sui shu*, Yao Zhenzong observed that the title *Dong lin* is missing in the “Zhu shu” chapter. He also noted that the *Siku* scholars failed to include Xiao Yi preface to the *Dong lin* cited in the *Yiwen leiju* in their reconstruction of the work. See Yao Zhenzong, *Sui shu “Jingji zhi” kaozheng*, 1483–84. For the preface to the *Dong lin*, see *Yiwen leiju*, 75.1286. Xin Deyong’s suspicion arises from the fact that *Jinlou mijue*’s twenty-two *juan* all in one case does not comply with what he observed in every other item listed here, that is, one case (*zhi* 帙) accommodated a maximum of ten *juan* of text. If a text has more than twenty *juan* but less than thirty *juan*, it would take three cases to accommodate it, and so one case for twenty-two *juan*

iii. *fengshu zhiyi* 奉述制義

Two of the compilations, *Zhou yi yishu* 周易義疏 and *Laozi yishu* 老子義疏, were composed “to [respectively] recount the emperor’s [Emperor Wu of Liang] elucidated meaning [of the text]” (*fengshu zhiyi* 奉述制義).³²⁵ Xiao Yi notes that in both cases, he blended in a whiff of his own reflection (*xiaoxiao cuoyi* 小小措意) in the compilation.

iv. *he* 合

The word *he* as a mode of compilation only occurs once in the chapter. Xiao Yi notes that he compiled the *Xiaode zhuan* 孝德傳 (Accounts of filial virtue) by combining a host of existing traditions of filial sons (*he zhong jia Xiaozhi zhuan cheng ci* 合眾家孝子傳成此).³²⁶

must be incorrect. In principle, never would one case accommodate two or more different texts. See Xin Deyong 辛德勇, *Lishi de kongjian yu kongjian de lishi* 歷史的空間與空間的歷史 (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 2005), 332–34.

³²⁵ The original text has *Xiaozhi yishu* 孝子義疏 for *Laozi yishu* 老子義疏. The *Siku* scholars noted that the character *lao* 老 was erroneously transcribed as *xiao* 孝. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 5.807–08. Yao Zhenzong identified Xiao Yan’s *Zhouyi jiangshu* 周易講疏 (Elucidations of the *Zhou yi*) and *Laozi jiangshu* 老子講疏 (Elucidations of the *Lao zi*) as the base texts for Xiao Yi’s *Zhouyi yishu* and *Laozi yishu* respectively. See Yao Zhenzong, *Sui shu “Jingji zhi” kaozheng*, 83; 1124. The *Zhouyi jiangshu* and *Laozi jiangshu* were probably Xiao Yan’s elucidation and lecture notes. In the early medieval period, Buddhist monks introduced the format of open lecture, typically accompanied by a procedure for dialogues and doctrinal debates, to orally expounding Buddhist doctrine. This format was adopted by Classical scholars as their teaching method. By the time of Liang, there are records of renowned scholars and members of the royal house, giving lectures on the classical texts. See Lee, *Education in Traditional China, a History*, 61.

³²⁶ For a complete list of accounts of filial sons before Xiao Yi’s time, refer to Knapp, *Selfless offspring*, 62–63. Knapp also argues that the *Xiaozhi tu zhuan* 孝子圖傳 (Traditions of filial sons with illustrations) attributed to Liu Xiang was neither compiled by Liu Xiang nor even produced in the Han dynasty. See Knapp, *Selfless offspring*, 46–52.

v. *zhuan* 撰

The word *zhuan* is used in twenty entries among all twenty-nine entries with Xiao Yi's notes. Half of the cases are where Xiao Yi delegates the compilation projects to his confidants or associates (*fu* 付... *zhuan* 撰); he himself undertook the other ten compilations (*zi zhuan* 自撰).

The *locus classicus* of the word *zhuan* is a famous story in the *Lun yu*. When Confucius' disciples Zilu, Zeng Xi, Ran You, and Gongxi Hua were seated in attendance, Confucius invited each of them to freely speak of his aspiration. Zilu speaks his mind first, saying that he aspired to become a minister of a state of a thousand chariots. Ran You, who then follows, says that he has set his heart on administering a smaller state. When Confucius turned to Gongxi Hua, the latter tentatively said that he will be content with being in charge of ceremonial protocol. Confucius finally invited Zeng Xi to state what he had set his heart upon. Before Zeng Xi finally revealing that he did not care for any of those worldly undertakings but only wishes for a light-hearted spring outing, he first replied, “異乎三子者之撰.”³²⁷

Zheng Xuan reads the word in question [written as 撰 in his version of the text] as *quan* 詮 (complete, and by extension, good), based on which Lu Deming suggested 具 *ju* (complete, thorough, full-fledged) as his gloss for the word *zhuan* 撰.³²⁸ The line should be rendered as “I differ from the thoroughness of the three gentlemen,” in the sense that Zeng Xi is concerned that his desire is not as well-thought-out, either morally inferior (fine, good) or simply not as thoroughly conceptualized (complete, thorough) as his classmates. In either case, his response

³²⁷ D.C. Lau understands the word in question as 選 *xuan* (v. to choose, n. choice), and accordingly renders the line as “I differ from the other three in my choice.” Trans. Lau, *Analects*, 110.

³²⁸ See Lu Deming 陸德明, *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012), 24.530.

fittingly evoked Confucius' encouraging nudge, who said, "What harm is there in that? After all, each man is stating what he has set his heart upon" 何傷乎? 亦各言其志也.³²⁹

It can be established that the word *zhuan* is anchored on a core sense of 'complete' and by extension, 'refined.' For example, *zhuan* 饌: 'food being dished up and bountifully displayed':

When a sumptuous feast was brought on, he invariably assumed a solemn expression and rose to his feet.

有盛饌, 必變色而作.³³⁰

zhuan 譔: 'thoroughly assembly'

[In this way] gentlemen of antiquity thoroughly assembled their ancestors' virtues in due order and made them [the virtues] markedly visible to later generations.

古之君子論譔其先祖之美, 而明著之後世者也.³³¹

This passage refers to Lord Zhuang of Wei presenting a tripod to Kong Kui to acknowledge his service to the state of Wei. The inscription recounts the merits and military exploits of Kong Kui's ancestors in serving previous lords.³³² The word *zhuan* 譔 'assemble, muster [on the basis of an exhaustive search]' in the first line is relevant to the process of composition, while the word *zhu* 著 in the second half of the passage registers a long-lasting effect of the inscription, carrying the sense 'leaving an imprint, making known and conspicuous.'

³²⁹ The rendering "I differ from the other three in my choice," on the other hand, would sound self-important and attention-seeking. This has been pointed out in Cheng Shude, *Lun yu jishi*, 23.805–06.

³³⁰ See Cheng Shude, *Lun yu jizhu*, 21.727; Trans. Lau, *Analects*, 105.

³³¹ *Li ji zhengyi*, 49.20a.

³³² *Li ji zhengyi*, 49.19a–20a.

In his famous letter to Wu Zhi 吳質 (177–230), dated March, 218, Cao Pi mentions the death of four prominent literary figures the year before. He wrote:

“I recently gathered together their remaining works and assembled them in a single collection.”

頃撰其遺文，都為一集。³³³

A few lines down, Cao Pi mentions with great regret that only one of the four recently deceased masters, Xu Gan (170–217) managed to put something forth in writing, but although Ying Yang (d. 217) had the ability to do so, never had the chance to accomplish it.

[Xu Gan] wrote the *Zhong lun* (Balanced Disquisitions) in twenty-odd chapters which have become the words of his school of thought. His phrases are classical and refined, worthy of being transmitted to posterity. This man will be immortal. Delian [Ying Yang] was accomplished and had the desire to compose works; his talents and learning were sufficient to enable him to write books. It is to be bitterly regretted that he was unable to realize his fine ambition.³³⁴

...著中論二十餘篇，成一家之業。辭義典雅，足傳于後，此子為不朽矣。德璉常斐然有述作意，才學足以著書。美志不遂，良可痛惜。

The distinction between *zhuan* and *zhu* is made apparent here. While *zhu* amounts to a life-time undertaking involving submitting one's name to the world, leaving his own imprint in history, even perhaps a rudimentary sense of “claiming one's authorship,” *zhuan* appears to be more of a compilation practice, especially referring to exhaustively gathering and carefully sorting out textual materials following a specific editorial scheme.

³³³ See *Sanguo zhi*, 21.608–09.

³³⁴ Trans. Donald Holzman, “Literary Criticism in China in the Early Third Century A.D.,” *Asiatische Studien* 28.2 (1974): 123–24.

The compilation mode of *zhuan* (alone with *zuan*, *he*, *shu*) feeds directly into the imperial house's appetite for "all-encompassing-ness" to establish its authority in the intellectual community of the time. The verb *zhu*, on the other hand, is more tuned to Xiao Yi's personal ambition, that is, to effectively identify himself as one of the accomplished members of the intellectual community by virtue of his superior command of texts. Each of Xiao Yi compilations in the "Zhu shu," whether he carried out by himself or commissioned to others to complete, can be seen as part of his overall effort to exploit the intellectual resources of the written tradition.

III. "Ju Shu" 聚書 (Booking Collecting)

Xiao Yi's intellectual exploits are also documented in the "Ju shu" chapter, where he details how he had assembled his books over the years, beginning with his receipt of a set of Classics from his father at the age of six. This chapter represents the earliest extant account in Chinese history of how a collector assembled his collection.³³⁵

This account of book collecting is chronologically arranged and can be divided into several periods during which he served in different places. For every batch of books he assembled, Xiao Yi not only indicates the title and the number of *juan* of the books but also specifies how or from whom he obtained each of them. Xiao Yi systematically records every acquisition of books he gathered with the keyword *de* 得 "obtained." In most of the entries, the word *de* is accompanied by another word that indicates the way he obtained each of those books. Three modes of phrasing can be found in this inventory:

³³⁵ Tian, *Beacon Fire and Shooting Star*, 87.

Most of the books Xiao Yi acquired in the earlier years were gifts from his family members. For those books, Xiao Yi wrote *de...xiangshu*, 得...餉書 (obtained these granted books from somebody), or in some cases, he wrote *de... lai*, 得... 賚 (obtained these books as a gift from somebody).³³⁶

Second, Xiao Yi also gathered a considerable number of books by having someone copy them from various sources for him. For every acquisition, Xiao Yi wrote “acquired via copying” (*xiede* 寫得) in his account. Xiao Yi began to have his private scribes copy books of the imperial library as early as the age of ten or eleven *sui*. Xiao Yi also frequently sent his scribes to copy scholars’ private book collections (*jiashu* 家書). Apart from the imperial library and private collections, Buddhist temples and monks also provided him with an abundant number of books for him to copy. Members of the Liang imperial family were generous patrons of Buddhism. Therefore, Xiao Yi was able to gain access not only to the depository of Buddhist texts in temples but also to Buddhist monks’ private book collections. He even had several Buddhist monks at his disposal to search for and copy books for him.³³⁷

Third, Xiao Yi also sent his subordinates to purchase books from book markets for him. The greatest acquisition that Xiao Yi acquired from book markets was the *fa shu* 法書

³³⁶ For example, he notes “When I served in Danyang, I presented a communication requesting books from the late Crown Prince” 為丹陽時，啟請先宮書。Though Xiao Yi’s original letter is no longer extant, Xiao Tong’s reply to Xiao Yi’s request has been preserved in the *Quan Liang wen*, titled “Replying to the Prince of Xiangdong’s Letter Requesting the *Wenji* and *Shiyuan yinghua*” 答湘東王求文集及詩苑英華書. See *Quan Liang wen*, 20.2a–b. For Xiao Tong’s letter, see also Wang Ping, *The Age of Courtly Writing* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 71–72.

³³⁷ See entries such as “I then sent Master Jing [Shi Fajing 釋法京] to copy four divisions [of books] from the Depository of Buddhist sutras in the Changsha Temple 又於長沙寺經藏，就京公寫得四部。” And see also “I then sent Master Zhibiao of the Donglin Temple to copy books for me 又就東林寺智表法師寫得書。”

(exemplars of calligraphy) collection, including pieces by two famous calligraphers Wang Xizhi's 王羲之 (303–361) and Wang Xianzhi's 王獻之 (344–386).³³⁸ Xiao Yi indicated every acquisition of books he gathered from book markets with the label *shide* 市得 “acquired via purchase.”

Besides the aforementioned three kinds of books, namely books he obtained as granted gifts, copied books (*xiede*) and those purchased from the market (*shide*), there were still a large number of books in Xiao Yi's book collection that he simply indicates with the word *de* 得 “obtained.” This category is interesting, for it offers a glimpse into the changing dynamics of his social prestige in relation to his book collecting experience.

Among the entries of collected books that Xiao Yi simply designates words *de* in the “Ju shu” chapter, he often writes quite openly about books he obtained from his subordinates, including his official underlings and provincial commoners.³³⁹ In the following account, Xiao Yi writes about how he obtained an entire bibliographical section of books from his subordinates, such as Jiang Ge 江革, Jiang Lu 江錄 and Yao Kai 姚凱.³⁴⁰

³³⁸ Xiao Yi also presented one (or more) of Wang Xizhi's pieces to Xiao Gang. See Xiao Gang's letter addressed to Xiao Yi titled “Replying to the Prince of Xiangdong's Letter Presenting Wang Xizhi's Calligraphy” 答湘東王上王羲之書書 cited in *Yiwen leiju* 74.1268 and *Quan Liang wen*, 11.3a.

³³⁹ In some cases, he politely referred to the books received from his subordinates who were also his friends, such as Zhang Zuan 張纘 (499–549), Zhang Wan 張綰 (ca. 500–ca. 562), and Fan Xu 范胥 (fl. 527), as *xiangshu* 餉書 (granted books.) This, however, should be distinguished from the books he received as a gift in the very first category.

³⁴⁰ Jiang Ge 江革 (d. 535) was a prominent official of the Liang court. According to the *Liang shu*, Jiang Ge “served as magistrate of eight administrative districts and joined staff with four princes” 歷官八府長史, 四王行事. See *Liang shu*, 36.526. Here Xiao Yi seems to imply that the books were obtained after Jiang Ge died in 535. Jiang Lu 江錄 is probably a mistake for Jiang Lu 江祿, who served as administrative supervisor of Xiao Yi's princely establishment. See *Nan shi*, 36.944–45. Nothing is known about Yao Kai.

I also acquired books of the Yuanjia period (424–454) in five *zhi* (cases) from Jiang Ge's household. I then acquired three more *zhi* from Yao Kai's abode and another four *zhi* from Jiang Lu's abode. Together, they constitute one section, in twenty *zhi*, one hundred and fifteen *juan*. They were all copied in the Yuanjia period, and the paper and ink were exceptionally exquisite and rare.

又于江州江革家,得元嘉前後書五帙;又就姚凱處得三帙;又就江錄處得四帙;足為一部,合二十帙,一百一十五卷.並是元嘉書,紙墨極精奇.³⁴¹

In the following entry, Xiao Yi mentions a large number of books in 1,000 *juan*. He used the term “*jude*” 聚得 (acquired by amassing) for this acquisition without specifying how he procured them.

I also assembled and acquired Yuanjia period copies of *Hou Han shu*, as well as the *Shi ji*, *Xu Han chunjiu*, *Zhou guan*, *Shang shu*, and various masters' works and collections of literary writings, about a thousand *juan* in all.

又聚得元嘉後漢,並史記,續漢春秋,周官,尚書,及諸子集等可一千餘卷.

The term *ju* 聚, which is also used in the title of the chapter, deserves some attention. First, as an ergative verb, when *ju* does not take any object, it shows a certain tendency to describe an event taking place by itself without any specified agent.

When wasteland is not brought under cultivation, wealth is not accumulated, this, [too] is no disaster for the state.³⁴²

田野不辟,貨財不聚,非國之害也.

When Wuzi of Han set out on a hunting trip, all the hunting dogs were rounded up and hunting carts gathered, a messenger came and announced that the lord of Jin had

³⁴¹ Here “twenty cases” *ershi zhi* 二十帙 should probably be “twelve cases” (*shier zhi* 十二帙) instead to comply with the convention of the time that one case accommodates a maximum of ten *juan* of text.

³⁴² See *Mengzi zhushu*, 7A.3a. Trans. Lau, *Mencius*, 118.

died.

韓武子田，獸已聚矣，田車合矣，傳來告曰晉公薨。³⁴³

Another semantic connotation of the word *ju* that is important to our discussion is that the objects that are being amassed are things of the same kind or like-minded people:

Those with regular tendencies gather according to kind, and things divide up according to group.³⁴⁴
方以類聚，物以群分。

His dwelling could gather followers to the point of forming crowds. His words could disguise what is perverse and draw along the masses.³⁴⁵
居處足以聚徒成群，言談足飾邪營眾。

As such, the title “Ju shu” perhaps should be better rendered as “Drawing books together.” The meaning of *ju* also sheds some light on the connotation of *de*, which either directly indicates or implicitly signifies the way in which every batch of books he comes to possess. In reading this chronologically arranged inventory of book collecting, it is interesting to note that not only did Xiao Yi’s book collection increase as his political influence accumulated, how he collected them also transformed significantly. Although he still sent his subordinates to copy or purchase books for him, it seems that during the last few years before he assumed the imperial throne, it was increasingly the case that he *de* (got to acquire) books without making a special effort to obtain them.

³⁴³ See Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 1.27.

³⁴⁴ See Zhou yi zhengyi, 7.2b. Trans. Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 47.

³⁴⁵ Trans. Eric Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), 318–19.

De 德 and *de* 得

In classical Chinese, the use of the word *De* 德 [hereafter I use capitalized *De* 德 to differentiate it from *de* 得] which has the root meaning of ‘the power to oblige’ is closely related to power politics.³⁴⁶ In Xiao Yi’s preface to the *Quande zhi* 全德志 (Accounts of those of perfect potency), a man of perfect *De* is described as “he who acquires [things] without conscious effort to seek for them” 不慮而得.³⁴⁷ One’s acquisition of *de* is expected to be a corresponding manifestation of his *De*; *De* commands the power to bring forth *de* that is proportional to the *De*.³⁴⁸

The *De* of Liu De 劉德, who was also an avid book collector, for example, is seen reflected in his ability to procure rare books. In the chapter “Shuofan” 說蕃 (A discourse of enfeifed kings) of the *Jinlouzi*, Xiao Yi opens the entry for Liu De by referring to his great *De*:

Of the vassal princes who had the most magnificent *De* this would be Liu De, whose courtesy name was Jundao.³⁴⁹

昔蕃屏之盛德者，則劉德字君道。

³⁴⁶ The following philological and philosophical discussion on *de* 德 is initially based on my notes from the lecture “Coming to Terms with *De* 德” delivered by Professor Emeritus Robert H. Gassmann in 2010, SOAS. It was the 2010 A.C. Graham Memorial Lecture. For the abstract of the lecture, see: <http://www.soas.ac.uk/chinesestudies/events/ac-graham-memorial-lectures-2010/23feb2010-lecture-the-deconstruction-of-virtue-and-an-exercise-in-scientific-morality.html>

³⁴⁷ The *Quande zhi* is listed in the “Zhu shu,” *Liang shu*, 5.136, *Nan shi*, 8.246 [listed as *Gujin quande zhi*], and *Sui shu*, 33.978, all as in one *juan*, the preface is cited in the *Yiwen leiju*, 21. 377.

³⁴⁸ Their identical Middle Chinese pronunciation suggests a semantic connection between the two words. For their OC and MC reconstructions, see Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese*, 108–09.

³⁴⁹ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 3.424.

He was fond of texts written in Ancient Script. Every time he sought out fine books among the people, without fail he would [have someone] copy the books and give them back. He himself kept the original version, and he also rewarded them with gold and fine silks. There were also scholar-officials who did not regard a thousand leagues as too far to travel, but came and presented their ancestor's old books [to Liu De].

好古文, 每就人間求善書, 必為好寫與之, 留其真本, 加以金帛。
士有不遠千里而至者, 多獻其先祖舊書。

The *De* of Liu De was born out by the fact that he became to possess (*de*) what he desired, namely, rare books. Or in other words, it was Liu De's *De* that caused others to oblige themselves to benefit him with things he acquired (*de*). Liu De's book collection, at least according to Xiao Yi, shows how magnificent his *De* was.

Xiao Yi believed that a person's *De* is not entirely in-born but can be cultivated and enhanced.

As for a gentlemen's devotion, it should be constantly based on succoring other creatures. Expand it by establishing deeds, and reinforce it by cultivating *De*, would that not be ideal?³⁵⁰

君子之用心也, 恒須以濟物為本. 加之以立功, 重之以修德, 豈不美乎?

He was also aware that one's *De* is predicated on his social status and government standing.

Positions are sequenced according to *De*, and *De* can be accomplished by virtue of the position.³⁵¹

位以德敘, 德以位成.

³⁵⁰ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 4.730.

³⁵¹ See *Yiwen leiju*, 50.902 Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 5.854.

With that frame of mind, Xiao Yi took each of his government positions and official duties seriously. According to the *Nan shi*, Xiao Yi was extremely diligent in attending to everyday government affairs, and he was never idle and managed various kinds of bureaucratic writings quite quickly.³⁵² Elsewhere in the *Jinlouzi*, Xiao Yi tells why he exerted himself so attentively to government affairs: because his name and deeds had not yet been established.³⁵³ Xiao Yi notes, during the time he served as the regional inspector of Jiangzhou:

When Xiao Yue, the Marquis of Luoxiang, failed to defend Ancheng (modern An'fu, Jiangxi),³⁵⁴ I then sent the administrative adviser Wang Sengbian (d. 555) to fetch and acquire Xiao Yue's books.

時羅鄉侯蕭說于安成失守，又遣王諮議僧辨取得說書。

The use of the term *qude* 取得 (fetch and acquire) suggests that his acquisition might have been a confiscation. At the most, it shows that Xiao Yi was increasingly self-assured about his ever-enhanced political authority.

As shown in his book collecting account, after Xiao Yi was appointed as the regional inspector of Jingzhou and area military commander of the six regions,³⁵⁵ Xiao Yi even more frequently acquired books from others by compelling them voluntarily to act in his own interest. In this sense, Xiao Yi's book collection was more likely to have been displayed and flaunted

³⁵² See *Nan shi*, 8.243.

³⁵³ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 4.622.

³⁵⁴ In 542 a rebellion incited by a local gentry named Liu Jinggong 劉敬躬 (d. 542) broke out in Ancheng, and the regional governor Xiao Yue abandoned the city and fled. Xiao Yi sent General Cao Ziying 曹子郢 to suppress the uprising. Cao Ziying defeated the rebels, captured Liu Jinggong, and had him executed. See *Liang shu*, 3.87; also see *Nan shi*, 7.216.

³⁵⁵ See *Liang shu*, 5.113. According to Charles Hucker, since in general regional governors were military men and their functions were largely military, the most powerful ones commonly dominated a cluster of neighboring regions and were entitled area commanders (*du... junshi* 督...軍事). See Charles Hucker, *A dictionary of official title in Imperial China* (Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1988), 20.

than having been read or studied. In this chapter, Xiao Yi intended to display and wield his exceptional potency, namely his *De*, by means of the number of books he acquired (*de*).

After the outbreak of the Hou Jing Rebellion in 548, as a royal prince and regional military commander, Xiao Yi was endowed with ever-augmented *De*. His book collecting accounts during this period also include cases that are tantamount to blatant appropriations. I cite the last three entries of the “Ju shu” to show how Xiao Yi *de* acquired books when his *De* had reached its commanding height. The last few entries were as brief as they could be. But a series of historical events that lay behind these three installments of the acquisition reveals Xiao Yi’s political ambition and at the same time attests to Xiao Yi’s ever-exalting *De*.

Later I acquired the book collections once owned by Yue Yanchun and Liu Zhilin, which amount to around five thousand *juan*. I also acquired book collections of the Prince of Nanping, of Governor Zhang of Yongzhou, of the Prince of Guiyang.³⁵⁶

後又有樂彥春，劉之遴等書，將五千卷。又得南平嗣王書，又得張雍州書，又得桂陽藩王書。³⁵⁷

The book collections previously owned by Liu Zhilin 劉之遴 (478–549), Xiao Ke, the Prince of Nanping, Zhang Zuan 張纘 (499–549), and Xiao Zao 蕭慄 (d. 548), the Prince of Guiyang 桂陽王, all fell into Xiao Yi hands upon their death.

In 548, when the Hou Jing rebellion broke out, Liu Zhilin fled westward from the capital and joined Xiao Yi’s staff in Jiangling. He reportedly died near Xiakou 夏口 (modern Wuhan, Hubei) in early 549.³⁵⁸ Xiao Zao was the regional inspector of Xinyang 信陽 (modern Xinyang,

³⁵⁶ Trans. Tian, “Book collecting and cataloguing,” 313.

³⁵⁷ Nothing is known about Yue Yanchun or Liu Zhiyuan.

³⁵⁸ See *Liang shu*, 40.572–74. *Nan shi* reports that Xiao Yi secretly assassinated Liu out of jealousy. See *Nan shi*, 50.1252.

Henan), when the rebellion broke out in 548. Out of personal grievances, Zhang Zuan, Xiao Yi's confidant and brother-in-law, falsely accused Xiao Zao and Xiao Yi's nephew Xiao Yu of plotting to launch a pincer attack on Xiao Yi's stronghold in Jiangling.³⁵⁹ Knowing that Xiao Yi would not be lenient with him, Xiao Zao vociferously reviled Xiao Yi, so much so that Xiao Yi had him killed.³⁶⁰ Presumably, he also acquired Xiao Zao's book collection. Zhang Zuan, the initiator of the event mentioned above, did not escape the fate of having his books being appropriated by Xiao Yi. According to the *Nan shi*, when Zhang Zuan was killed in Xiangyang, Xiao Yi took Zhang Zuan's assets and collection left in Jiangzhou as his own, among which was Zhang's book collection in 20,000 *juan*.³⁶¹

In 552, Xiao Yi reached the apex of *De* after he quelled the rebellion through a series of ruthless military maneuvers and self-serving political propaganda. After he defeated Hou Jing, Xiao Yi immediately had the books of the imperial library sent to his military base in Jiangling.³⁶² At the height of this *De*, Xiao Yi assumed the Liang throne in the same year. The reputed 140,000 *juan* of books obtained at the time he took over the throne thus became the symbol of his utmost *De* and ultimate *de*.

IV. The “Book-burning”

³⁵⁹ See *Nan shi*, 56.1388. Zhang Zuan married the fourth daughter of Emperor Wu, Princess of Fuyang 富陽. For Zhang's biography, see *Nan shi*, 56.1385–88.

³⁶⁰ See *Nan shi*, 51.1274.

³⁶¹ See *Nan shi*, 56.1388. Zhang Zuan's case is the only one among these four cases in which Xiao Yi's appropriation has been confirmed in historical sources. But we have no reason to doubt that the same thing also happened in the three other cases.

³⁶² See *Sui shu*, 32.907.

Only two years after the completion of the “Ju shu” chapter, what Xiao Yi had obtained perished altogether with the collapse of the dynasty in early 555. According to the *Na shi*, *Sui shu*, and other later sources, Xiao Yi set fire to his life-long collection along with the collection of the Liang imperial library when his capital Jiangling fell in the hands of the invading Western Wei troops.³⁶³ In the eleventh century historical compilation *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, the basic narrative line is supplemented with an additional scenario:

[Later] someone asked him [Xiao Yi], why he burned the books. He said, “I have read some 10,000 *juan* of books, yet, still end up like this. Thus, I have burned them.

或問：何意焚書？帝曰：讀書萬卷，猶有今日，故焚之。³⁶⁴

The veracity of Xiao Yi notorious reply is questionable.³⁶⁵ Xiao Yi’s disenchantment, both with his aspiration and with the dynasty’s quest for a well-exploited written tradition, was unmistakable.

There is a story in the *Han Feizi* about a certain Wang Shou, who shouldering his books went to visit Xu Ping in Zhou. Xu Ping said to him, “Someone doing affairs moves according to changes; changes arise out of [the circumstances] of time. That is why he who understands time has no constant way of acting. Books are the product of sayings; as sayings are the product of

³⁶³ *Nan shi*, 8.245; *Sui shu*, 49.1299; 32.907. I have addressed some questions surrounding Xiao Yi’s book burning separately in Appendix 4.

³⁶⁴ See *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, *Sibu congkan*, 165.18a–b.

³⁶⁵ Xiao Yi’s alleged reply infuriated Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619–1692) in his reading notes to the *Zizhi tongjian*, who wrote: “In no case one is not disgusted by his lack of regret and humanity, but only blames books for his calamity. I would like to ask him: what did the books do to betray you, Your Imperial Highness?” 未有不惡其不悔不仁而歸咎於讀書者，曰書何負于帝哉？ See Wang Fuzhi 王夫之, *Du Tongjian lun* 讀通鑑論 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 593.

knowledge, and a well-informed person does not hoard books. Now, why should you, sir, be an exception and carry them around?”³⁶⁶ 事者，為也。為生於時，知者無常事。書者，言也。言生於知，知者不藏書。今子何獨負之而行？ Upon hearing this, Wang Shou burned all his books and danced with joy.³⁶⁷

All his life, Xiao Yi had been carrying his books around, both literally and figuratively. He spent almost part of his adult life compiling books; the *Jinlouzi* is his only extant work.³⁶⁸ His lifetime’s collection amounting to 80,000 *juan* perished along with the entire collection of the imperial library in the fire of 555. Perhaps, towards the end of his life, Xiao Yi simply decided not to carry his books along any longer. As he had learned the hard way, hoarding books, however large his collection might have been, would not prepare him for the last few years of hardship and adversity.

But, still, how would an avid compiler and life-long book collector commit an atrocity of burning his collection, one might ask. We may never know, just as we may never know for sure whether or not Xiao Yi set the books on fire at night. The fire not only reduced 140,000 *juan* of books into ashes but also rendered futile the Liang dynasty’s aspiration to exploit the intellectual resources of the Chinese written tradition. In the wake of this devastating destruction of books, the intellectual tradition, that once so prominently shaped and defined the generation, reached its nadir.

³⁶⁶ Translation based on W. K. Liao, *The Complete Work of Han Fei Tzu, A Classic of Chinese Legalism* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1939), 219–20.

³⁶⁷ See Chen Qiyu, *Han Feizi jishi*, 7.405; the same story is also recorded in the *Huainanzi*. See He Ning, *Huainanzi jishi*, 12.854.

³⁶⁸ Note that the *Jinlouzi* is not mentioned in the “Zhu shu” chapter. This probably means that the compilation was not yet finished when Xiao Yi finalized the chapter. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi pingzhuan*, 171.

Chapter Four: The Age of Wisdom and the Age of Foolishness——“Zhi guai”

志怪 (Account of the unordinary) and “Jie dui” 捷對 (Smart repartee) chapters

The “Zhi guai” and “Jie dui” chapters reflect the early medieval Chinese interest in the unusual and extraordinary and verbal virtuosity.³⁶⁹ Both of the chapters have a preface; the “Zhi guai” chapter also comes with a postface.³⁷⁰

In both cases, Xiao Yi seems careful not to put too much weight on the subject matter. He concludes the preface to the “Zhi guai” chapter, where he enumerates an array of accounts of the unusual and extraordinary, saying, “[Cases of this sort] are truly plentiful. Thus I have composed a chapter on the unordinary” 諒以多矣, 故作志怪篇. With a similar casual yet guarded tone, Xiao Yi ends the preface to the “Jie dui” chapter with “For the time being, allow me to jot down a few words in order to review this phenomenon of ‘wit and repartee’” 聊復記言, 以觀捷對.

The use of two subjectives, *liang* 諒 (surely, truly; let me assume it is the case that) and *liao* 聊 (tentatively, for the time being, let me...; for lack of a better engagement, allow me to...) reveal Xiao Yi’s tentative and noncommittal attitude to these two subjects. It makes it sound as if Xiao Yi is pleading with his reader to humor him, to go along with his perhaps trivial, nevertheless, harmless interests.

³⁶⁹ Neither of them contains any clear indication of the completion date. Chen and Xiong point out that the entry about Xiao Yi’s wedding day in the “Zhi guai” chapter was most likely written after the death of Xiao Yi’s consort, Lady Xu, in 549. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi pingzhuan*, 171–72.

³⁷⁰ The *Siku* editors deem both chapters “complete and fully composed from beginning to end” 首尾完整. See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 217.18b–20a. The title “Zhi guai” is also listed under the “Guai 怪” entry of the *Yongle dadian* (juan 15110), which means the chapter was cited in its entirety in the *Yongle dadian*.

By choosing “Zhi guai” as the title, Xiao Yi consciously seeks to link his chapter directly to the *zhiguai* tradition in a line of intellectual and literary filiation.³⁷¹ The “Jie dui” chapter is an outgrowth of the tradition that celebrates artful rhetorical maneuvering, most significantly, the *guji* 滑稽 tradition, which appeared in the *Shi ji*.

In this chapter, I will trace both the *zhiguai* and the *guji* traditions to the pre-Han rhetorical tradition, vaguely known as “persuasions of lesser schools” 小說 *xiaoshuo*. Reading these two chapters as the early medieval legacy of this pre-Han tradition accounts for both the apparent intellectual acuteness and the inevitable risible aspect that are both essential to the *xiaoshuo* tradition.

The appraisal of the “Xiaoshuo jia” in the bibliographic treatise of the *Han shu* cites a line attributed to Confucius, “Even minor arts are sure to have their worthwhile aspects, but the gentleman does not take them up because the fear of a man who would go a long way is that he should be bogged down” 雖小道, 必有可觀者焉; 致遠恐泥, 是以君子不為也.³⁷² Confucius’ recommendation that one should recognize the value of the tradition while being aware of the limitation of it served as the paradigm for Xiao Yi’s balanced attitude to these two chapters.

I. “Densely clustered persuasions of lesser schools” 小家珍說

³⁷¹ Campany makes this general observation when he discusses the presence of intertextual markers in what he calls “core texts” in the tradition. See Robert Ford Campany, *Strange Writing, Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 29.

³⁷² See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 38.1307. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 153,

The surviving fragments of the texts included in the “Xiaoshou jia” category of the bibliographical treatises of *Han shu*, as Hellmut Wilhelm points out, appear to be expository writings with political intent.³⁷³ He cites two early occurrences of the term *xiaoshuo* in pre-Han texts, *Zhuangzi* and *Xunzi*, to substantiate his observation.

The *Zhuangzi* passage where the term *xiaoshuo* appears begins with a tall story about someone fishing with an enormous fishhook and fishing line, using fifty oxen as bait, and caught a giant fish that is so big that when he finally reeled the fish in the entire occasion is toppled. It goes on to say that “men of piddling talent who sway [opinions] in a veiled way” 輕才諷說之徒 all rushed about and “reported the story to each other in astonishment” 驚而相告. The message that they tried to get across is this:

Now if you shoulder your pole and line, march to the ditches and gullies, and watch for minnows and perch, then you will have a hard time ever landing a big fish. If you parade your little theories and fish for the post of district magistrate, you will be far from the great Understanding.³⁷⁴

夫揭竿累，趣灌瀆，守鯢鮒，其於得大魚難矣。飾小說以干縣令，其於大達亦遠矣。

The incredible story about some ambitious angler is used to illustrate the intended “go big or go home” message of the passage. The term *xiaoshuo* is mentioned disapprovingly as a lesser

³⁷³ Hellmut Wilhelm, “Notes on Chou Fiction,” in *Transition and Permanence in Chinese History and Culture: A Festschrift in Honor of Dr. Hsiao Kung-ch'uan*, eds. David C. Buxbaum, Frederick W. Mote (Hong Kong: Cathay Press, 1972), 252. For a general discussion of the *xiaoshuojia* category in the *Han shu*, see Yuan Xingpei 袁行霈, “Han shu Yiwen zhi xiaoshuojia kaobian” 漢書藝文志小說家考辨, *Wen shi* 7 (1979): 178–89; see also Wen Junyuan 溫淩源, *Han shu yiwenzhi jiangyao* 漢書藝文志講要 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2018), 382–95.

³⁷⁴ Trans. Watson, *Chuang tzu, Basic Writings* (New Your and London: Columbia University Press, 1964), 133.

persuasion with limited scope and insight, thus with limited prospects. The second passage where the term *xiaoshuo* occurs also refers to its inevitable decline. It reads:

Thus, those who are wise judge the Way and that is all, and the things the lesser schools wish for in their prized doctrines will all decline.³⁷⁵

故知者論道而已矣，小家珍說之所願者皆衰矣。

This paragraph pronounces the death of *xiaoshuo* as a way of delivering the Way, as those who know better would rather address a given subject directly than use an artful parable to bring out certain hidden intentions. The early onset of the trend that *xiaoshuo* gradually becoming irrelevant as a form of political persuasion can be seen in Zhang Heng's "Xi jing fu"

³⁷⁵ Trans. Hutton, *Xunzi*, 245. Yang Liang 楊倞 took the "lesser schools" *xiaojia* 小家 to refer to the schools of Song [Jian] 宋鉏 and Mo [Di] 墨翟 in particular and understood *zhenshuo* 珍說 as to mean "[the Song and Mo schools] cherished their own teachings." Liu Shipai 劉師培 proposed that the word *zhen* 珍 should be read as *zhen* 紕 (perverted, deviant), which could be further identified with *zhen* 珍 and *zhen* 軫; each of the three words is independently glossed as *li* 戾 (alt. 戾) "perverse" in Zhao Qi's commentary on the *Mengzi*, *Guangya*, and *Fangyan* respectively. See Liu Shipai 劉師培, *Xunzi bushi* 荀子補釋 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan, 1968), 976. A modern scholar Lin Zhipeng 林志鵬 notes that the original text might have written *zhen* 參 for 珍. According to the *Shuowen jiezi*, *zhen* 參 describes the luxuriance of one's hair, alternatively written as *zhen* 鬢. See Lin Zhipeng 林志鵬, *Song Jian xuepai yizhu kaolun* 宋鉏學派遺著考論 (Taipei: Wanquanlou chubanshe, 2009), 64. This word belongs to an entirely different word family consisting of *zhen* 稔 (closely set, compressed), *zhen* 縝 (fine-textured, closely-woven), and *zhen* 楨 (densely vegetated). Based on the word family, Lin concludes that the term *zhenshuo* means "densely clustered persuasions." As additional evidence, he cites *Huanzi Xinlun* 桓子新論 quoted in Li Shan's commentary to Jiang Yan's "Zatishi" 雜體詩, "Now, the authors of the *xiaoshuo* represent [those who make] only small and fragmentary uttering. The authors make these short books by clothing their messages in comparisons with things close at hand. But they contain words worth heading on the subjects of self-control and regulation of one's family" 若其小說家合叢殘小語，近取譬諭，以作短書，治身理家，有可觀之辭. See *Wen xuan*, 31.1453. Trans. Timoteus Pokora, *Hsin-lun: New Treatise and Other Wrings* by Huan T'an (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1975), 212 with changes in Romanization.

西京賦 (*Fu* on the Western Metropolis) where *xiaoshuo* is mentioned along with other entertainment activities.³⁷⁶

As such, this exercise of making a nuanced argument by bringing about the perceived similarity of apparently incongruous things, known as *xie* 諧—the rhetorical means by which *xiaoshuo* delivered persuasions or swayed opinions—also fell out of favor and became something about which literary critics had to account for in an apologetic fashion.

Xun Xu 荀勗 (ca. 217–288) evaluated those of Ying Qu’s 應璩 (190–252) poems that were believed to be a veiled criticism of the political situation of his time, saying “admittedly the diction [of Ying’s poems] is fairly *xiehe*, for the most part, it pertains to the immediate concerns of the time” 其言雖頗諧合, 多切時要.³⁷⁷ A similar example of the use of *xie* is in Pei Songzhi’s comment on the rhetorical device that Jiang Ji 蔣濟 (d. 249) employs in his rebuttal of Gaotang Long’s 高堂隆 proposal to trace the ancestral lineage of the Wei imperial house to the legendary ruler Shun. Jiang notes that wild dogs and otters make sacrificial offerings not to the ancestors of mightier species, but to their own ancestors, about which Pei Songzhi comments: “Although [Jiang] Ji’s metaphor of wild dog and otter resembles the features of *paixie*, one can still seek its

³⁷⁶ “*Xiaoshuo*, nine hundred in number,/ Which originate from Yu Chu” 小說九百, 本自虞初. See *Wen xuan*, 2.68. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 215. Here it probably refers to *Yu Chu Zhoushuo* in nine hundred forty-three *pian* listed under the “*Xiaoshuo jia*.” *Han shu*, 30.1745.

³⁷⁷ See Pei Songzhi’s commentary on Ying Qu’s biography in *Sanguo zhi* 21.604. Those pomes refer to Ying Qu’s “*Bi yi*” set which allegedly amounted to more than a hundred pieces. Only of them is extant. *Wen xuan*, 21.1015–16. For Ying Qu’s “*Bai yi*” poem, refer to David R. Knechtges, “The Problem with Anthologies: The Case of the ‘*Bai yi*’ Poems of Ying Qu (190–252),” *Asia Major* 23 (2010): 173–99.

purported point in it” 濟豺獺之譬，雖似俳諧，然其義旨，有可求焉。³⁷⁸

Although the figure of rhetoric (known as) *xie* or *paixie* gradually lost its rhetorical relevance, the stories and persuasions survived and are scattered among post-Han texts.

Cao Pi 曹丕 (187–226), Emperor Wen of Wei (r. 220–226), appointed a group of scholars to compile a comprehensive compendium that contained excerpts from a large number of works arranged into various categories.³⁷⁹ Part of the actual labor, as one could imagine, involves mining through all the available texts and extract bits of material and group them around an overall thematic focus. When completed in ca. 220–222, the compilation, titled *Huang lan* 皇覽 (Imperial conspectus), “had altogether over forty categories [*bu*], each category consisting of several dozen chapters [*pian*], totaling over eight million characters” 合四十餘部，部有數十篇，適合八百余萬字。³⁸⁰

According to Zhou Ciji 周次吉, the *Lieyi zhuan* 列異傳 (Stories of the Strange), the first collection devoted exclusively to strange and usual stories, was a by-product of such a formidable textual project.³⁸¹ The work is traditionally attributed to Cao Pi, which could derive

³⁷⁸ See *Sanguo zhi*, 14.455–56.

³⁷⁹ See *Sanguo zhi*, 2.88; 21.618.

³⁸⁰ See *Sanguo zhi*, 23.664. The book, allegedly of more than a thousand *juan*, was lost by the Song dynasty. See also Liu Quanbo, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao leishu bianzuan yanjiu*, 92–126. See also Knechtges and Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature*, 400–01.

³⁸¹ Zhou Ciji 周次吉 suggested that the *Lieyi zhuan* was extracted from the *Huang lan* by Liu Shao 劉劭 (fl. 220–240), one of the scholars who participated in the compilation and then expanded later by an unknown scholar. See Zhou Ciji 周次吉, *Liuchao zhiguai xiaoshuo yanjiu* 六朝志怪小說研究 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1986), 36–39. See also Ann Shilling, “Cao Pi’s *Lieyi zhuan*.” M.A. Thesis, University of Washington, 1991.

from Cao Pi's imperial patronage of the *Huang lan*.

Cao Pi was also credited with a “book on laughter” (*xiaoshu* 笑書) as attested in the *Wenxin diaolong*: “Emperor Wen of Wei made use of ‘words of tales’ and compiled a book on laughter” 魏文因俳說以著笑書.³⁸² The 文 in the line originally appeared as 大 in all transmitted versions; the seventeenth-century editor Feng Shu 馮舒 first made the change but no further notes are given.³⁸³ Since Cao Pi is not credited with any collection of jokes and humor elsewhere, Wang Liqi 王利器 argued that the *xiaoshu* must refer to the *Xiao lin* 笑林 (Grove of laughter), attributed to Handan Chun 邯鄲淳 (ca. 130–ca. 225), and accordingly proposes to read 大 as *ren* 人, a person of Wei, viz. Handan Chun.³⁸⁴

For our discussion, it does not actually matter whether the *Xiao lin* was the “book on laughter” mentioned in the line or who was the attributed compiler of the book. This line makes two important points: first, the first book on jokes and humor came out during the Wei period (220–266); second, the book was composed of recycled materials of ‘words of tales’ (*pai shuo*).

This information about the “book on laughter,” together with Cao Pi's attributed

³⁸² The 文 reading was later adopted by Huang Shulin and Fan Wenlan.

³⁸³ Wang Liqi 王利器, ed. and comm., *Wenxin diaolong jiaozheng* 文心雕龍校證 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1980), 104. Also see Yang Mingzhao, *Zengding Wenxin diaolong jiaozhu*, 3.200.

³⁸⁴ See Wang Liqi, *Wenxin diaolong jiaozheng*, 104. Yang Mingzhao made the same observation in his supplementary commentary on the *Wenxin diaolong* based on Huang Shulin's 黃叔琳 commentary on the *Wenxin diaolong jiaozhu* 文心雕龍校注. See Yang Mingzhao, *Zengding Wenxin diaolong jiaozhu*, 3.200. Only twenty-nine fragments taken mostly from *Taiping guangji* and *Taiping yulan* survive. See Lu Xun 魯迅, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe* 中國小說史略 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1973), 50. Also see Knechtges and Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature*, 352–54. See Giulia Baccini, “The Forest of Laughs (Xiaolin): Mapping the Offspring of Self-aware Literature in Ancient China,” Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Ph.D. diss., 2011.

authorship of the *Lieyi zhuan*, makes it possible to argue that the emergence of both *zhiguai* and *guji* traditions in the first half of the third century was indebted to the compilation of *Huang lan*, the first *leishu* in Chinese history.

A parallel case in the West where new literary genres arose from an extensive library project can make add more weight to the argument. Around the third and second century BCE, Alexandrian scholars applied themselves to sorting out hundreds of thousands of manuscripts that were housed in the Library of Alexandria.³⁸⁵ These scholars devoted much of their energy to studying the ancient texts themselves, which became the early foundation for textual scholarship and philology.³⁸⁶ After the initial work was done, some of the scholars became involved in collecting and compiling excerpts with a certain theme or focus.³⁸⁷ Two prominent literary genres emerged from this: mythography, devoted to passages about gods and heroes, and paradoxography, devoted to descriptions of *mirabilia*, marvelous or miraculous objects.³⁸⁸ The striking similarity between the *zhiguai* tradition in China and paradoxography in the West extends beyond their common interest in stories of the wondrous or unusual: both of them are products of extraction from classical literature.

II. The *zhiguai* tradition

³⁸⁵ Marcus Walsh, "Theories of Text, Editorial Theory, and Textual Criticism," *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, eds. Michael F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen, E-book, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

³⁸⁶ Walsh, "Theories of Text, Editorial Theory, and Textual Criticism."

³⁸⁷ Carolyn Higbie, "Hellenistic Mythographers," *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology*, ed. Roger D. Woodard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 238–39.

³⁸⁸ Higbie, "Hellenistic Mythographers," 238.

The term *zhi guai* first occurs in a line of the “Xiaoyao you” 逍遙遊 of *Zhuangzi* which reads: “*Qi xie* is a record of marvels” 齊諧者志怪者也.³⁸⁹ The line is embedded in the well-known story of the *kun*-fish that turned into the *peng*-bird, rose ninety thousand *li* and headed south from the Northern Dark sea. But whether *Qi Xie*/*Qi xie* 齊諧 is the name of a book or a person is a subject of debate among traditional and modern commentators.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁹ “Xiaoyao you” 逍遙遊 is one of the seven “Inner chapters” 內篇 of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. The “inner chapters” have been considered to be the actual work of Zhuang Zhou 莊周, a contemporary of King Hui of Liang (370–319 BCE.). See H. D. Roth, “Chuang tzu” 莊子, in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Study, University of California, Berkeley, 1994), 56–66. Also A. C. Graham, “How much of *Chuang-tzu* did Chuang-tzu write,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 47 (1980): 459–501.

³⁹⁰ Sima Biao 司馬彪 (d. 306), Cui Zhuan 崔撰 (ca. 4th c.), and Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821–1907) all take “*Qi Xie*” as a person. Yu Yue points out that it is inconceivable that the title of a book, say *Qi xie*, would be abbreviated to “*Xie*” in the following phrase *Xie zhi yan* 諧之言曰. Other commentators, such as Xiao Gang 蕭綱 (503–551) and Zhu Guiyao 朱桂曜 (1852–1932) claim “*Qi xie*” refers to a set of written records. See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 1.4–5. In his 1980 article “The Structure and Interpretation of “Chuang tzu,” Professor Boltz makes a convincing case showing that by singling out and eliminating all the supposedly repetitive and commentarial segments, the passage can be reduced to an isocolometrical form (that is writing of lines of equal length), a stylistically more homogeneous, and hence a probably more original layer of the account. He observes that some portions of the passage including the reference to “*Qi Xie*,” bear no direct relation to the story itself, but merely function as an explanatory note, and thus should be considered secondary to the original core text. This hypothesis is potentially corroborated by the fact that the same “Xiaoyao you” story is cited in a Song *leishu* compilation *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 under the entry of “*Yi niao*” 異鳥 (unusual birds) without the entire reference to the “*Qi Xie*.” See *Taiping yulan*, 927.1a. Admittedly, it is possible that the compilers of the *Taiping yulan*—or those of other earlier *leishu*—simply deemed the line irrelevant to the topic in question, and thus deleted it. See William G. Boltz, “The Structure and Interpretation of “Chuang tzu,” *BSOAS* 43 (1980): 532–43. If it is indeed the case that the entire line 齊諧者志怪者也諧之言曰鵬之徙於南冥也 was a later interpolation as Boltz suggests, then it seems more likely that “*Qi xie*” in the *Zhuangzi* passage refers to the name of a text than to a person, since commentaries more typically cited text rather than a person as the source. This hypothesis, to be sure, does not exclude the possibility that *Qi Xie* was the name of a person, who became associated with a text named after him. Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 proposes this possibility. See Cheng Xuanying 成玄英, *Zhuangzi shu* 莊子疏, cited in *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, 1.4–5. In any case, *Qi Xie* seems to be the earliest mention of the *zhiguai* tradition. For a summary of different views on “*Qi Xie*” and on the broader questions of the meaning and origins of the term *zhiguai*,

A late Qing-early Republic philologist, Zhu Guiyao 朱桂曜 (1852–1932), proposed to identify the term *xie* with *xieyin* 諧隱, rhetorical genres mentioned in the sixth-century work of literary thought, *Wenxin diaolong*.³⁹¹ Accordingly, the *locus classicus* of the word *zhiguai* might refer to *xiaoshuo*'s way of delivering persuasion, specifically by clearing a path through the wilderness that connects the tall tales with a hidden rhetorical agenda; or in other words, by *qi* (evening out, bringing together, bringing into line) the *xie* (parallelism, analogy, allegory).

As *xiaoshuo* lost its rhetorical cachet, the rhetorical vigor of the tall stories is neutralized. The “Tang wen” 湯問 chapter of the *Liezi* 列子, where the same “*kun*-fish and *peng*-bird” story is recounted, provides a glimpse into to how the tall story that originally served an allegorical function in the *Zhuangzi*, is reduced to its face value and treated as a tale of wonder.³⁹²

North of utmost north is the Dark sea. It is the Lake of Heaven. In it there is a fish. Its girth measures a thousand *li*, and its length corresponds to it [the girth]. Its name is Kun. There is a bird in it, whose name is Peng. Its wingspread is like clouds hanging from the sky, and its physical frame corresponds to it [the wingspread]. How could people of this generation have known that there are things like these? Yu the Great attended to and witnessed them, Bo Yi learned about and named them, and Yi Jian heard of them and recorded them.³⁹³

see Li Junjun 李均軍, “Zhiguai yuanliu kaolun” 志怪語義源流考論, *Wenyi lilun yanjiu* 5 (2011): 73–82. For a general discussion about the *zhiguai* corpus see Wang Kuo-liang 王國良, *Wei Jin Nanbei chao zhiguai xiaoshuo yanjiu* 魏晉南北朝志怪小說研究 (Taipei: Wen Shi Zhe chubanshe, 1984), 5–7.

³⁹¹ The *Wenxin diaolong* defines the term *yin* 隱 as: “To use obscure language to hide ideas, and to employ an artful parable to point to certain facts” 遁辭以隱意, 譎譬以指事. See Yang Mingzhao, *Zengding Wenxin diaolong jiaozhu*, 3.195. Trans. Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 111.

³⁹² A.C. Graham concludes that the extant *Liezi* was composed around the turn of the third and fourth centuries. See A.C. Graham, “The Date and Composition of *Liehtzy*,” *Asia Major* 8 (1960–61): 139–98.

³⁹³ Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, comm. and ed., *Liezi jishi* 列子集釋 (Hong Kong: Taiping shuju, 1965), 5.92. Trans. A.C. Graham, *The Book of Lieh-tzu, A Classic of the Tao* (New York: Columbia University, 1990), 98 with changes in Romanization. It is clear that Yi Jian 夷堅 is the name of a person. In the *Baopuzi* Yu the Great and Bo Yi are mentioned together with Qi Xie, as men of

終北之北有溟海者，天池也，有魚焉。其廣數千里，其長稱焉，其名為鯢。有鳥焉。其名為鵬，翼若垂天之雲，其體稱焉。世豈知有此物哉？大禹行而見之，伯益知而名之，夷堅聞而志之。

This account makes an apparent effort to retrospectively assign the source and course of the transmission of existing knowledge to the empirical experience of known figures of antiquity. Yu the Great, Bo Yi, and Yi Jian, serve respectively as a first-hand eyewitness, a second-hand testifier, and the ultimate record keeper of the tall story.

Tall stories like this, rendered into discrete entries, detached from their original context in the rhetorical repertoire, were the initial constituents of the early medieval *zhiguai* tradition. A close look at the origin and later transformation of the *zhiguai* corpus reveals that the main source for the traditionally recognized *zhiguai* works was not first-hand observation or experience, but pre-existing texts.³⁹⁴

An examination of the *zhiguai* traditions leads to two important observations pertaining to its derivative textual characteristics. First, as the *zhiguai* writings are products of extraction from preexisting texts, they are, by and large, removed from their native allegorical context. Without context, a tall story that was told to make a point is nothing more than a tall story. A

extensive knowledge. See Wang Ming 王明, ed. and comm., *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi* 抱朴子內篇校釋 (1986; rpt Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 2.12. There have been some efforts to identify Yi Jian 夷堅 with Qi Xie 齊諧 by linking them phonetically. But no definitive conclusion has been reached yet. See Chen Puqing 陳蒲清, “Xungu oude” 訓詁偶得, *Gu Hanyu yanjiu* 15 (1992): 26–27.

³⁹⁴ Campamy’s monograph on the *zhiguai* literature, or “anomaly account” as he puts it, marks a significant advance in delineating the *zhiguai* as a genre on a textual basis. He makes a serious effort to establish a model of analysis of a large, miscellaneous body of purported *zhiguai* literature, with reference to the form, style, content, status, and presence of certain intertextual markers. See Campamy, *Strange Writing, Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China*, 21. See also Robert Ford Campamy, *A Garden of Marvels: Tales of Wonder from Early Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2015).

collection of tall stories is just a collection of tall stories without a unified compilation purpose. Hence, a new and all-inclusive outlook, which I term the “pan-physical” frame of reference, came into being to accommodate the assemblage of assorted stories and provide meaning and rationale to the collection.³⁹⁵

Second, within this new conceptual framework the normative world is reduced to a mere fuzzy background and there is no given norm against which to measure the *zhiguai* stories from the outside. To be sure, the content of the *zhiguai* corpus, with its incredible reports of cross-species transformation, men with superpowers, and uncanny natural phenomena, challenges the rationality that readers are accustomed to finding in other prose genres of the time. These records of the unordinary, however, are generally accepted as “true.”

The formation of the *zhiguai* corpus reflects the process of rendering largely unverified text-born knowledge, acquired from a vast body of texts, into a “pan-physical” frame of reference. The “Zhi guai” chapter attests to Xiao Yi’s “pan-physical” open-mindedness to the unordinary-ness that he could lay his hands on. In the preface, he justifies the compilation of the

³⁹⁵ The term ‘pan-physical’ coined after the term ‘metaphysics’ is my literary rendering of the term *bowu* 博物 (to be encyclopedically knowledgeable about things). Recently there has been a renewed interest in tracing a vein of an intellectual outlook named *bowu xue* 博物學 (‘pan-physics’) among both transmitted and excavated medieval Chinese texts. See, for example, Jiang Xiaoyuan 江曉原, “Zhongguo wenhuazhong de bowuxue chuantong” 中國文化中的博物學傳統, *Guangxi minzu daxue xuebao* 6 (2011): 22–24. Yu Xin 余欣, “Zhongguo bowuxue chuantong de chongjian” 中國博物學傳統的重建, *Zhongguo tushu pinglun* 10 (2013): 45–53. For a good discussion about the notion of “bowu” in medieval intellectual history see Yu Xin 余欣, *Zhonggu yixiang* 中古異相 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015), 12–22. In contrast to the scope of metaphysical inquiry, which goes beyond the realm of the physical existence of beings, a pan-physical study only concerns itself with the things that are well-situated in the physical reality, and generally show no interest in theorizing the knowledge they gathered. This phenomenon perhaps could be related to what Howard Goodman terms as “the emergence of Chinese polymaths.” See Howard L. Goodman, “Chinese Polymaths, 100–300 AD: The Tung-kuan, Taoist Dissent, and Technical Skills,” *Asia Major* 18.1 (2005): 101–74.

chapter with one point, that is, unordinary things exist, independent of human perception.³⁹⁶ He writes:

Now as for [the claim that] beyond the ears and eyes there exists no unordinary-ness, I cannot agree.

耳目之外無有怪者, 余以為不然也.

III. “Zhi guai” of the *Jinlouzi*

The notion of *guai* is often defined in relation to what is conceived as *chang* 常 (convention[al], ordinary).³⁹⁷ What phenomenon can be deemed *guai* and thus worth recording (*zhi* 志) is by and large culturally constructed. According to each of their specific quality of unordinary-ness, entries of the “Zhi guai” can be divided into the following four groups.

i. Outlandishness of remote lands and foreign peoples (*yuanguo yimin*) 遠國異民

Each of the nine entries of this group identifies the name of a remote foreign land as “X 國” (X kingdom), which by definition refers to a given geographical domain that is out of reach of the cultural influence or political authority of the Han Chinese regime. The “unordinary-ness”

³⁹⁶ This observation is made by Campany, see Campany, *Strange Writing Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China*, 153.

³⁹⁷ Wei Zhao 韋昭 (201–273), for example, speaks of the term *guai* simply as “something that is not commonly seen” 非常見. Similar to Wei Zhao’s gloss, Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324) explains the word *guai* in the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 by saying, “In general whenever the word *guai* is used, it always refers to the appearances and physical features being exceptional and out of the ordinary” 凡言怪者, 皆謂貌狀倨奇不常也. See *Guo yu* 5.202. See Yuan Ke 袁珂, ed. and comm., *Shanhai jing jiaozhu* 山海經校注 (Taipei: Liren shuju, 1982), 1.3.

in this case thus rests in the “outlandishness” of the remote foreign domains. Some of the entries describe less familiar local customs and products of foreign lands, such as Kangju guo 康居國 (Sogdiana) (#5), Daryuezhi 大月氏 (Indo-Scythae) (#57), Da Qin guo 大秦國 (Roma) and Xiao Qin guo 小秦國 (#12), that are already well known in standard histories.³⁹⁸

People of Dayuezhi 大月氏 (Indo-Scythia) are skilled in making wine out of grape blossoms and leaves; sometimes they use the root as well as its juice to ferment the wine. The blossom is similar to the apricot blossom, except it has a green “heart” and an emerald “mustache.” In mid-spring, when myriads of acres of grapevines vigorously burst forth together, they look like wings of the simurgh and phoenix. The [autumn] wind arrives in the middle of the eighth month and blows the leaves apart. The ripped leaves resemble light-twill and taffeta. Hence the wind is known as “the wind of the grape,” also known as “the leaf-ripping wind.”

(#57) 大月氏國善為葡萄花葉酒, 或以根及汁醞之, 其花似杏而綠心碧鬚, 九春之時, 萬頃競發, 如鸞鳳翼. 八月中風至, 吹葉上傷裂, 有似綾紈, 故風為葡萄風, 亦名裂葉風也.

Some entries report sensationally peculiar aspects of the foreign lands that are otherwise unheard-of in standard histories. Those mostly unknown foreign lands are often given impressionistically expedient names that are associated with the singular “outlandishness” of the place. For example:

People of the Kingdom of No-intestines are tall but have no intestines.

(#54) 無腹[腸]國人長而無腹[腸].³⁹⁹

³⁹⁸ Dayuezhi 大月支 mentioned in entry #9 should be the same as Dayueshi 大月氏 of the entry #57. This discrepancy probably suggests that these two entries were originally drawn from two different texts.

³⁹⁹ The received versions all have *fu* instead of *chang*. Chen and Xiong suggest the emendation according to a similar line in the *Shanhai jing*. See Yuan Ke, *Shanhai jing jiaozhu*, 3.236–37.

Just as people in the Kingdom of No-intestines do not have intestines, no adult man populates the Kingdom of Women.

In the Kingdom of Women, there is Huangchi River. When a woman enters to bathe in it, she will become pregnant when she comes out. If she gives birth to a boy, then the boy will die in three years.

(#13) 女國有黃池水。婦人入浴，出則孕，若生男子，三年即死。⁴⁰⁰

ii. Local peculiarities (local flora-fauna, geography, products, natural phenomenon)

Entries of the second group document regional peculiarities that exclusively fall within the administrative scope of the unified empire (viz. Qin and Han). Each entry consists of at least one identifiable geographical specification, whether it is in administrative or geographical terms. Nearly two-thirds of the entries in this group deal with regional peculiarities of the geographical south. But no clear regional dichotomy between the Southern and Northern Dynasties is observed in this group.

Amid the mountains of Xingyang commandery (roughly corresponding to modern Zhengzhou, Henan) there is a giant tortoise, eight or nine feet long; underneath its feet there are written graphs. It catches hold of two tortoises, one under its front feet and the other under its rear feet. At times, it climbs past mountains and strides over waters. It is a scene that all would behold and marvel at.

(#36) 滎陽郡山中有巨龜，長八九尺，足下有文字，前後足下各躡一龜，有時踰山越水，咸觀異之。⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. “Nüziguó” 女子國 in Yuan Ke, *Shanhai jing jiaozhu*, 2.220.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. *Luyi ji* 錄異記 cited in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), 472.3886.

The following two entries seek to address the peculiarities regarding the tomb sites of historical figures.⁴⁰²

Confucius' tomb is located north of Lucheng (roughly corresponding to modern Qufu 曲阜, Shandong). Hundreds of trees, all of different varieties, are planted in the graveyard. Among generations of people of Lu, no one can name the trees. According to tradition, this is because Confucius' disciples planted trees that they each brought here from their respective native places. Therefore, up to this day, no thorny bramble bush has taken root in Confucius' graveyard.

(#40) 孔子冢在魯城北，塋中樹以百數，皆異種。魯人無能名者，傳言孔子弟子，既皆異國之人，各持其國樹來種之。孔子塋中，至今不生荊棘草木。⁴⁰³

The tomb of King Si of Dongping (r. 52–20 BCE) is located in Dongping (modern Taian 泰安, Shandong). Popular tradition says that after King Si settled in his fiefdom, he longed to return to the capital. When he was later buried, the pines and cypresses by his grave mound are all blown back toward the west. At that time the king ordered to bury alive all of those whom he favored. The sound of their wailing and howling could still be heard for several decades later.

(#41) 東平思王塚在東平。民相傳言思王歸國後，思歸京師，後葬，其冢上松柏皆西靡。是時思王皆生理所寵幸者，其號呼之聲，後數十年猶有聞者。⁴⁰⁴

In the southeast there is Mt. Taodu. On the mountaintop there is a big peach tree. Standing on top of the tree is a heavenly rooster. The rooster crows promptly when the sun emerges and shines upon this peach tree. Stirred by the crow, all the roosters under heaven will then crow. Under the tree are two ghosts, facing the tree and holding cords of twisted reeds, they [wait] to snatch and devour inauspicious ghosts. On the first day of the New Year, people nowadays carry out the practice of putting together two leaf stalks made of peach wood and putting a rooster in the middle of the cord. This is exactly where it originated.

⁴⁰² Each of these two entries is separately cited in early medieval texts as an excerpt from the *Huang lan*. Xu Yimin speculates that they originally belonged to the “Shengxian zhongmu ji” 聖賢冢墓記 (Accounts of tombs and burial sites of sage and worthy men) of the *Huanglan* 皇覽. See Xu Yimin, *Jinlouzi jiaojian*, 1185–86. Also see Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 5.978–79.

⁴⁰³ Cf. Pei Yin's commentary on *Shi ji*, 47.1946, note 1; also see Miu Qiyu 繆啓愉, ed. and comm., *Qimin yaoshu jiaoshi* 齊民要術校釋 (Beijing: Nongye chubanshe, 1982), 10.696.

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. Yan Shigu's commentary on *Han shu*, 80.3326, note 1; and *Yiwen leiju*, 88.1512.

(#10) 東南有桃都山, 山有大桃樹, 上有天雞, 日初出照此桃, 天雞即鳴, 天下之雞感之而鳴. 樹下有兩鬼, 對樹持葦索, 取不祥之鬼食之. 今人正旦作兩桃梗, 以索中置雄雞, 法乎此也.⁴⁰⁵

This fanciful “cock and bull story” accounts for a phenomenon as natural as cocks crowing at dawn, as well as a local practice that was still practiced in Xiao Yi’s time. Entries in this group display a common tendency to claim some contemporary relevance: the phrase “contemporary people” in #10, “there are still those that can be heard several decades later” in #41, and “up to this date” (*zhijin* 至今) in #40 and the following entry #2:

Qin Qing said to his friend, “Han E went eastward to the state of Qi. Upon arriving at the Yong Gate, she sang for donations. The resounding resonance of her voice wound around the beams for three days without breaking off. When she suffered humiliation inflicted by people of the hostel, she raised her voice and wailed in grief. Once she wailed, people old and young all became sorrowful and heavy-hearted and would not eat for three days. When [Han] E then again sang a song with long-drawn-out notes, people of the whole residential compound could not help but clap and dance along, oblivious of their previous sorrow. They thus bestowed generous gifts to her. Up to this day, the people of Yong Gate are still skilled at singing.

(#2) 秦青謂友人曰: “韓娥東之齊, 至雍門鬻歌, 既而余響繞梁, 三日不絕. 遇逆旅人辱之, 娥因舉聲哀哭. 一哭老少悲愁, 三日不食. 娥復舉聲長歌, 一里拊舞不能自禁, 忘向之悲也. 乃厚賂之. 雍門人至今善歌.”⁴⁰⁶

Entries dealing with local peculiarities are etiological records in the sense that they attribute reasons, causes, or origins of the current cult practice, local customs, and natural or human phenomena to certain of the local peculiarities.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. *Junguo zhi* cited in the *Taiping yulan* 47.6a, where the place is identified as Taizhou 台州; *Xuanzhong ji* cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 918.10b; and *Xuanzhongji* cited in *Yiwen leiju*, 91.1584

⁴⁰⁶ This story is also seen in the “Tang wen” 湯問 of the *Liezi* 列子. See Yang Bojun, *Liezi jishi*, 5.110–11. See Graham, trans., *The Book of Lieh-tzu*, 108–09. Also see Fan Ning 范寧, ed. and comm., *Bowuzhi jiaozheng* 博物志校證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 8.95–96.

iii. Idiosyncratic quality of individual objects and beings

Each entry of this group highlights the “unordinary-ness” of the object that it deals with by giving an account of one or all of the following aspects of idiosyncrasy: physical characteristics, defining attributes, areas of applicability, and medicinal or other practical values. The individual items in this group are typically mentioned in rather absolute terms.

Shuihu are big and have no tails. When they cry in unison to each other, they sound like swans. The sound comes forth from the bottom of the water.

(#29) 水鵠大而無尾, 和鳴如鵠, 聲在水底.⁴⁰⁷

There are a handful of such entries in this group that all follow the formula of opening with the proper name of the item in question, followed by a sketchy description of its idiosyncratic qualities.

The *jingni*, also known as *haiqiu* [right whale], dwells in a cave on the seabed.⁴⁰⁸ When it enters the cave, the outflow of seawater causes the tide to come in; when it exits the cave, the inflow of seawater causes the tide to withdraw. Since the *jingni*

⁴⁰⁷ This entry is cited almost verbatim in a fragment of a Dunhuang manuscript (P. 2526), which Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 identifies as a Tang manuscript copy of the sixth-century *leishu* compilation, *Xiuwen dian yulan* 修文殿御覽. The entry is put under the heading “Huang hu” 黃鵠 in P.2526. The entry reads “*Shuihu* are big and with no tail. When they cry, they sound like swans. The sound comes forth from the bottom of water” 水鵠大而無尾, 鳴如鵠, 聲在水底. See Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉, *Mingsha shi yishu* 鳴沙室佚書, 2223–26. Hong Ye 洪業 (William Hung), “Suowei Xiuwendian yulan zhe” 所謂修文殿預覽者. Wang Sanqing 王三慶 points out, there is not enough evidence to either confirm or refute Luo Zhenyu’s identification. See Wang Sanqing 王三慶, *Dunhuang leishu* 敦煌類書 (Taipei: Liwen wenhua chubanshe, 1993), 16–21.

⁴⁰⁸ *Jingni* 鯨鯢 is the binominal word for whale. The *Hanyu dacidian* explains it as male and female whale. The *Hanyu dacidian* identifies *haiyou* 海魷 as *lujijing* 露脊鯨 ‘right whale’ citing Liu Xun’s 劉恂 *Lingbiao lu yi* 嶺表錄異 which mentions “water-spouting” as one of the defining features of *haiyou*. See Liu Xun 劉恂, *Lingbiao lu yi* 嶺表錄異 (Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1941), 19.

comes and goes following a fixed schedule, thus the tide [rises and falls] in due course.

(#30) 鯨鯢一名海鰐，穴居海底，鯨入穴則水溢為潮來，鯨出穴則水入為潮退，鯨鯢既出入有節，故潮水有期。⁴⁰⁹

In this entry, the whale serves as an etiological explanation for the regularity of the tide. Propositional knowledge not only contains the properties of the things but sometimes also includes an intuitive [thus largely unexamined] grasp of the basic understanding of the mechanism behind some of the unfathomable natural phenomena.

In the following entry, the additional “folk-wisdom” in the “snake oil” tradition is also seen appended to the formulaic description of the singularity of the item in question.

When the serpent of Ba gulps down an elephant, it takes three years for it to expel the skeleton. If a gentleman consumes it [the skeleton], then he will have no ailments in the chest or abdomen.

(#50) 巴蛇食象，三歲而出其骨。君子服之，無心腹之疾。⁴¹⁰

Entries with propositional knowledge are typically marked by the usage of formulaic prescriptive phrases, such as *wei* 為 (constitute), *shi* 是 (equal), *wei* 謂 (referred to as), *X zhe* 者, and *Y ye* 也 (X can be identified with Y).

The essence of jade becomes the “white tiger” [probably referring to limestone], the essence of gold constitutes scallops.⁴¹¹ The resin of the liquidambar [or sweet gum]

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. *Fengtu ji* 風土記 cited in *Taiping yulan*, 68.4b–5a; *Shuijing* 水經 cited in *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 30.742.

⁴¹⁰ See Yuan Ke, *Shanhai jing jiaozhu*, 5.281.

⁴¹¹ See Bernard E Read, *Chinese Materia Medica: Turtle and Shellfish Drugs* (Peiping: Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1937), 63. This is also identified as *musāragalva*, a precious stone, possible coral, that was one of the seven precious treasures of the Western Regions. See Xinru Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China: Trade and Religious Exchange AD 1–600* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988), 92–102.

tree after a thousand years becomes amber. The essence of copper becomes a slave. The essence of tin becomes a female servant. The resin of the pine tree after a thousand years becomes tuckahoe.⁴¹²

(#11) 玉之精為白虎. 金之精為車渠. 楓脂千歲為琥珀. 銅之精為奴. 錫之精為婢. 松脂千歲為茯苓.

In mountains, on the *yin* day, the one that is designated forester is the tiger. The one that is designated to hold sway is the wolf. On the *chen* day, the one that is designated the Master of Rain is the dragon. Once one acquires the knowledge about the nature of things [that one encounters], they can no longer cause any harm.

(#24) 山中有寅日稱虞吏者, 虎也; 稱當路者, 狼也. 辰日稱雨師者, 龍也. 知其物, 不能為害矣.⁴¹³

As noted in the entry itself, knowing what one is dealing with will protect oneself from being harmed. It seems that knowledge, even of a seemingly trivial sort, is indeed power. Such revelations can also be applied to a specific sub-category of this group, which exclusively concerns itself with goblins and mountain spirits.

That which may be seen in some eras but not in others, and that which has made the stagnant marshes last for several hundreds of years without its banks shifting or its water drying up, gives birth to the *qingji*. The *qingji*'s appearance is like that of a man and is four inches tall. It wears a yellow cap and rides a small horse. If one calls it by name, it can be made to travel more than a thousand leagues and back within one day.

(#20) 或世用, 或世不見者, 涸澤數百歲, 谷之不徙, 水之不絕者, 生慶忌. 慶忌狀如人, 其長四寸. 衣黃冠, 乘小馬. 以其名呼之, 可使千里外一日反報.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹² See *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 cited in Fan Ning, *Bowuzhi jiaozheng*, 4.48; Wang Ming, *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi*, 11.199; and *Zhuanzhong ji* cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 808.2a. Fuling 茯苓 (Tuckahoe) is *Poria cocos*, a mushroom with large sclerotia that grow on the roots or stumps of pine trees. For a detailed account of tuckahoe in Chinese literature, see David R. Knechtges, "Tuckahoe and Sesame, Wolfberries and Chrysanthemums, Sweet-Peel Orange and Pine Wines, Pork and Pasta: The *Fu* as a Source for Chinese Culinary History," *JOS* 45 (2012), 8–11.

⁴¹³ See Wang Ming, *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi*, 17.304.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. Li Xiangfeng 黎翔鳳, ed. and comm., *Guanzi xiaozhu* 管子校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 14.827. Trans. W. Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical*

The essence of the North Marsh was born as an insect. It has one head and two bodies and is shaped like a snake. If one calls it by name, it can be made to catch fish and turtles. It is also the essence of stagnant water.

(#21) 北澤之精, 生於蟲者, 一頭兩身, 狀若蛇, 以其名呼之, 可以取魚鱉, 此並涸水之精也。⁴¹⁵

These two entries deal with two creatures with idiosyncratic features, and both are identified as the “essence of stagnant water” (*heshui zhi jing* 涸水之精). Both entries make it clear that as soon as one calls the creatures by their proper names, one instantly acquires the power to avail himself of their service. One of them can be dispatched to catch fish and turtles, and the other can be sent to run an errand in a day.

Two general observations can be made here based on a close reading of entries about goblins and mountain spirits. First, it reveals that knowing takes a propositional as well as a nominal form. Assigning a proper name to the thing in question is tantamount to claiming and wielding one’s power over it. This almost sounds like a parable of the acquisition of knowledge itself. Second, it seems that the kind of knowledge that is alluded to in these entries takes on a different note in the sense that it not only describes the properties of the things in question but also prescribes certain actions that constitute the “manipulation of natural phenomena for human material needs.”⁴¹⁶ This is what sociologists call *prescriptive knowledge*.⁴¹⁷ Prescriptive

Essays from Early China: A Study and Translation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 105.

⁴¹⁵ See Li Xiangfeng, *Guanzi xiaozhu*, 14.827–28. Trans. Rickett, *Guanzi*, Vol. Two, 105–06.

⁴¹⁶ See Joel Mokyr, *The Gifts of Athena Historical Origins of the Knowledge Economy* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), 4.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

knowledge sometimes takes the form of a [quasi-]recipe as we see in the following entry, which reads:

If one uses a purple ganoderma to boil with [medicinal] stones the stones will become as tasty as taro.⁴¹⁸ Consuming it, in turn, will allow one to blend the five flavors ... *Wujia* (*Eleutherococcus gracilistylus* / *Acanthopanax gracilistylus*), also known as *jinyan* (golden salt), *diyu* (sanguisorba or burnet root) also known as *yuchi* (jade fermented soybean), only these two things can be boiled with stones.

(#31) 用紫芝煮石, 石美如芋, 食之可更調和五味...五加一名金鹽, 地榆一名玉豉, 唯此二物, 可以煮石.

Prescriptive knowledge is also unequivocally embraced in yet another sub-category of this group which deals with treasure hunting.

In general, when there is an unusual change that occurs on the boughs and branches of trees, if it is a southern bough that is withered and crooked, then the treasure is located south of the tree. If it is a western bough that is withered and crooked, then the treasure is located west of the tree.

(#45) 凡有樹木之變枝柯, 南枝枯折者, 寶在樹南. 西枝枯折者, 寶在樹西也.⁴¹⁹

In general, for those who store away various treasures yet do not remember where they cached them, put “well-flower water” [first drawn water from a well in the morning] in a bronze basin, go to the approximate location and look at the reflection [in water]. The objects [treasures] are located underneath the human silhouette [in the reflection].

⁴¹⁸ The “stone” is probably *shizhongru* 石鐘乳 (“teats of collected stone [fluids]”) a type of stalactite commonly used in medicine. For various medicinal effects of the *shizhongru* recorded in the *Bencao gangmu*, the 16th century Chinese encyclopedia of *Materia Medica* and natural history, see Paul U. Unschuld, *Bencao gangmu Volume II: Waters, Fires. Soil, Metals, Jades, Stones, Minerals, Salts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021), 545–58.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. The *Dijing jing* 地鏡經 cited in Zhou Shujia 周叔伽 and Su Jinren 蘇晉仁, eds. and comm., *Fayuan zhulin jiaozhu* 法苑珠林校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 28.882 and in the *Taiping yulan*, 802.6b.

(#46) 凡藏諸寶忘不知處者, 以銅盤盛井花水, 赴所擬地照之, 見人影者物在下也。⁴²⁰

Entering a famous mountain, if one walks a leashed white dog while holding a white chicken, then the mountain spirits will be ecstatic, and mushrooms, as well as precious jades and other treasures, will emerge on their own.

(#47) 入名山, 牽白犬, 抱白雞, 山神大喜, 芝草及寶玉等自出。⁴²¹

It is not at all hard to imagine that these three entries, full of nested step-by-step instructions and if-then statements, were originally assembled from some dust-covered manuals about treasure hunting. Xiao Yi takes it as his mission to convert such knowledge into epistemic norm by including them in the chapter.

iv. Eccentric tall tales 不經之談 (narrative)

The main ingredient “unordinary-ness” is rendered in this group as omnipresent eccentricity. The term eccentricity, which literarily means being “away from the center,” specifically refers to the fact that tales in the group are presented with no guiding principle, and thus do not abide by norms, rationality, or accepted standards. These tall tales are appropriately referred to as *bujing zhitan* 不經之談 (lit. talk that does not abide by normative principles).⁴²²

⁴²⁰ Cf. The *Dijing jing* cited in Zhou Shujia and Zhou Jinren, *Fayuan zhulin jiaozhu*, 28.882–83. and in the *Taiping yulan*, 802.7a.

⁴²¹ Similar formulas can be seen in the *Baopuzi*. See Wang Ming, ed. and comm., *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi*, 11.202. Also see *Dijing jing* cited in *Yiwen leiju*, 7.122 and in *Taiping yulan*, 38.3b–4a.

⁴²² The term *bu jing* 不經 first appears in the “Da Yu mo” 大禹謨 of the *Shu jing* 書經 describing something that departs from the norm. “Rather than put an innocent person to death, you will run the risk of irregularity and error” 與其殺不辜/ 寧失不經. Trans. James Legge, *The Book of Historical Documents* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), 59. The term took on a derogatory connotation as early as the *Shi ji*, where it is used to refer to sensational tall tales. See *Shi ji*, 74.2344. The term is used in this chapter in its original literal sense free of value judgment.

Distinct from the dominant non-narrative mode of the previous three groups, entries of this group are predominantly narrative by nature.

The “Zhiguai” chapter proper opens with three (No. 2–4) such tall tales, which are also seen in the transmitted version of the *Liezi* 列子. In comparison the versions in the *Liezi*, stories recounted in the “Zhiguai” chapter are much shorter and less elaborate. The entries are more interested in the sketchy outline of the story than in the details of the story or its narrative technique.

It is important to point out that more often than not, those seemingly absurd tall tales make a point of including either temporal or spatial reference so that the story in question can be situated in an unmistakable, albeit usually tenuous, historical context. For example (3) & (4) King Mu of Zhou 周穆王 (ca. 10th c. BCE); (23) Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 (d. 643 BCE); (43) Emperor Jing of Han 漢景帝 (r. 157–141 BCE); (51) the reign of Emperor Ming of Wei 魏明帝 時 (r. 226–239).

This group also includes two rare cases where Xiao Yi records his personal encounter with what he deems “unordinary-ness.” The first is an account of a series of uncanny events, including abnormal natural phenomena and unforeseen human calamities, that happened on his wedding day.⁴²³

I was married on a *bingshen* day. On the first day of our marriage, the weather was fine and calm. I had not yet sensed any strange signs. By the time my wife arrived at the outer door, gusts of strong wind arose. The wind snapped branches and blew off rooftops. All of a sudden, blowing snow fell chaotically. Drapes and screens all turned white. The snow whirled in the chambers and scattered around. Everything

⁴²³ Xiao Yi’s account of the ominous scene of his wedding day seems highly unconventional. Chen and Xiong surmise that Xiao Yi implied here his grievance against his wife. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi pingzhuan*, 171–72. The *Nan shi* went as far as to say that Xiao Yi produced the *Jinlouzi* in order to make his wife’s misdeeds public. See *Nan shi*, 12.342.

was the color of plain-white silk. Snow covered the railing and tiles, at times, caused them to fall, which was again deemed unordinary.

(#18) 余丙申歲婚, 初婚之日, 風景韶和, 末乃覺異. 妻至門而疾風大起, 折木發屋, 無何而飛雪亂下, 帷幔皆白, 翻灑屋內, 莫不縞素, 乃至垂覆闌瓦, 有時飛墜, 此亦怪事也.

The second account relates to his experience with mosquitos in the summer. The narrative, which contains lower doses of eccentricity, is nevertheless regarded as “uncanny” (*yi* 異).

In Jingzhou the precinct-house studio does not have any mosquitos in the mid-summer months. I lie down there to sleep. When I move to my study, then I hear the sound of swarming mosquitos as loud as thunder. It is only the distance of a few *zhang* [between the pavilion and my study], yet they can be so different.

(#19) 荊州亭齋, 盛夏之月無白鳥, 余亟寢處於其中, 及移余齋, 則聚蚊之聲如雷, 數丈之間, 如此之異.

The “Zhi guai” chapter of the *Jinlouzi* explores different shades of the “unordinary-ness” from outlandishness to local particularity, from idiosyncratic aspects of things to eccentric tales, across the spectrum of *guai*. Xiao Yi did not compile the anecdotes to inform his reader how to pursue obscure knowledge, but rather to prescribe what counts as *guai* in early medieval China, and how to think about it. In other words, by providing the substance, Xiao Yi is effectively laying down the boundary or framework of the knowledge.

IV. The *Guji* Tradition

The term *guji* refers to an intellectual ability that particularly applies to verbal virtuosity. For example, in the *Shi ji*, [Ying] Ji of Chuli 樛里疾 (d. 300 BCE), a prominent statesman of the late Warring States period, was described as both *guji* and *duozhi* 多智 (resourceful).⁴²⁴ His contemporary, the courtier Chunyu Kun 淳于髡 (ca. 386–310 BCE) was *guji* and *duobian* 多辯 (eloquent).⁴²⁵ The *Suoyin* 索隱 cites Zou Dan 鄒誕 (fl. 479–501) who glosses the term *guji* as the intellectual capacity to stand facts on their heads through speech.⁴²⁶

Qian Zhongshu agrees with Zou Dan's gloss in general terms, though he points out Zou failed to recognize that the term *guji* is an alliterative binome and analyzed it as if it were a compound word.⁴²⁷ He further points out that the term *guji* in the sense of being rhetorically resourceful follows the one and same path with *paixie*: both aim to fuse ideas by virtue of the intellectual wherewithal to confuse them.⁴²⁸

While the *zhiguai* tradition was drawn to the tall stories in the figure of rhetoric, the *guji* tradition grazed on the sharp-witted persuasions and witty comments in them. The exercise of clearing a path that connects different objects through the wilderness with a rhetorical agenda in mind is a considerable intellectual undertaking. While it takes a stroke genius to put apparently incongruous things together in a coherent whole, such an exercise also involves a dose of mirth.⁴²⁹ Hence, the *guji* tradition presents itself as an exercise in intelligence as well as a display

⁴²⁴ See *Shi ji*, 71.2307.

⁴²⁵ See *Shi ji*, 126.3197.

⁴²⁶ See *Shi ji*, 71.2307.

⁴²⁷ See Qian Zhongshu, *Guanzhui bian*, 316.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ Qian Zhongshu notes that these two layers of meanings are not necessarily incompatible, noting the word “wit” has both senses of “a keen intelligence” *Wssen* and “the ability to create humor” *Witz*. See Qian Zhongshu, *Guanzhui bian*, 316. Here Qian tries to identify the term *guji* with *paixie*, both of which he deems to be the practice of breaking through boundaries via

of jocularity in its later development.⁴³⁰

The *guji* rhetorical tradition, centered around this particular kind of rhetorical virtuosity, can be traced to the “Guji liezhuan” 滑稽列傳 in the *Shi ji*, where the life and deeds of the central figures, courtiers of Warring States kings and Qin emperors, are substantiated solely by their idiosyncratic political persuasions. In this biographic account, those courtiers are described as eloquent speakers who do not hesitate to be seen as unconventional, controversial, or making fools of themselves. Sima Qian characterizes them as:

They do not submit to the practices of the world, nor do they contend for clout or benefit. There is nothing, above or below that holds them back. Nor could anyone inflict harm on them. They avail themselves of the Way.⁴³¹

不流世俗，不爭執利，上下無所凝滯，人莫之害，以道之用。

drawing or in some cases carving parallels between two or more seemingly unrelated things. He takes the rhetorical form “pun” as an example. The comic effect of a pun comes from an ambiguity contrived by bringing together two distinct meanings being suggested either by the same word or by two similar-sounding words. David Knechtges points out that a comic effect often derives from apparent incongruity. See Knechtges, “Wit, Humor, and Satire in Early Chinese Literature (to A.D. 220),” 29 *JOS* (1970): 79–98.

⁴³⁰ For the same reason, *guji* and *paixie* refer to both rhetorical vigor and a sense of humor. There is also a distrust of equivocal and evasive persuasions that are primarily associated with *guji*. For example, Yan Ying is recorded denouncing the Ruist scholars whom he characterizes as “*guji*” and “cannot be made to follow in the rules” 夫儒者滑稽而不可軌法. See *Shi ji*, 49.1911. Xunzi, in turn, dismisses Zhuang Zhou and his followers as “being specious and disordering mores” 滑稽亂俗. See *Shi ji*, 74.2348. Wang Shumin further identifies *huaji* 滑稽 with *huayi* 滑疑 in the “Qiwu lun”: “[T]he glitters of glib implausibilities is despised by the sage” 滑疑之耀，聖人之所圖也. Trans. Graham, *Chuang Tzu*, 55. See Wang Shumin 王叔岷, *Shi ji jiaozheng* 史記糾證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 2328. The *Yantie lun* 鹽鐵論 exhorts officials when deliberating policies “not vainly hold to the words of ‘mallet chariot,’ being *guji* and yet cannot be followed” 無徒守椎車之語，滑稽而不可循. See Wang Liqi 王利器, ed. and comm., *Yantie lun xiaozhu* 鹽鐵論校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 507–08.

⁴³¹ See *Shi ji*, 130.3318. For a translation of the “Guji liezhuan” see Giulia Baccini and Maddalena Barengi, “The Witty Courtiers, Memoir 66,” *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, Volume XI, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019), 149–95.

Sima Qian and his Western Han contemporaries used the term *guji* to refer to the intellectual capacity and rhetorical potency that those smooth-tongued courtiers display in delivering their persuasions that are “nuanced and to the point” *weizhong* 微中.⁴³² To preserve the political intent hidden underneath the façade of tall tales and off-hand banter, I propose to render the term *guji* as “witticism,” which John Dryden coined in the seventeenth century by combining ‘witty’ with ‘criticism.’⁴³³

It goes without saying that successful delivery of such persuasion is predicated on rhetorical dexterity. Chunyu Kun, for example, the first player featured in the “*Guji liezhuan*,” tactfully delivered his admonition over King Wei of Qi’s negligence in the form of a metaphor.⁴³⁴ Hiding the true intention behind rhetorical façades is a figure of rhetoric known as *yin* 隱 or 譏, which the king is reported to be fond of.⁴³⁵

The “*Xie yin*” chapter of the *Wenxin diaolong* defines the term *yin* as: “To use obscure language to hide ideas, and to employ an artful parable to point to certain facts” 遁辭以隱意，譏譬以指事。⁴³⁶ A masterful employment of *yin*, is also an important mechanism to protect oneself

⁴³² This phrase *weizhong* appears in the opening passage of the “*Guji liezhuan*” the line reads: “The way of Heaven is indeed extensive and expansive, isn’t it truly magnificent? When one’s talk and discourse are nuanced yet to the point, he could as well disentangle the tangled threads” 天道恢恢，豈不大哉。談言微中，亦可以解紛。 See *Shi ji*, 126.3197.

⁴³³ Timoteus Pokora proposes to translate the term as “ironical critics.” He also observes that the connotation of wit and humor is not addressed explicitly at this stage of development of the word *guji*. See Timoteus Pokora, “The Etymology of ku-chi (or hua-chi) 滑稽,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 122 (1972): 163.

⁴³⁴ See *Shi ji*, 126.3197.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ See Yang Mingzhao, *Zengding Wenxin diaolong jiaozhu*, 3.195. Trans. Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 111.

from any possible persecution. Dongfang Shuo, whom Ban Gu deems “the champion of *guji*” (*guji zhi xiong* 滑稽之雄), instructed his sons, “When one relies on *yin* to dally with the world, even though his conduct is incompatible with the times, he would not encounter danger” 依隱玩世, 詭時不逢.⁴³⁷

After enumerating an array of real-world applications of *yin*, the *Wenxin diaolong* summarizes: “Presumably it [*yin*] is contrived for expedient maneuvering and serves matters of immediate exigency. [*Yin*] together with utterances of *xie*, constitute [respectively] the substance and appearance of the same thing” 蓋意生於權譎, 而事出於機急. 與夫諧辭, 可相表里者也.⁴³⁸

The literary genre that the “Xie *yin*” chapter concerns itself with also constitutes a rhetorical device, taking on *xie* as the appearance and harboring the sense of purpose and immediacy that identifies with *yin*. This rhetorical device by our account, was at the core of the *guji* tradition. As the *xiaoshuo* gradually lost its rhetorical function and reduced into a narrative genre fashioned to entertain and engage the reader through storytelling, the *guji* tradition, primarily defined and shaped by rhetorical virtuosity displayed in the “*Guji liezhuan*,” came to live in the shadows of its past, surviving merely as a form of trivial amusement.

The rhetorical potency of this rhetorical device, emerging from the shadows of the *guji* tradition, was preserved among the growing corpus of texts dedicated to collecting anecdotes and tales about both contemporary and historical figures. Two of the earliest compilations of the

⁴³⁷ See *Han shu*, 65.2874. This line is traditionally rendered: “When one follows the course of being a recluse [at the court] while dallying with the world, even though his conduct is incompatible with the times, he would not encounter danger.” Cf. Watson’s translation of the line: “Stay in the shade and make sport of the world, be wary of the times and don’t get caught.” See Watson, *Courtier and Commoner in ancient China*, 106.

⁴³⁸ See Yang Mingzhao, *Zengding Wenxin diaolong jiaozhu*, 3.195.

category are Pei Qi's 裴啟 (fourth century) *Yu lin* 語林 (Grove of tales), a collection of anecdotes about figures from the Han and Wei up to his own time and Guo Chengzhi's 郭澄之 (fourth century) *Guozi* 郭子 consisting of anecdotes of Western Jin figures.⁴³⁹ The *Yu lin* and *Guozi* were two among a variety of sources that a fifth-century collection of historical anecdotes and character sketches, *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (A new account of tales of the world), draws on.

The "Speech and Conversation" (*yanyu* 言語) chapter of the *Shishuo xinyu* is the most prolific documentation of verbal virtuosity in social settings. Entries of this chapter are typically terse with speech and conversation framed in a minimal context. Verbal communications are recorded, not to document the events or to flesh out the personality trait of a given figure, but instead are designed for rhetorical effect as well to provide a certain amount of amusement.

While the comic effect is hard to miss, it is important also to note that, as Mei Chia-ling 梅家玲 aptly reminds us, the rhetorical effect is immediately pertinent to the context where the speech or conversation takes place.⁴⁴⁰ This is an important point; it denotes a newly developed taste at the time, as reflected in the *Shishuo xinyu*, for speeches and conversations are carefully calibrated and masterfully handled in order to adapt to circumstances while conforming to social decorum. In other words, speeches and conversations are more appreciated for their relative

⁴³⁹ Liu Xiaobiao citing Tan Daoluan's 檀道鸞 (fifth century) *Xu Jin yangqiu* 續晉陽秋. See Xu Zhen'e, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 452. [The title of the compilation is probably modeled after the "Shuo lin" 說林 (Grove of persuasions) chapter of the Han Feizi.] Lu Xun reconstructed both *Yu lin* and *Guozi* from surviving fragments. These two compilations are included in his *Gu xiaoshuo gouchen* 古小說鉤沉. For a more recent reconstruction of the *Yu lin*, see Zhou Lengqie 周楞伽, *Pei Qi Yu lin* 裴啟語林 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1988).

⁴⁴⁰ Mei Chia-ling 梅家玲, *Shishuo xinyu de yuyan yu xushi* 世說新語的語言與敘事 (Taipei: Liren, 2004), 87–89.

adeptness in their respective social setting than their cleverness in absolute terms.

One of the original ingredients of the *guji, yin*, described in the *Wenxin diaolong* as something “contrived for expedient maneuvering and serves matters of immediate exigency,” seems to continue to lend its punch to speeches and conversations in the early medieval period.

V. “Jie dui” of the *Jinlouzi*

It was based on this new development that Xiao Yi compiled this chapter titled “Jie dui” by assembling cases where expedient verbal maneuvering is called for by the circumstance as a matter of exigency. The term *jiedui* was originally used to describe one’s ability to deliver quick-fire repartee when being put on the spot.⁴⁴¹ The word *jie* of the term *jie dui* not only means swift and prompt but also conveys the sense of being [intellectually] alert and sharp, hence the translation ‘smart.’⁴⁴² The term *dui* indicates that verbal virtuosity is mobilized in reaction to the immediate circumstances, hence ‘repartee.’

As mentioned earlier, in his preface to the chapter, Xiao Yi makes no effort to elevate the subject matter.

⁴⁴¹ As opposed to *qie wen* 切問 (closely pressing with a question) which entails taking the initiative to launch a verbal strike. The term *jie dui* (quick-fire repartee/ respond with agility) is the antithesis of *qie wen* 切問 (penetrating questions/ closely pressing with a question). See *Sanguo zhi*, 59.1368; n1.

⁴⁴² Cf. the word ‘smart’ is cognate with German *schmerzen* (to cause sharp pain) from this sense arose ‘keen, brisk,’ whence the current senses of ‘mentally sharp’ and ‘neat.’

Among the “Three points” held in esteem, the tongue occupies one of them.⁴⁴³ Of the “Four categories” for official recruitment, speech and conversation ranks as one.⁴⁴⁴ Nevertheless, frivolously excessive eloquence is what officials should guard themselves against. When one readily and gladly makes mocking remarks, in the meantime, let us hear facetious jests. I jotted down a few words, momentarily, to review this phenomenon of “smart repartee.”

夫三端為貴，舌端在焉。四科取士，言語為一。雖諛諛利口，致戒嗇夫；便便為嘲，且聞謔浪。聊復記言，以觀捷對。

The chapter, named after its thematic topic, consists of seventeen anecdotes each of which is centered around one or a series of quick-witted responses in a variety of settings, both formal and informal, including a banquet, outing, casual conversation, marketplace, and court assembly. A swiftly delivered repartee is not only an actual masterful use of language within its special social context, but is also implicated in the maintenance of prescribed social decorum. According to the specific social circumstance, as well as Xiao Yi’s comments appended to some of the entries, the anecdotes featured in the chapter can be divided into four sub-groups.

i. Savior of the day—mastering the situation

⁴⁴³ The *locus classicus* of “san duan” 三端 (three points) is the *Han Shi waizhuan*: “The superior man avoids the three points: he avoids the brush-point of the literary man; he avoids the spear-point of the military man; he avoids the tongue-point of the sophist” 是以君子避三端，避文士之筆端，避武士之鋒端，避辯士之舌端。See Xu Weiyu, *Han shi waizhuan jishi*, 7.242. Trans. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 227.

⁴⁴⁴ The “si ke” 四科 (four subjects) refer to *dexing* 德行 (virtuous conduct), *yanyu* 言語 (speech and conversation), *zhengshi* 政事 (affairs of state), and *wenxue* 文學 (letters and scholarship). See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 22.742. These four subjects are also the topics of the first four chapters of the *Shishuo xinyu*. The term *yanyu* thus covers the entire range of verbal exercises. See Mao commentary on #250 “Gong Liu” 公劉, *Maoshi zhengyi*, 17.274: “Directly uttering words is *yan*, engaging in a debate is *yu*” 直言曰言，論難曰語。

The chapter begins with two entries that spotlight an artistic maneuver of language in order to manage a delicate social situation. The mastery of the situation can involve the mobilization and execution of a range of human faculties, from an intuition for seizing the moment and adapting to circumstance, to the ability to “read the room,” and, to ensure that no social decorum is in jeopardy.

(#1) When Emperor Wu of Jin accepted the abduction of [Wei], he drew a divining stalk and obtained the number “one.” All the ministers turned pale. Pei Kai responded: “Heaven by virtue of the One is limpid; Earth by virtue of the One is settled; Lords and sovereigns by attaining the One become the standard for the realm.”⁴⁴⁵

晉武帝受禪，探得一字。朝士失色。裴楷對曰：“天得一以清，地得一以甯，侯王得一以為天下貞。”

Pei Kai was faced with an awkward and delicate situation where the number that the emperor drew, believed to be the number of reigns of the dynasty, to the emperor’s very dismay, one. He successfully diffused the tension by first drawing on the *Laozi*, a text that was esteemed at the time as an artifact of literary decorum, an embodiment, and realization of the norms of appropriateness to set out the structural principle for a distinctively literary society. By leaving out the enactment of “One” in “numen” *shen* 神, “valley” *gu* 谷, and “myriad of creatures” *wanwu* 萬物, his streamlined response sets “lords and sovereigns” in immediate parallel with “heaven” and “earth,” two overarching realms that render everything in between in rapport with the whole of which it is part.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁵ See Gao Ming 高明, ed. and comm., *Boshu Lao zi jiaozhu* 帛書老子校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 9. The translation is based on Lau, *Tao Te Ching*, 100.

⁴⁴⁶ See *Laozi* 39: “Of old, these came to be in possession of the One: Heaven in virtue of the One is limpid; Earth in virtue of the One is settled; Gods in virtue of the One have their potencies; The valley in virtue of the One is full; The myriad creatures in virtues of the One are alive; Lords

Pei Kai selected and arranged the materials in such a fashion that the current thorny incident at hand is open to an alternative interpretation. Everyone present was relieved with the prospect of cultural propriety well-maintained. According to the *Shishuo xinyu*, upon hearing this, “the emperor was pleased, and various officials sighed with admiration” 帝說, 群臣歎服.⁴⁴⁷ All is well. This is followed by a similar entry:

Emperor Wen of Song once drifted in a boat on the Pond of Heavenly Abyss along with his officials. The emperor cast down the fishing-line to angle for fish. He moved back and forth on the pond for a long time. But still, in the end, he did not catch any fish. Thereupon, Wang Jingwen [Yu] left his seat and said [to the emperor], “I, your minister, think that it is because the one who casts the fishing-line is pure [viz. incorrupt] that he does not obtain those that crave the bait.”⁴⁴⁸

(# 2) 宋文帝嘗與群臣汎天淵池, 帝垂綸而釣, 回旋良久, 竟不得魚. 王景文乃越席曰: “臣以為垂綸者清, 故不獲貪餌.”

The situation in which the emperor goes out to catch fish but comes back empty-handed hardly counts as a crisis. Nevertheless, it requires an adept response on the part of the court officials. Wang Yu’s maneuver was certainly successful.

The way Wang Yu deals with the situation is not so different from Pei Kai’s crafty maneuver that we have seen in the previous entry. Both of them responded by removing the incident at hand from its immediate context and relocating it to a more abstract cultural discourse, which an alternative interpretation of the situation would be easy to come by.

and princes in virtue of the One become leaders in the empire.” 昔之得一者: 天得一以清; 地得一以寧; 神得一以靈; 谷得一以盈; 萬物得一以生; 侯王得一以為天下貞. Trans. Lau. *Tao Te Ching*, 59.

⁴⁴⁷ This line is omitted in the “Jie dui” chapter. See Xu Zhen’e, *Shishuo xinyu*, 44. Trans. Richard B. Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 40.

⁴⁴⁸ See also *Song shu* 宋書 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 834.2b; *Nan shi*, 23.632.

Owing to this adroit maneuver, the number “one” in Pei Kai’s case no longer represented the number of reigns of the dynasty, but was seen as a manifestation that the dynasty, by embracing the ultimate principle epitomized as “One,” is in accord with heaven and earth. By the same token, the emperor not catching any fish does not reduce him to an inept angler, nor does it mean the emperor is out of luck, Heaven forbid, but rather is seen as an attestation of the emperor’s accomplished moral cultivation.

Xiao Yi expresses his approval of and admiration for the adept conduct in the social arena feature in these two entries.

These entries are equally accomplished and distinguished, they constitute ones that are truly fine.

此並風流間勝，實為美矣。

ii. Twice infringed taboo—defending one’s social standing

The “Jie dui” chapter includes a few entries that are centered on the established social taboo on mentioning immediate forebears’ personal names [or homophonous words] both in speech and in writing.⁴⁴⁹

The anecdote often begins with a heckler hurling a thinly-disguised insult at his interlocutor by deliberately evoking the words in the name of the interlocutor’s father. The interlocutor, on the other hand, often reacting swiftly, is able to turn the tables on his bully by seamlessly weaving the taboo name of the bully’s father into his response to the provocation.

⁴⁴⁹ One of the earliest examples of a writer respecting this taboo is Sima Qian’s avoidance of his father’s name Tan in writing personal names in the *Shi ji*. See Wilkinson, *Chinese History, a New Manual*, 141.

The comic effect, initially achieved by an unabashed violation of established social taboo, is magnified by a sense of gratification to witness how the cheeky heckler is beaten at his own game.

He Xu, Duke of Ancheng, was sharing a meal with Yin Yuanxi [Fu] (fl. 466), [Yin] Chun's (403–434) son. He Xu said, "It is fitting to have some more [*yin*] water-mallow [*chun*]-stew." Gradually raising his head, Yin Yuanxi said, "How could you [*he*] not [*wu*] avoid [*ji*] any taboo [*hui*]?" [He] Xu was He Wuji's (d. 410) son.⁴⁵⁰

(#6) 安成公何勣與殷元喜共食, 元喜即淳之子也, 勣曰: "益殷蓴羹." 元喜徐舉頭曰: "何無忌諱?" 勣乃無忌子.

In this entry, He Xu seizes the opportunity to work the personal name of Yin Fu's father into his seemingly innocent comment. Yin Fu, reciprocates He Xu's cheekiness by evoking the name of He's father, which taken at face-value, refers directly to He Xu's violation of the taboo.

Liu Jun (438–498) once tried to urge Xie Yue (454–498) to drink, saying, "The son of Xie Zhuang (421–466) does not get to say that he cannot drink." He [viz. Xie Yue] replied, "Only with the right kind of person would I indulge [*chen*] and wallow [*mian*] myself in it." [Liu] Jun was [Liu] Mian's son.⁴⁵¹

(#7) 劉俊勸謝淪酒曰: "謝莊兒不得道不能飲." 對曰: "苟得其人, 自可沈湎." 俊乃沔[勣]之子.

Liu Jun's boorish proposition makes direct reference to the personal name of Xie Yue's father, Xie Zhuang. To reciprocate in kind, Xie Yue worked *chen* 沈 (immerse, indulge in), a homophone of Liu Jun's original personal name Chen 忱, as well as *mian* 湎 (wallow in), homophonous with his father's personal name Mian 勣 (the received editions all write Mian 沔)

⁴⁵⁰ See *Song shu* cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 861.3b.

⁴⁵¹ The same story is recorded in the *Qi shu* 齊書 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 844.5a.

in his response. Xie Yue's response, taken as a whole, leaves no room for doubt that Liu Jun is deemed an unworthy drinking companion.

Chen Tai and Wu Gai asked Zhong Yu, "What sort of man was Gaoyao?" Yu replied, "[He was] a gentleman who enters into associations (*zhou*) but not cliques;⁴⁵² comes together with other gentlemen (*qun*) without forming cliques."⁴⁵³

(#5) 陳大[泰]武該[陔]問鐘毓曰：“皋陶何如人？”對曰：“君子周而不比，群而不黨也。”

In this entry, Chen Tai and Wu Gai ask a seemingly innocent question knowing that Yao was also the personal name of Zhong Yu's 鐘毓 father. Zhong Yu cites two separate lines from the *Lunyu*, which under the guise of addressing a question not sincerely asked in the first place, bear respectively the taboo name of Wu Kai's father and Chen Tai's father in parallel position.

Xiao Yi gives his assessment of entries of this kind:

Entries of this sort, although making jests by means of an extreme/outrageous taboo, I nevertheless deem the one who reciprocates outmatches [the instigator].

諸如此類，雖以至諱為嘲，而答者為優。

As Xiao Yi acknowledges, evoking the name taboo to make jokes, taken by itself, reflects bad taste, and a breach of social decorum. But seen in the context, the prized response, in each of the cited entries, amounts to a well-crafted and carefully calculated counterattack, proportionate to the initial insult. These two breaches of social decorum amount to an affirmation of the decorum insofar as the initial infringement is canceled by a swift and sound retaliation, measure

⁴⁵² See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 3.130. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 65.

⁴⁵³ See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 32.1422. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 135. Xu Zhen'e, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 418. Trans. Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World*, 401.

for measure. Such social interaction is invariably conducted in a civilized social setting, for both parties involved in the scene know where the boundary lays, or what decorum entails. While social decorum can be used to regulate individual conduct, a compendium of individual conduct, whether applied within or out of the framework, taken as a whole, can also be seen as an expression of social convention.

iii. Tit for tat—claiming one’s social standing

Striving to outdo each other in a public setting, insofar as social decorum allows it, constitutes an effort to establish and enhance one’s social standing within a community. Eloquence, while in its general sense means being fluent and sharp in speaking, specifically entails the intellectual ability to mobilize resources on the spot and to organize an effective strike on target. Stories featured in the “Jie dui,” whether about pushing back against uncalled-for provocations or seeking to be treated with more respect, a quick-witted and well-calibrated repartee is all it takes to prevail over others and to keep one’s footing in society.

Cui Bao [Zhengxiong] once went to visit the commandery. The commandery intendant, whose name was Chen, asked Cui, “How many generations are you, Sir, removed from Cui Zhu?”⁴⁵⁴ He replied, “I, Zhengxiong, am about as many generations removed from Cui Zhu as Your Excellency is from Chen Heng.”⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵⁴ Cui Zhu 崔杼 (d. 546 BCE) was a nobleman of Qi who killed his ruler Duke Zhuang (r. 533–548 BCE), and installed Duke Jing (r. 547–490 BCE) in his place. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 36.281–82. See also *Shi ji*, 32.1500–02.

⁴⁵⁵ Chen Heng 陳恆, also known as Tian Heng 田恆, was another nobleman of Qi who killed his lord, Duke Jian (r. 484–481 BCE), and established Duke Ping (r. 480–456 BCE). See *Shi ji*, 46.1884.

See Xu Zhen’e, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 49. Trans. Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World*, 44.

(# 5) 崔正熊詣郡, 郡將姓陳, 問正熊曰: “君去崔杼幾世?” 答曰: “正熊之去崔杼, 如明府之去陳恆也。”

The commandery intendant attempts to insult Cui Bao by suggesting that Cui Bao was a descendent of Cui Zhu, a historical figure with a dubious reputation. Cui Bao responded by attributing the commandery intendant's ancestry to Chen Heng, who like Cui Zhu, was also a nobleman of Qi, known for committing regicide and installing a new lord of his own choice. Cui Bao's response, both prompt and carefully calibrated, is still in keeping with social propriety.

The son of the Yang family, named Zhou, was in his seventh year. He was exceptionally quick-witted. One day, Kong Yong came to visit the boy's father. Not finding the father at home, he called out, announcing his presence. The boy came out and set some fruit before him, among which were some *yangmei*, or arbutus berries. Kong pointed them out to the boy, saying, “This is really your family fruit?” The boy quickly responded, “I never heard, Sir, that the peacock (*kongque*) was your family bird.”⁴⁵⁶

(#11) 楊子州年七歲甚聰慧, 孔永詣其父, 父不在, 乃呼兒出, 為設果, 有楊梅. 永指示兒曰: “此真君家果.” 兒答曰: “未聞孔雀是夫子家禽.”

The initial statement, inferred from a deliberately flawed line of reasoning, was undoubtedly only intended to tease the young host. The young boy, however, aspired to be taken seriously, to be treated with the respect that is deemed appropriate according to social decorum. His sophisticated use of the same flawed line of reasoning earns him the chance to pull an adult's leg for a change.

Xiao Yi renders his evaluation as:

Entries of this category are all decorous and refined and do not involve gain or loss.

⁴⁵⁶ Xu Zhen'e, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 57–58. Trans. Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World*, 52.

如此之流，並皆文雅可觀，不關得喪。

While Xiao Yi speaks approvingly of civilized ways of defending one's social standing deploying measured and appropriate response, he also cautions against carrying the comeback across the line of social decorum. For example, Xiao Yi expresses his disapproval of the repartee featured in the following entry for its lack of cultural sophistication and social propriety.

Fei Yi (d. 253) served as an envoy to Wu; Sun Quan (182–252) held a banquet in his honor. He [Sun Quan] covertly instructed his court officials to keep their heads buried in food and not get up when the envoy arrived. When [Fei] Yi arrived, [Sun] Quan stopped eating [to acknowledge his presence]. [Fei] Yi ridiculed those present, saying, “When a phoenix comes to pay court, / The unicorn spits out its food. / Dull-witted donkeys are ignorant, / Burying their heads in food and eating as if nothing happened.” Zhuge Jin stopping eating and heckled back, saying, “Here our lord planted parasol trees, / And awaits a phoenix.⁴⁵⁷ What kind of bird in the genus of swallows or sparrows is this, / Deciding on its own to soar around and alight here? Why not just shoot it with a pellet, / So that it will return to where it is from.”⁴⁵⁸

(#13) 費禕使吳，孫權饗之。逆敕羣臣，使至伏食勿起。禕至，權為輟食。禕嘲之曰：“鳳凰來朝，麒麟吐哺。鈍驢無知，伏食如故。”諸葛瑾輟食反嘲之曰：“爰植梧桐，以待鳳凰。有何燕雀，自稱來翔。何不彈射，使還故鄉。”

Sun Quan, the sovereign of Wu, sought to prevail over his counterpart, the sovereign of Shu, by embarrassing the Shu envoy from their very first encounter. Fei Yi recognized the trick

⁴⁵⁷ One of the earliest associations between phoenix and parasol trees is in the Mao #252, *Mao Shi zhengyi* 17.278: “The phoenix is in flight, / On that high ridge. / The parasol tree grows, / Where it meets the early sun” 鳳凰鳴矣/于彼高岡/梧桐生矣/于彼朝陽. The translation is based on Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 184.

a phoenix flock onto the parasol trees in his imperial park. See Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 18.456. Also see Xu Weiyu, *Han shi waizhuan jishi*, 8.279. Trans. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 261.

⁴⁵⁸ Here Zhuge Jin is probably a mistake for Zhuge Ke 諸葛恪 (203–253), Zhuge Jin's (174–241) son. See *Ke biezhuàn* 恪別傳 cited in the *Sanguo zhi*, 64.1430; n1., see also *Qiyán lù* 啟顏錄 cited in the *Taiping guangji*, 245.1898.

right away and extemporized a ditty in four lines to heap scorn on his hosts. In this ditty, he compares himself to a phoenix, set on a par with Sun Quan, likened to a unicorn. Not even trying to be subtle, Fei Yi goes on to caricature all the Wu officials there as a herd of dull-witted donkeys.

To strike back, Zhuge Jin improvised a ditty in six lines, which, like Fei Yi's ditty, is in tetra-syllabic lines with rime occurring on the last syllable of even-numbered lines. The ditty first evokes the story of a phoenix coming to nest in the parasol trees in the imperial park when the Yellow Emperor ascended the throne. Zhuge Jin adeptly elevates his lord to a status comparable to that of the legendary sage emperor. Fei Yi, on the other hand, is portrayed as a self-important mediocrity with a delusional belief in himself, who deserves to be driven back to where he came from.

In diplomatic situations where self-identity and self-regard of one's regime is constituted, deliberated on, and negotiated through interactions with another person, the stakes are particularly high for both parties. Wu and Shu were rival states with contested claims for legitimacy and authority. Sun Quan's effort to secure a leading position over his rival from the beginning is thwarted by Fei Yi's eloquent maneuver. Zhuge Jin's counterstrike outplays Fei Yi's initial sortie in the game that Fei Yi started.

Xiao Yi derides quick-witted replies such as this, saying:

Entries such as these are collectively labeled as "teasing and taunting."⁴⁵⁹ They cross the line for being coarse and vulgar, thus are not worthy of much mentioning.

諸如此例，合曰俳調，過為疏鄙也，不足多稱。

⁴⁵⁹ "Pai diao" 俳調, which Mather renders as "teasing and taunting," is one of the thematic chapters of the *Shishuo xinyu*.

iv. Putting on a public performance

The ability to say the right thing at the moment puts one's intellectual adeptness and social propriety into public display, to be appreciated, evaluated, and even rated or ranked. This makes the concept of staged performance central to the "Jie dui" entries. It is in the form of performance that the underlying culturally prized ideal is realized and social decorum is enacted before a public audience.

When Emperor Wu of Song ascended Ba Mound, gazing afar at the Western Capital, he asked Fu Liang (374–426) and others to recite memorable lines of ancient poems. [Fu] Liang recited a poem by Wang Zhongxuan [Can], "To the south I climbed the slope of Ba Mound, / And turned my head to gaze on Chang'an."⁴⁶⁰

(#10) 宋武帝登霸陵, 乃眺西京, 使傅亮等各詠古詩名句. 亮誦王仲宣詩曰: "南登霸陵岸, 回首望長安."

Both the *Nan shi* and *Jin shu* record the same story with a fuller context. In the *Nan shi* the person who evokes Wang Can's poem is Xie Hui 謝晦 (390–426); the *Jin shu* attributes it to Guo Chengzhi 郭澄之 (fl. 416).⁴⁶¹ Regardless of who stands in the spotlight, Wang Can's lines from the "Qi'ai shi" are prized as the most appropriate for the given social occasion throughout different versions of the story.

⁴⁶⁰ Wang Can, "Qi'ai shi" 七哀詩, *Wen xuan*, 23.1087. Trans. Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), 252.

⁴⁶¹ See *Nan shi*, 19.522. See *Jin shu*, 92.2406.

In early medieval China, the practice of commemorating a specific occasion by evoking lines of old poems became commonplace. The practice is probably an outgrowth of the *fu shi* 賦詩 tradition primarily recorded in the *Zuo zhuan*.⁴⁶² In its most typical setting, the *fu shi* tradition involves officials each presenting at the court, by singing or reciting to musical accompaniment, a *Shi jing* poem that he deems the most appropriate to the present occasion.

Similarly, this “Jie dui” entry is placed in a highly culturalized setting, where one distinguishes himself by virtue of the enactment of texts that was, on the one hand, valued for their literary value, and, on the other hand, deemed fit for the occasion within a closed and self-sufficient system of cultural association. Fu Liang’s public reenactment of Wang Can’s poem, intentionally tuned to the circumstance, effectively renders the audience susceptible to emotional resonance. Upon hearing Wang Can’s poem, according to the *Nan shi*, “The emperor, overcome by emotion, wept incessantly” 帝流涕不自勝.⁴⁶³

The following entry is another well-framed vignette of public display of “quick-witted repartee.”

Xi Zuochi once went to visit Shi Dao’an. Encountering him [Dao’an], holding a bowl, he hastened across the hall. Xi Zuochi briskly followed him to the place where the monks were having their mid-day meal (*zhai*). While other monks all put down their bowls and pulled in their lappets (as a gesture of humility), only Dao’an did not stop eating and refused to greet him courteously. Xi was rather livid at this, and with a harsh tone, said: “I, Xi Zuochi, with a wide acquaintance with all over the four seas, am making a point to visit you.” Dao’an responded, “I, Shi Dao’an, with sky-

⁴⁶² See for example, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 39.304–07. For a discussion of the *fu shi* tradition in the *Zuo zhuan* see Koo-yin Tam, “The Use Poetry in Tso Chuan: An Analysis of the ‘Fu-shih’ Practice,” Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1975. Also see Zong-qi Cai, “Evolving Practices of *Guan* and Liu Xie’s Theory of Literary Interpretation,” *Interpretation and Literature in Early Medieval China*, eds. Alan K.L. Chan and Yet-Keung Lo (Albany: State University of New York, 2010), 104–10.

⁴⁶³ See *Nan shi*, 19.522.

pervading [aspirations], do not have the leisure to meet with you.”⁴⁶⁴ Xi, growing even more livid, said, “Your [bald] head has the color of your bowl, yet your bowl lacks the hair on your head.” Dao’an responded, “Your face has the color of my spoon, yet my spoon lacks the dent on your face.” Xi said, “When the great *peng*-bird flies from the south, various birds all conceal their wings. Who is this wretched old owl? Muttering and grumbling, he eats with his head cast down.” Dao’an replied, “How could a slight breeze blowing into the deep vale move the big tree? When a fierce tiger is eating right in the roadway, it takes no account of the arrival of fleas or gadflies.” With that, Xi was rendered speechless.

(#17) 習鑿齒詣釋道安, 值持鉢趨堂, 鑿齒乃翔往, 眾僧之齋也。眾皆捨鉢斂衽, 唯道安食不輟, 不之禮也。習甚恚之, 乃厲聲曰: “四海習鑿齒, 故故來看爾。” 道安應曰: “彌天釋道安, 無暇得相看。” 習愈忿, 曰: “頭有鉢上色, 鉢無頭上毛。” 道安曰: “面有匙上色, 匙無面上劫。” 習又曰: “大鵬從南來, 眾鳥皆戢翼。何物凍老鴟, 臍臍低頭食。” 道安曰: “微風入幽谷, 安能動大材。猛虎當道食, 不覺蚤虻來。” 於是習無以對。

This entry consists of three rounds of verbal combat between Shi Dao’an (312–385) and Xi Zuochi (d. ca. 384). The theatrical discord between the two as seen in the entry can be deceiving. As a matter of fact, Xi Zuochi became acquainted with Dao’an early in his career in 347 and remained on good terms with him. When Dao’an established a Buddhist community in Xiangyang in the mid fourth century, Xi Zuochi, a native of Xiangyang, renewed his acquaintance with Dao’an.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. Xi Zuochi’s letter to Shi Dao’an, dated 365, cited in the *Hongming ji* 弘明集 *Siku quanshu*, 12.2a: “I, your disciple, have heard that which does not last for the entire morning and yet brings precipitation to the breadth of six directions is the sky-pervading clouds; that which augment the fountainhead to bedew the extent of eight-poles are the streams of four seas” 弟子聞不終朝而雨六合者, 彌天之雲也。弘淵源以潤八極者, 四大之流也。The letter is partially translated in Zenryū Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism, From Its Introduction to the Death of Hui-yüan*, translated by Leon Hurvitz, Vol. One (Tokyo, New York, San Francisco: Kodansha, International LTD, 1979), 176–77.

⁴⁶⁵ In the letter that Xi wrote to Shi Dao’an dated 365, Xi Zuochi refers to himself as Dao’an’s disciple. Ibid.

The same story is recorded in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 emphasizing that the line attributed to Dao'an was prized by his contemporaries.⁴⁶⁶ The *Jin shu* 晉書 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, however, presents these two lines in reverse order, thus foregrounding the line attributed to Xi Zuochi as the *jiedui*.⁴⁶⁷

Although in the entry Xi Zuochi is reportedly rendered speechless in the end, by and large, the entry presents an evenly matched game. The exchange between the two, equally sharp and quick-witted, presents a glimpse of a corpus of literary knowledge and rhetorical skills organized for the public display of eloquence. Each expert player seeks to negotiate his respective public presentation as well as his own perception of the self in the game of language.

The following entry is a “public display” par excellence, on which Xiao Yi comments, “It [the smart repartee here] is not only learned, but also has verbal eloquence. This is absolutely superb” 既學而又辯, 此其優也.

Wu sent Zhang Wen (d. 191) as an envoy to Shu, and all officialdom came to see him off. Qin Mi (d. 226) did not go. Zhuge Liang repeatedly sent staff to hasten him along. [Zhang] Wen asked, “What kind of man is that?” [Zhuge] Liang said, “A learned man from Yizhou.” When he [Qin Mi] finally arrived, Wen asked Mi, “Do you, Sir, cultivate learning?” Mi said, “Even boys of five *chi* height cultivate learning, why only a lowly fellow like me?” Wen said, “Does heaven have a head?” Mi said, “It does.” Wen said, “Where is the head located?” Mi said, “The *Shi* reads, ‘So he turned his gaze to the west’⁴⁶⁸ inferring from this that the head is located in the west.” Wen said, “Does heaven have ears?” Mi said, “Heaven lodges above and takes heed of things that take place below. The *Shi* says, ‘When a crane cries at the Nine Swamps, / Its voice is heard in Heaven.’⁴⁶⁹ If it has no ears, how would it take heed of things?” Wen asked, “Does it have feet?” Mi said, “Heaven is verging towards calamity, / My lord makes no plan.”⁴⁷⁰ If it has no feet, with what does it

⁴⁶⁶ The exchange is also seen in Shi Dao'an's hagiographic account in the *Gaoseng zhuan*. See Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, ed. and comm., *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 5.180.

⁴⁶⁷ See *Taiping yulan*, 464.2a.

⁴⁶⁸ See Mao #241, *Mao Shi zhengyi*, 16.251. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 255.

⁴⁶⁹ See Mao #184, *Mao Shi zhengyi*, 11.165. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 314.

⁴⁷⁰ See Mao #229, *Mao Shi zhengyi*, 15.228. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 103.

pace about? Wen asked, “Does Heaven have a surname?” Mi said, “Liu.” Wen asked, “How is this so?” He responded, “The Son of Heaven’s surname is Liu, that is how I know.” Wen asked, “Does the sun emerge from the east?” Mi said, “Though it emerges from the east, it sinks in the west.”⁴⁷¹

(#16) 吳遣張溫聘蜀, 百官皆餞焉。秦宓未往, 諸葛亮累催之, 溫曰: “彼何人也?” 亮曰: “益州學者也。”及至, 溫問宓曰: “君學乎?” 宓曰: “五尺童子皆學, 何必小人?” 溫復問曰: “天有頭乎?” 宓曰: “有之。”溫曰: “何方?” 宓曰: “詩云: ‘乃眷西顧’ 以此推之, 頭在西方。”溫曰: “天有耳乎?” 宓曰: “天處高而聽卑。詩云: ‘鶴鳴九皋, 聲聞於天’ 若其無耳, 何以聽之?” 溫曰: “天有足乎?” 宓曰: “‘天步艱難, 之子不猶’ 若其無足, 何以步之?” 溫曰: “天有姓乎?” 宓曰: “姓劉。”溫曰: “何以然也?” 答曰: “今天子姓劉, 故以此知之。”溫曰: “日生於東乎?” 宓曰: “雖生於東, 而沒於西。”

Zhang Wen knowingly asked Qin Mi if he cultivates scholarship. Qin Mi, apparently not prepared to demean himself to answer the ill-intentioned question, responded with a resounding rhetorical question. Zhang Wen then bombarded Qin Mi with a series of seemingly nonsensical questions, asking whether or not heaven has head, ears, and feet. With all seriousness, Qin Mi cited three *Shi jing* lines, in each of which heaven pictured anthropomorphically gazes, hears, and paces respectively, as if it has a head, ears, and feet.

The first line is cited from a *Shi jing* poem that belongs to the founding lore of the house of Zhou. In the poem, as heaven withdraws the mandate from the house of Shang, “turns its gaze to the west.” Qin Mi’s allegorical implication is unmistakable: just like the ruling house of Zhou, arising from west of the domain of the Shang, Shu, located southwest of the central domain, is now favored by heaven, casting its gaze to the west.

Zhang Wen, asked, again, as if he did not know, whether or not the sun rises in the east. Zhang Wen’s attempt to glorify his state in the east as where the sun rises, however, was

⁴⁷¹ See *Sanguo zhi*, 38.976.

frustrated by Qin Mi's response, pointing out that, west, where Shu was located, is where the sun sets, and by implication where things are brought to a conclusive end.

Zhang Wen's inquiry about heaven's surname almost sounds like a give-away. Qin Mi did not waste this opportunity to advance his state's legitimacy on behalf of his lord, the ruler of Shu, and answered, given that the Son of Heaven is surnamed Liu, the surname of heaven is naturally Liu.

In his monograph on the *Shishuo xinyu*, Jack W. Chen stresses the concept of performance as an important frame of reference in understanding the meaning of the entries.⁴⁷² He further notes, "individual actors are never outside of public observation...both because they observe themselves in any given performance and because the public area always already constitutes them as social subjects."⁴⁷³

Chen's discussion on the aspect of the performance in the *Shishuo xinyu* applies to entries of the "Jie dui" chapter here. The consciousness of being on public display primarily pertains to the interlocutor[s], whose composed and adept response is required under a given, often thorny, social situation. But this awareness also extends to the one who passes his judgment, expresses his opinion, and gives his recommendation in the comments appended to the entries, which he gathered and compiled, that is, Xiao Yi. To this end, Xiao Yi's participation in anecdotes of "smart repartee" casts him as a competent insider who truly belongs to the cultural community of renown in the past. This, one may argue, is the reason why he compiled the "Jie dui" chapter.

⁴⁷² See Jack W. Chen, *Anecdote, Network, Gossip, Performance: Essays on the Shishuo xinyu* (Cambridge, MA. and London: Harvard University Press, 2021), 123.

⁴⁷³ See Chen, *Anecdote, Network, Gossip, Performance*, 123–24.

Conclusion

The “Jie dui” chapter gives an account of what a “smart repartee” constitutes in the eyes of Xiao Yi. The chapter is dominated by cases where a swift and appropriate response is called for in a given circumstance, typically coming across as a social conundrum, either arising readily but unexpectedly (i) or deliberately imposed by others (ii). No matter what the specific testing situation might be, “smart repartee” is prompted on the one hand to defend, defuse, or deflect, and, on the other hand, to showcase one’s intellect in order to intellectually outshine the other. Thus, “smart repartee” is both a pragmatic reaction to the immediate reality and public performance of verbal virtuosity.

Throughout the entire chapter, the notion of social decorum is repeatedly alluded to and addressed in Xiao Yi off-hand remarks according to the following three rules: first, “smart repartee” is expected to comply with and reinforce the norm not to disrupt it; second, “smart repartee” is devised to solve the immediate conundrum and to retrieve social decorum, not to depart further from it; third, “smart repartee” ought to be done in keeping with good taste and propriety.

In this sense, “smart repartee” can be compared to playing defense in a game of sport. A good defense not only knows how to withstand the offense and to organize a swift and effective comeback, but also is well aware of where the line of scrimmage lies and how to play by the rules. A good defense with a competent display of technique and sportsmanship always inspires awe and respect. And indeed, an excellent case of “smart repartee” can be just as entertaining and thrilling as a game of sport well played.

The early medieval period is an age of wisdom and the age of foolishness. During this period, many old traditions died out and new traditions came into being. Upon a close look, however, the old traditions did not just disappear, sometimes they transformed into something different, other times, they become the breeding ground for new traditions to emerge. By the same token, rather than simply rising from scratch, the new traditions always come from existing traditions via multi-faceted and uneven mutation and transformation.

The two traditions, *zhiguai* and *guji*, at the core of this chapter, are at once an outgrowth of the *xiaoshuo* tradition and later turned into two different creatures in early medieval times. In conclusion, the “Zhi guai” and “Jie dui” chapters are both a continuation of a long-existing tradition and a response to the new development in the literary world of the time.

Chapter Five: Becoming A Master: Part One——“Li yan” 立言 (Establishing words) and “Za ji” 雜記 (Miscellaneous accounts) chapters

Xiao Yi consciously ascribes his compilation to the tradition of the “Masters Texts” (*zishu* 子書) by naming it after his self-chosen alternative name, Master of the Golden Tower.

The “Li yan” and “Za ji” are two core chapters of the *Jinlouzi* in which Xiao Yi shows an assiduous involvement with previous masters writings, ranging from directly harvesting material from earlier sources, reusing of the stock elements of the literary tradition, through to cultivating a certain voice or style that alludes to masters of the past.

The “Li yan” chapter, divided into two parts, occupies all of *juan* five and is the longest chapter of the *Jinlouzi*.⁴⁷⁴ In the chapter, Xiao Yi presents his ideas and comments on various topics ranging from literary matters to social customs, from scholarship to general life wisdom.⁴⁷⁵ The title “Li yan” resonates with the opening lines of Xiao Yi’s preface to the *Jinlouzi*:

Given that I, within the subcelestial realm, do not exactly hold menial status, I have ventured to think that Zang Wenzhong, who though long gone, has established words for the world.⁴⁷⁶ Cao [Pi] Zihuan said: “By establishing his virtue and putting

⁴⁷⁴ The second longest chapter of the *Jinlouzi* is “Shuo fan” 說藩 (Discourse on the enfeoffed princes) chapter, which also occupies an entire *juan*.

⁴⁷⁵ The title “Li yan” is listed under the “Yan 言” entry of the *Yongle dadian* (*juan* 4872), which means the chapter was cited in its entirety in the *Yongle dadian*. The *Siku* editors also attested that the chapter appeared “complete and fully composed from beginning to end” 首尾完整. See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 217.18b–20a.

⁴⁷⁶ Zangsun Chen 臧孫辰 (d. 617 BCE.), *zi* Wenzhong, a high official of Lu, was held as the example of “establishing immortality through words” in the *Zuo zhuan* (Xianggong 24). See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 35.24a. Trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition*, 1125.

something into writing, one does not decay.”⁴⁷⁷ Du [Yu] Yuankai said: “To be deemed virtuous is not something that can be expected to be attained, yet by establishing words one may almost get there.”⁴⁷⁸ Therefore, hanging the knife and brush at the door and window,⁴⁷⁹ I harbor this aspiration to transmit and compile [books].

余於天下為不賤焉，竊念臧文仲既歿，其立言於世。曹子桓云：立德著書，可以不朽。杜元凱言：德者非所企及，立言或可庶幾。故戶牖懸刀筆而有述作之志矣。

The “Za ji” chapter, also divided into two parts, mainly consists of historical tales, folk stories, and personal anecdotes; except for a handful of entries about Xiao Yi himself, most of the entries were excerpted from pre-existing texts. Some entries also contain Xiao Yi’s brief comments or notes. The *Junzhai dushuzhi* records the title as “Za shuo” 雜說 (Diverse tales) instead of “Za ji,” which would have been a more fitting title for the extant content.⁴⁸⁰

Both chapters were completed after the outbreak of Hou Jing rebellion in 548 and probably before Xiao Yi assumed the throne in 552. One entry of the “Za ji” chapter mentions the condition of the residence of Xiao Yi’s brother, Xiao Xu (504–547), posthumously known as Prince Wei of Luling, during the rebellion.

By the time when the vicious rebels crossed the River and encroached upon the imperial metropolitan area, the prince’s residence was near to the left side of the

⁴⁷⁷ This is a paraphrase of a line in Cao Pi’s letter to Wang Lang 王朗 (ca. 156–288): “Only when one establishes his virtue and makes his name known does he not decay. The next best thing to do [to archive this] is to compose pieces and texts” 唯立德揚名，可以不朽；其次莫如著篇籍。See *Sanguo zhi*, 2.88; note 1.

⁴⁷⁸ See *Jin shu* (by Wang Yin fl. 318–320) cited in the Liu Xiaobiao’s commentary to the *Shishuo xinyu*. See Xu Zhen’e, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 163.

⁴⁷⁹ Putting a writing brush or stylus and carving knife (to erase errors written or engraved on the bamboo strips) on the wall is a common early medieval trope to describe someone who is assiduous in writing. It is first seen in Wang Chong’s biography in the *Hou Han shu*, 49.1629.

⁴⁸⁰ See Sun Meng, *Junzhai dushuzhi jiaozheng*, 12.516.

road, the doubled gates opened on their own; no sounds of watchmen's clappers could no longer be heard.⁴⁸¹

及凶寇濟江, 而憑陵京邑, 王之邸第, 邇於路左, 重門自啟, 無復擊柝之聲.

The last dateable entry of the “Li yan” refers to the ongoing crisis of the dynasty and the news about Emperor Wu’s death in 549. Xiao Yi wrote:

The ancestral temple is [far away] in the capital, the northern barbarian people are yet to be exterminated. Beating my breast, I cry out in agony. My myriad regrets cannot be redeemed.

而宗廟在都, 匈奴未滅. 拊心長叫, 萬恨不追.

According to the *Nan shi*, Xiao Yi waited until May 551 to officially begin his mourning for his father, who died almost a year before.⁴⁸² In the same entry, Xiao Yi refers to his mother Ruan Lingying 阮令羸 (474–540) as Lady Ruan of [the rank of] Xiurong 阮修容 (Lady of cultivated countenance), the title she was given after she gave birth to Xiao Yi in 508.⁴⁸³ Soon after he ascended the throne as the emperor in December, 552, Xiao Yi granted his late mother the title of Empress Wenxuan 文宣. Therefore, the “Li yan” was probably completed between May 551 and December 552.

In this chapter, I read “Li yan” and “Za ji” in the context of the pre-Han and Han *zishu* tradition and trace Xiao Yi’s unique path of emerging as a master in the period that Tian Xiaofei terms as “the twilight of the Masters.”⁴⁸⁴ In the first part of this chapter, I follow Xiao Yi taking

⁴⁸¹ This alludes to the “Xici zhuan” of *Zhou yi*: “They had gates doubled and had watchmen’s clappers struck and so made provision against robbers” 重門擊柝, 以待暴客. Trans. Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 79.

⁴⁸² See *Nan shi*, 8.235.

⁴⁸³ See *Liang shu*, 7.163.

⁴⁸⁴ Xiaofei Tian, “The Twilight of the Masters: Masters Literature (*zishu*) in Early Medieval China,” *JAOS* 126 (2006): 465–86.

his apprenticeship with the established *zishu* tradition in three interconnected fields in order to obtain complete mastery of the tradition. These three fields—namely, modes of speech, topics of invention, and compositional methods—give the master-in-training the wherewithal to talk, think, and deliver like a master. The literary, intellectual, and rhetorical skills that Xiao Yi obtained in his apprenticeship paved the way for him to become a full-fledged master with his own authoritative voice, participating in and contributing to the overall intellectual discourse of the masters texts.

I. Talk like a master (modes of speech)

The ubiquitous presence of the “communication situation” in early masters texts, perhaps most prominently, in the *Lunyu*, preserves a lingering vestige of verbal communication, and thus gives us an idea of what a master is intended to sound like.⁴⁸⁵ But it is unmistakable that masters only existed in texts, by virtue of words attributed to them and deeds associated with them. The only place we might catch a glimpse of a master or overhear the master’s voice is in a text set down by others’ capturing the utterances of the master.⁴⁸⁶

It is possible to have an intuitive grasp of the ways a prototypical master communicates his thoughts as portrayed in masters texts without going into the composition of masters texts in detail. First, a master is the embodiment of authority, and as such the master figure is both trusted and expected to speak with authority. Second, a master is the producer and exporter of

⁴⁸⁵ Wiebke Denecke refers to the “communication scene” with two specified scenes: “scene of instruction” and “scene of persuasion.” See Denecke, “Masters” in *The Oxford Handbook of Classical Chinese Literature*, 206. Mark Edward Lewis mentions the “enunciatory scene” as the important single feature for the *Lunyu*; see Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 57.

⁴⁸⁶ Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 58.

intellectual output, and as such the master figure often comes across as being eager to exhibit his intellect.

In the master's discourse of the *Jinlouzi*, Xiao Yi demonstrates his intellectual faculties by expressing his approval and disapproval, passing judgment, and giving cautionary advice. These four modes of speech are readily identifiable in prior masters texts, for each of the communication scenarios is associated with a citation of the master's words. Xiao Yi adopts these masters' modes of speech and the oft-quoted words of masters to subscribe to the shared rhetorical characteristics that are typically associated with masters, and by doing so, tries to talk like a master.

a. approval, endorsement, echo

“Li yan” B.37

In referring to [Cai] Yong's “Xuan biao fu” Zhi Yu says, “the ‘You tong [*fu*’ is exquisite and well-formed, the ‘Si xuan [*fu*’ is comprehensive and substantial. The ‘Xuan biao [*fu*’ purports to imitate yet does not match up to [these two pieces].” I concur with Zhongzhi's appraisal.⁴⁸⁷

摯虞論[蔡]邕元表賦曰[=曰]: “[幽]通精以整, 思玄博而贍, 玄表擬之而不及.” 余以為仲治此說為然也。

⁴⁸⁷ Zhi Yu 摯虞, zi Zhongzhi 仲治 (variant Zhongqia 仲洽) compiled *Wenzhang liubie ji* 文章流別集, the earliest known Chinese anthology arranged by genre. The monograph on bibliography of the Sui shu lists Zhi Yu's *Wenzhang liubie ji* 文章流別集 in forty-one *juan*, and mentions a Liang dynasty catalog that recorded it in sixty *juan*. This also had a *zhi* 志 (notes) and *lun* 論 (disquisitions) each in two *juan*. See David R. Knechtges and Taiping Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature A Reference Guide Part Four* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 2257. This could very well be an entry excerpted from the disquisitions of the *Wenzhang liubie ji*.

Xiao Yi cites Zhi Yu's (d. 311) assertion that Cai Yong's "Xuan biao fu" is an inferior imitation of Ban Gu's "You tong fu" and Zhang Heng's "Si xuan fu."⁴⁸⁸ Xiao Yi then voices his endorsement of Zhi Yu's appraisal, based on, one may safely assume, a thorough familiarity with the relevant material and an independent assessment of his own. It is with this assumed voice of a master that Xiao Yi pronounces his concurrence with Zhi Yu's assessment.

"Li yan" B.40

Yao asked Shun: "People with purple tongues,⁴⁸⁹ I cannot converse with them, what should I do about it?" [Shun] replied: "You, sir, with your far-reaching vision would undoubtedly know the way. Where is the difficulty to assimilate with people with purple tongues and join forces with them?" I considered this an excellent repartee. Thus, Guan Zhong says: "When one sets loose a well-seasoned horse, one could find the path when lost; when one follows ants' nests, one will locate the water source."⁴⁹⁰

堯問舜：“紫舌之民，不可與語，若何？”曰：“君若遠鑑，必知通塞，紫舌之民，何難合同？”余以為善對。故管仲曰，“放老馬，得迷道；隨蟻壤，得水穴”也。

In this entry Xiao Yi cites a reputed exchange between two legendary rulers, Yao and Shun. Xiao Yi does not hesitate to pass judgment on Shun's reply and to cite from the *Guanzi* to substantiate his comment.

"Li yan" B.52

Wang Zhongren [Chong] says: "In general, those who explicate the text of a single Classic count as Ruist scholars, those who have a broad command of knowledge of the past and present count as comprehensive scholars. Those who submit petitions and present memoranda [to the emperor] count as men of letters. Those who are

⁴⁸⁸ The "Xuan biao fu" 玄表賦 has only one line extant, see *Quan Han wen* 全漢文, 69.3b.

⁴⁸⁹ Cf. Xiao Gang 蕭綱, "Nanjiao song xu" 南郊頌序 (Preface to the eulogy to Southern Suburban Sacrifice): "People with purple tongues coming from the domain of Huangzhi" 紫舌黃支, see *Yiwen leiju*, 38.683.

⁴⁹⁰ What purports to be a quote of Guan Zhong is a summary of a story recorded in the *Han Feizi*. See Chen Qiyong, *Han Feizi jishi*, 7.431.

capable of thinking assiduously, composing writings and joining sections and paragraphs, account as polymathic scholars.”⁴⁹¹ This is the category to which Liu Xiang and Yang Xiong belong. Perhaps Ruist scholars change into generalists, generalists become men of letters, and men of letters turn into grand scholars.

王仲任言：“夫說一經者為儒生，博古今者為通人，上書奏事者為文人，能精思著文連篇章為鴻儒。”若劉向揚雄之列是也。蓋儒生轉通人，通人為文人，文人轉鴻儒也。

In this passage Xiao Yi cites Wang Chong’s 王充 (27–post 100 CE) *Lun heng* 論衡. The quote ends before “This is the category to which Liu Xiang and Yang Xiong belong” 若劉向揚雄之列是也, which apparently was added by Xiao Yi as a supplementary note to Wang Chong’s discussion. The last line of the entry, which opens with the sentence-initial *gai* 蓋 to introduce a measure of uncertainty, is Xiao Yi’s own take on the topic of various species in the genus of intellectual.

While the original *Lun heng* line reinitiates the hierarchy of *suren* (layman), *rusheng* (Ruist scholar), *tongren* (the learned), *wenren* (men of letters), and *hongru* (the grand Ruist scholar), Xiao Yi converts the rigid hierarchy into a system of intellectual mobilization in which each species is granted the potential to move up to the next level.

⁴⁹¹ See *Lun heng* 論衡: “In general, those who explicate the text of a single Classic count as Ruist scholars, those who have broad command of knowledge of the past and present count as comprehensive scholars, those who collect, assemble and transmitted texts and submit petitions and present memoranda [to the emperor] count as men of letters. Those who are capable of thinking assiduously, composing writings and joining sections and paragraphs, account as polymathic scholars.” 故夫能說一經者為儒生，博覽古今者為通人，采掇傳書以上書奏記者為文人，能精思著文連結篇章者為鴻儒。 See Huang Hui 黃暉, ed. and comm., *Lun heng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋 (Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1938; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 13.607. The translation is based on Alfred Forke, *Lun-heng: Part II Miscellaneous Essays of Wang Ch’ung* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh; London: Luzac; Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1911), 296. For the term polymath in the context Goodman, “Chinese Polymaths, 100–300 AD,” 101–74.

The master's approval: "there is a point to it" 有是哉

A master's approval and endorsement are typically captured in the formulaic expression "there is a point to it" 有是哉. This phrase can be traced back to "the master," viz. Confucius. On one occasion, upon hearing his disciple Yan Hui's answer to his tough question, he smiles approvingly and says, "Well said [You've got it], son of the Yan clan! If you were wealthy enough, I would serve as your household chief of staff." 孔子欣然而笑曰: "有是哉, 顏氏之子! 使爾多財, 吾為爾宰."⁴⁹²

The same phrase is used in the *Fayan* 法言, where Yang Xiong, or in this case Master Yang, comments approvingly on a point made by his interlocutor.

Someone asked me, "but what about advancement?"

"It's water."

Someone asked me, "Is it because it never stops, day or night?"

"You've got it. After filling up, gradually and inexorably it spills over. Such is the nature of water."⁴⁹³

或問“進。”曰“水。”或曰: “為其不舍晝夜與?” 曰“有是哉! 滿而後漸者, 其水乎?”

The phrase "there is a point to it" 有是哉 is an established formula that a master uses to convey his approval, appreciation, and perhaps encouragement to his disciple, interlocutor, or anyone who is of less intellectual authority.

⁴⁹² See Chen Shike 陳士珂, ed. and comm., *Kongzi jiayu shuzheng* 孔子家語疏證 (Qishui: San yu cao tang, 1891), 5.24a. Also see *Shi ji*, 47.1932.

⁴⁹³ See Han Jing 韓敬, ed. and comm., *Fayan zhu* 法言注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 12–14. Trans. Nylan, *Exemplary Figures Fayan*, 14.

In the *Jinlouzi*, Xiao Yi typically uses the phrase to echo his approval of the passage that he cites from the earlier works. By using the phrase, Xiao Yi assumes the voice of a master with the intellectual authority to pass judgments.

“Li yan” B.3

A golden goblet or jade plate cannot render weak ale rich.⁴⁹⁴ A simurgh-adorned chariot and phoenix-embellished carriage cannot make old warhorses robust and swift. There is some truth in it.
If one holds a reed-organ with his right hand, while he beats bamboo clappers with his left hand, [the tune] will inevitably be out of rhythm.⁴⁹⁵

金樽玉盆，不能使薄酒更厚。鸞輿鳳駕，不能使駑馬健捷。有是哉。右手吹竽，左手擊節，必不諧矣。

b. disapproval, challenge, refutation, ridicule

A textually competent master ought to be able to spot where texts do not make sense. Xiao Yi too does not shrink from challenging or even refuting erroneous opinions, ridiculing a haphazard grasp of texts, clarifying the confusion, rectifying disinformation and misunderstandings.

“Li yan” B.55

Among the inscriptions and encomia, only those by Xinggong [Sun Chuo 孫綽] merit praise. As for the quality of displaying outer form to support substance, being profound, concise, polished, and well-rounded, I have heard of such things, but have

⁴⁹⁴ This line, extracted from a lost *yuefu* piece written by Cao Zhi, is cited in Li Shan’s commentary on the *Wen xuan*, 27.1265.

⁴⁹⁵ Cf. *Han Feizi*: “When one tries to draw a circle with his right hand and a square with his left, the task, in both cases, will not be accomplished” 右手畫圓，左手畫方，不能兩成。Zhang Jue, *Han Feizi jiaozhu*, 8.556.

yet to see one who embraces such quality.⁴⁹⁶ Someone as knowledgeable as Ban Gu still says encomia and eulogies are similar;⁴⁹⁷ and someone insightful as Lu Ji claims that the inscription and *fu* are one and the same thing. The preface to Yang Quan's *fu* [on the silkworm] says,⁴⁹⁸ "The ancients have composed numerous *fu* pieces, on everything except for a *fu* on the silkworm. Hence I have composed a '*Fu* on the silkworm.'" What sort of talk is this? Xun Kuang of Lanling composed a "*Fu* on the silkworm."⁴⁹⁹ It is right at hand, yet you do not see it. Having written something is not as good as having nothing transmitted at all.

銘頌所稱，興公而已。夫披文相質，博約溫潤，吾聞斯語，未見其人。班固碩學，尚云讚頌相似，陸機鉤深，猶稱碑賦如一。楊泉[蠶]賦序曰：古人作賦者多矣，而獨不賦蠶，乃為蠶賦。是何言與？楚蘭陵荀況有蠶賦，近不見之，有文不如無述也。

The line "I have heard of such a claim, but I have yet to meet such a man" 吾聞斯語，未見其人 evokes a line directly coming from the mouth of Confucius in the *Lun yu*.

Confucius said, "Seeing what is good I act as if I were in danger of being left behind; seeing what is not good I act as if I were testing hot water.' I have met such a man; I have heard such a claim. 'I live in retirement in order to attain my purpose and practice what is right in order to realize my way.' I have heard such a claim, but I have yet to meet such a man."⁵⁰⁰

孔子曰：“見善如不及，見不善如探湯。吾見其人矣，吾聞其語矣。隱居以求其志，行義以達其道。吾聞其語矣，未見其人也。”

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. Lu Ji 陸機, "Wen fu" 文賦, *Wen xuan* 17.766: "The epitaph displays outer form to support substance... The inscription is broad yet concise, gentle and smooth." 碑披文以相質... 銘博約而溫潤. Trans. David R. Knechtges, *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature*, Vol. Three (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 219.

⁴⁹⁷ Wu Ne 吳訥 (1372–1457) cites "Wenzhang yuanqi" 文章緣起 and endorses Xiao Yi's appraisal here. See Wu Ne 吳訥, "Wenzhang bianti xuti" 文章辯體序題 in *Jingchuan bibian* 荆川裨編, *Siku quanshu*, 75.28b–29a.

⁴⁹⁸ All the original versions miss the word *can* 蠶 before *fu*; the word is added according to the same *Jinlouzi* passage cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 825.3a–3b. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 4.792.

⁴⁹⁹ On this piece see David R. Knechtges, "Riddles as Poetry: The '*Fu* Chapter' of the *Hsün-tzu*," *Wen-lin*, Volume II, ed. Chow Tse-tsung (Madison: The Department of East Asian Languages and Literature of the University of Wisconsin—Madison and Hong Kong: N.T.T. Chinese Language Research Centre, Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1989), 8–10.

⁵⁰⁰ See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 33.1161. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 141.

“What sort of talk is this” 是何言與 is another phrase that is primarily associated with Confucius himself.

Zigong asked Confucius, “Why is it that the gentleman honors jade yet considers *min* of low value? Is it because jade is rare, and *min* is common?” Confucius said, “Ah, [Duanmu] Ci, what words are these? How would a gentleman consider something to be of low value merely because it is common, and honor something merely because it is rare!”⁵⁰¹

子貢問於孔子曰：“君子之所以貴玉而賤珉者，何也？為夫玉之少而珉之多邪？”
孔子曰：“惡！賜！是何言也！夫君子豈多而賤之，少而貴之哉！”

The rhetorical phrase conveys Confucius’ dismay. This is to be followed by Confucius’ attempt to rectify Zigong’s, in his opinion, erroneous understanding of the matter.

The *Zhuangzi*, *Lüshi chunqiu*, and *Fengsu tongyi* all record the same story which tells of when Confucius and his disciples were detained in exile, Zilu, one of the disciples, commented on the difficult situation they were caught in, saying, “What we have ended up with can be referred to as having fallen into straitened circumstances” 如此可謂窮矣. To which Confucius replied defensively, “What are you talking about?” 是何言也. This rhetorical question is followed by his lengthy self-involved speech of how a defiant gentleman will always have the wherewithal to persist even in adverse circumstances.

On a different occasion, Zengzi, another disciple of Confucius, asks, “A son complying with the order of his father, would this constitute *xiao*?” 敢問子從父之令，可謂孝乎. Dismayed by Zengzi’s apparent lacking of proper understanding of the meaning of *xiao*, Confucius

⁵⁰¹ See Wang Xianqian 王先謙, ed. and comm., *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解 (1988; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 20.535. Trans. Hutton, *Xunzi*, 331.

exclaims twice “What sort of talk is this” 是何言與 before he goes on to explain what the term *xiao* really entails.⁵⁰²

Zengzi in turn uses the same line to vent his frustration and disapproval of, as far as he is concerned, a preposterous inquiry made by his disciple about the topic of *xiao*.

Gongming Yi asked Zengzi, “Could you, master, be considered *xiao*?” Zengzi replied, “What sort of talk is this? What sort of talk is this? What the gentleman calls *xiao* requires the anticipation of our parents’ wishes, the carrying out of their aims and their instruction in the path. I am simply one who supports his parents; how can I be considered *xiao*?”

公明儀問於曾子曰：“夫子可以為孝乎？”曾子曰：“是何言與！是何言與！君子之所為孝者，先意承志，諄父母於道。參，直養者也，安能為孝乎？”⁵⁰³

Yang Xiong is also seen using the phrase to express his disdain for what he deems a blatantly flawed statement.

Someone asked me, “Has there ever been a case where a sage’s words were as striking as a painting of cinnabar and azurite pigments?”
“Huh! What sort of talk is this? Cinnabar and azurite may be brilliantly colored at first, but after a while their color fades. Do those words also fade?”⁵⁰⁴

或問：“聖人之言，炳若丹青，有諸？”
曰：“籲！是何言與？丹青初則炳，久則渝，渝乎哉？”

c. Passing judgment, appraisal, evaluation

The master is often ready and willing to evaluate and pass judgment on matters.

⁵⁰² See *Xiao jing zhushu* 孝經注疏, *Siku quanshu*, 7.4a–5a. Trans. Henry Rosemont and Roger T. Ames, *The Chinese Classic of Family Reference: A Philosophical Translation of the Xiaojing* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 113–14.

⁵⁰³ See *Liji zhengyi*, 48.370.

⁵⁰⁴ See Han Jing, *Fayan zhu*, 320–21. The translation is based on Nylan, *Exemplary Figures*, 213.

“Za ji” A.19

In the past when Zhuangzi’s wife died, Huizi went to offer his condolences. Zhuangzi, squatting and striking the basin, was singing aloud.⁵⁰⁵ How is that not penetratingly far-reaching!

昔莊子妻死，惠子弔之，方箕踞鼓盆而歌。豈非達乎！

Xiao Yi relates the familiar story about Zhuangzi’s eccentric behavior when his wife died. The rhetorical question “豈非... 乎?” in the end is designed to deliver pithily the characterization—*da* 達 (penetratingly far-reaching) as Xiao Yi’s take on the story.

“Li yan” A.44

Wei Changgao [Changqi] had always possessed a magnanimous nature, but literary ability and scholarship were not among his accomplishments. On his first appointment to public office, as he was about to set off for his post, Yu Cun teased him, saying, “I will make a ‘three-point pact’ with you: for ‘pure conversationalists,’ death; for writers and essayists, mutilation; and for evaluators of character, penalties to match their crimes.” Wei laughed good-humoredly, with no trace of resentment on his face.⁵⁰⁶ This makes one think even more highly of Wei Changgao’s high-mindedness; and regard Yu Cun as a fool for making a fool of himself.⁵⁰⁷

魏長高有雅體，而才學非所經。初官出，虞存嘲之曰：“與卿約法三章，談死，文筆刑，商畧抵罪。”魏怡然而笑，無忤於色。更覺長高之為高，虞存之為愚也。

This entry, except for the last line, is almost a verbatim quotation of a story featuring Yu Cun’s cheeky quip in the “Pai diao” 排調 (Taunting and Teasing) chapter of the *Shishuo xinyu*.

⁵⁰⁵ See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 6A.614.

⁵⁰⁶ Xu Zhen’e, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 436. The translation is based on trans. Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World*, 419.

⁵⁰⁷ Wei Changgao is read as Wei Changqi 魏長齊 in the *Shishuo xinyu*. Gao 高 (high, superb), as part of Wei Changgao’s name, is perhaps intended to match with *yu* 愚 (fool), homophonous with Yu Cun’s surname.

Xiao Yi's comment, however, shifts the focus from Yu Cun's wittiness to Wei Changgao's loftiness and therefore alters the purport of the narrative entirely.

A master's autonomous intellectual authority and his readiness to pass judgment is well embodied in the expression: "I have got [the hang of] it" 得之矣 (or perhaps in a more colloquial sense: now you are talking)

"Li yan" B.26

He who is good with people establishes his virtue, he who is not good with people gives rise to resentment.⁵⁰⁸ Yet when it comes to administrative matters, it does not necessarily follow this rule. If one exclusively relies on his acuity and intelligence, the deed will inevitably be left accomplished; if one exclusively resorts to obtuseness and nescience, the matter will invariably veer away from its due course. By striking a balance between being acute and dull, one would obtain the gist of it.⁵⁰⁹

善為民者樹德，不善為民者樹怨。然政不必然也。專用聰明，事必不成；專用晦昧，事必有悖。一明一晦，得之矣。

The passage opens with a line, originally from the *Han Feizi*, juxtaposing two opposites in a parallel structure that purports to spell out an indisputable truth. Xiao Yi finds solid ground on which to propose some qualifications to the opening statement by introducing an empirical circumstance for its application. The punch line "*de zhi yi*" underlines the takeaway of the whole passage, that is, in order to optimize the outcome, one needs to strike a delicate balance between two seemingly opposing ends.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. Zhang Jue, *Han Feizi jiaozhu*, 12.783. Also see Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 14.363.

⁵⁰⁹ A similar passage is recorded in the *Yinwenzi* 尹文子 cited in the *Yilin* 意林. See *Yilin* 意林 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1975), 2.19a–b.

This expression, as it appears, is associated with Confucius. In both *Kongzi jiayu* and *Da Dai Li ji* 大戴禮記, Confucius uses the expression in his appraisal of his disciple Yanyan 言偃 (zi Ziyou 子游).

Confucius said: “He learns when he seeks to be competent, makes inquiries when he desires to be informed, to be thorough when he wants to bring something to perfection, to be prepared when he wishes to be well provided for. When it comes to attending to such a way of behaving, Yan for one has got the hang of it.”⁵¹⁰

孔子曰：“欲能則學，欲知則問，欲善則詳，欲給則豫，當是而行，偃也得之矣。”

The *dezhiyi* formula was then used in later masters texts not only to sing the praises of a contemporary, but also sometimes to pay tribute to a renowned historical figure, or to endorse a certain prescribed way of being.⁵¹¹ The third person pronoun *zhi* 之 (it) in the formula essentially appeals to a sense of commonly recognized or recognizable truth or generally held ideal, of which a master figure is thought to be particularly conscious and watchful. In the “Li yan” passage cited above, the “it” points to the most desirable outcome of the master in question, that is, the government administration.

The level of authority invested in the *dezhiyi* formula corresponds to the intellectual capacity of the master figure, whose mastery of knowledge, at least as the image goes, is not

⁵¹⁰ See Chen Shike, *Kongzi jiayu shuzheng*, 3.8b; Wang Pinzhen, *Da Dai Liji jiegou*, 6.111.

⁵¹¹ For the first case, see for example, *Xin xu* 新序: “Subsequently elevating the strengths [of Ning Qi] and making use of them, he appointed him as a high official at court. How appropriate was his move! Lord Huan got the hang of it—this is why he became a hegemon” 遂舉大用之，而授之以為卿。當此舉也，桓公得之矣，所以霸也。 See Shi Guangying 石光瑛, ed. and comm., *Xin xu jiaoshi* 新序校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), 5.682. For the second case, refer to *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋: “Only if one employs the point of view of the limitless to anticipate the needs of the dead, will one succeed” 以無窮為死者之慮，則得之矣。 See Chen Qiyu 陳奇輅, ed. and comm., *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi* 呂氏春秋校釋 (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1984), 10.536. Trans. John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 230.

readily accessible to laymen (non-masters). This generally recognized comprehensive grasp of knowledge, both by themselves and by their readers, inspires the master to take it upon himself to shed light on some specific aspects of optimizing the outcomes of the matter in question.

d. Advice, caution, admonition

A master is not only prepared to pass judgment on matters and people, but he is also often seen inclined to give advice. In the following entry, Xiao Yi first gives an account of a tale that cautions people against being overly comfortable with someone to the extent of becoming disrespectful. This is followed by a note of caution, to remind himself, as well as his readers, to follow this cautionary advice.

“Za ji” A.50

In the Han, Zhang Meng and Huangfu [Handan] Shang were bosom friends when they were young.⁵¹² They behaved impertinently to the extent that they tried to kill each other. [Both] ended up being driven out. Therefore, a gentleman would know enough to be heedful of this. That is, to be grave and dignified in appearance is the best way of conducting oneself in affairs.⁵¹³

漢張猛皇甫[邯鄲]商少而相善，為狎既過，乃至相殺，爰及出奔。故君子知慎之，貌必齊莊，於事為善。

In this entry, Xiao Yi refers to the feud between Zhang Meng and Handan Shang (which he mistakes for Huangfu Shang).⁵¹⁴ With his cautionary word—*gu junzi zhizhen zhi* “therefore a

⁵¹² The Huangfu Shang in the original version should be Handan Shang instead. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 6.1094.

⁵¹³ The story is recorded in the *Dian lüe* 典畧 cited in Pei Songzhi’s commentary on the *Sanguo zhi*. 18.547–48.

⁵¹⁴ The story is documented in the *Dianlue* cited in Pei Songzhi’s commentary on the *Sanguo zhi*. According to Pei Songzhi, Handan Shang and Zhang Meng, men of the same age, had always annoyed one another. Handan Shang intended to kill Zhang Meng, but Zhang Meng took him

gentleman should know enough to take care not to [go down that path]”—Xiao Yi attributes the prolonged bitter mutual hostility between them to their excessive closeness when they were young. Based on the diagnosis he prescribes, one should always be reverent and respectful.

The Master’s cautionary word *kebu shen hu* bears the hallmark of Confucius’ preaching.

The Master said: “Words and action are the door hinge and crossbow trigger of the nobleman. It is the opening of this door or the release of this trigger that controls the difference between honor or disgrace. Words and actions are the means by which the nobleman moves Heaven and Earth. So how could one ever fail to pay careful heed to them!”⁵¹⁵

子曰：“言行君子之樞機，樞機之發，榮辱之主也。言行，君子之所以動天地也，可不慎乎。”

Owing to the built-in authority derived from a highly revered ancient text, this is a phrase reserved for “the master,” viz. Confucius.⁵¹⁶ It is put into the mouth of Confucius in various pre-Han and early Han texts including the *Kongzi jiayu*, *Li ji*, *Da Dai Li ji*, and “Inner chapters” of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. In all those cases the phrase serves as the antecedent or a closing reminder of the lengthy cautionary advice that Confucius gives to the interlocutor of each staged conversation.⁵¹⁷

prisoner and later killed him instead. In the following year, Zhang Meng was attacked by the rebels of Liang province. His troops deserted him, and he killed himself. See *Sanguo zhi*, 18.547–48. See also de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms* (23–220), 1068.

⁵¹⁵ See “Xici zhuan” of the *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 7.67. Trans. Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 58.

⁵¹⁶ In the *Hanshi waizhuan*, the phrase is attributed to the Duke of Zhou, whom Confucius himself venerates.

⁵¹⁷ In some pre-Han texts, the phrase is also adopted by “lesser-masters” who nevertheless were affiliated with Confucius. Mencius, for example, uses the phrase twice. The first time when he was consulted by King Xuan of Qi about a matter of governance, and the second time, just before he quotes Confucius to strengthen his argument. The *Kongzi jiayu* also records an occasion where Yanzi (Master Yan) is seen using the phrase *kebu shen fu* to close his advice

During the Han we begin to see this phrase being used without any attempt to associate it with the name of Confucius. Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 179–ca. 104 BCE) perhaps was the first master to claim the phrase for himself. In his *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 he effortlessly deploys the phrase to wind together parts of expositions on taking the kingly way (*wang dao* 王道) in commenting on the *Chunqiu*.⁵¹⁸

Liu Xiang's effort to claim the phrase *kebu shen hu* is equally conspicuous. In his *Xin xu*, Liu Xiang adds the phrase to an entry that appears to be a verbatim excerpt from the *Han Shi waizhuan*.⁵¹⁹ The phrase *kebu shen hu*, therefore, functions as Liu Xiang's own commentarial voice, free of any specific association with Confucius himself. In Xu Gan's *Zhong lun* 中論 the phrase is repeated to convey a sense of personally felt urgency concerning the topic in question.⁵²⁰

Following early masters' manner of advising in earnest words prompted by good intention, Xiao Yi too, employs this phrase as a cue for sober and weighty caution and to insert a resounding punch to the moral advice that he is about to put forward.

“Za ji” B.5

Confucius' disciple Zengzi. We then are told that when Confucius heard about it, he expressed his unwavering approval of Yanzi's words. It seems that when some “lesser master,” like Yanzi, avails himself of this reserved phrase, the textual voice of Confucius needs to weigh in to lend his endorsement to Yanzi's words.

⁵¹⁸ See Su Yu 蘇與, ed. and comm., *Chunqiu fanlu yizheng* 春秋繁露義證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 2.56; 4.128; 132. Trans. Sarah A. Queen and John S. Major, *Luxuriant Gems of the Spring and Autumn* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 132–52.

⁵¹⁹ See Shi Guangying, ed. and comm., *Xinxu jiaoshi*, 5.720–21. See Xu Weiyu, *Han shi waizhuan jishi*, 5.200–01. Trans. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 190.

⁵²⁰ See *Zhong lun* 中論, *Siku quanshu*, B.33b. Trans. John Makeham, *Balanced Discourses* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 269

When Zhao Jianzi was on a hunting trip, he ordered Zheng Long to shoot wildlings, lest they spook his birds [horses].⁵²¹ [Zheng] Long said, “When our deceased lord, Lord Wen of Jin, launched an attack on Wei, he did not slaughter one single person. Now my lord, once you set out on a hunt you are prepared to kill good people. This is the behavior of animals. Zhao Jianzi replied, “When others hunt, they obtain beasts; when I hunt I obtain true gentleman.” Therefore, the higher one climbs on the tree the more fear he is subjected to; the higher nobility rank one is granted the more dangerous it is for him. How could one not be heedful of this?

趙簡子出畋，命鄭龍射野人，使無驚吾鳥。龍曰：“吾先君晉文公伐衛不僇一人；今君一畋而欲殺良民，是虎狼也。”簡子曰：“人畋得獸，我畋得士。”故緣木愈高者愈懼，人爵愈貴者愈危。可不慎乎？

The story, with slightly different wording, is cited as a passage from the *Zhuangzi* in the *Taiping yulan*.⁵²² While the story intends to highlight the moral quality of both Zheng Long and Zhao Jianzi; Xiao Yi’s comment and his words of caution transform it into a cautionary tale especially for people of high social status such as Zhao Jianzi.

In this section, we have identified four patterns of speech that a master adopts in the act of instruction in which the master addresses his disciples or other interlocutors. Each of the four patterns of speech, namely to express approval and disapproval, to pass judgment, and give cautionary advice, each is identified with a hackneyed quote of a master’s words.

In the “Li yan” and “Za ji” chapters of the *Jinlouzi*, Xiao Yi, an apprentice master, is seen to make a conscious effort to avail himself of certain shared rhetorical techniques that came to be associated with masters texts. The fact that Xiao Yi’s use of these masters’ sayings in a purely expository context free from verbal communication reflects the changing dynamic of masters texts in early medieval China. Those basic rhetorical patterns and memorable words of the early

⁵²¹ *Niao* 鳥 (bird) should probably be read as *ma* 馬 (horse).

⁵²² The story is recorded in the *Zhuangzi* cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 457.3b.

masters lend Xiao Yi the rhetorical vehicle, as well as the intellectual wherewithal, to be the master of his narrative and to steer it whichever way he sees fit. Under the auspices of the established masters texts, Xiao Yi is able to speak with the degree of originality and authority, as befits a master.

To be sure, to sound like a master does not, once and for all, proclaim him a master. Nor would simply recycling master's material place him among the previous masters. Talking like a master requires the perspective of master to formulate his own opinion based on available textual references and authoritatively to articulate his thoughts. A master apprentice, therefore, is expected to have a solid grasp and a well-founded original rendering of existing knowledge. In other words, a master's discourse is predicated on a thorough familiarity with the texts, as well as the intellectual wherewithal to handle the texts and to maneuver them into something that ideally could enhance the cultural value of the raw material at hand.

Xiao Yi's use of signature phrases of the venerated masters of the past might come across as audacious or even presumptuous. But it also shows his confidence in trying to voice his opinions as a master. Xiao Yi's self-confidence was an outgrowth of his comprehensive textual learning during the period in which there was a vacuum of traditionally established and recognized authorities for texts. Such absence of a predominant textual tradition enabled Xiao Yi to fashion an authoritative voice that was independent of other textual authorities.

II. Think like a master (topics of invention)

The question of how a master thinks has a direct bearing on how a master grasps the reality of his own intellectual world. We employ the term "topics of invention" here to refer to a

set of identifiable common categories of thoughts shared in masters texts in conveying the masters' intellect.⁵²³ "Topics of invention" serve as the intellectual lens through which the master is able to bring into focus what needs to be known about the principles or rationale behind varied phenomena.

Thinking like a master, in the "Li yan" and "Za ji" chapters, amounts to Xiao Yi, the master apprentice, laying out things of importance in terms of a set of well-defined cognitive commonplaces that can be found among masters texts.

a. Contraries (division by dichotomy)

This cognitive commonplace involves a division of a whole into two, usually mutually exclusive parts.

"Li yan" B.45

Let the water settle for half a day, and one can see minute details of his reflection. If stirred [even] for half an instant, it would already lose that innate property. Given that stillness is more desirable than motion, indeed these two things cannot be spoken of as the same matter.

夫水澄之半日，必見目睫；動之半刻，已失方圓。靜之勝動，誠非一事也。

⁵²³ "Topic of invention" is a term borrowed from Classical rhetoric. The term *topics*, which derives from a Greek word meaning "having to do with commonplaces," was the title given to classical and medieval collections of generally accepted arguments or set pieces for use in a speech or composition. Invention (*inventio*) is the excogitation or thinking up of things either true or similar to the truth that render the cause probable. See W. Martin Bloomer, "Topics," *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*, ed. Thomas O. Sloane, E-book (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); and Walter Watson, "Invention," *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*, ed. Thomas O. Sloane, E-book (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

The abstract existence of water is conceptualized as a division into two contrasting ways of being, in motion and stillness. The general wisdom rises from the realization that “in motion” and “motionless” are indeed two distinct things and that the latter is superior to the former.

“Za ji” B.2

Grand vessels cannot be used for minor purposes; petty scholars cannot be entrusted with major undertakings.

大器不可小用, 小士不可大任.

This passage features a “big” and “small” dichotomy. The two concepts are juxtaposed and cross-referenced in both physical and metaphysical senses in order to bring out the general wisdom that the use should match with its innate capacity.

In both cases analogy is used to convey the intended message. In the first case an abstract concept (general state of being) is illustrated by comparison with a more concrete one (water in motion and motionless). In the second case an intricate topic (to choose the right person for the right job) is laid out by comparison with a straightforward one (to use the vessel of the right size).

Division of dichotomy is commonly seen in various masters texts. This commonplace postulates ideas through comparing two divisions, as well as the empirical realms to which divisions relate.

b. Strike a balance (division of balance)

The truth sometimes lies between two opposing ends. This is laid out in the following message, which we have cited for the usage of the phrase *de zhi yi* 得之矣.

“Li yan” B.26

If one exclusively relies on his acuity and intelligence, the deed will inevitably be left accomplished; if one exclusively resorts to obtuseness and nescience, the matter will invariably veer away from its due course. By striking a balance between being acute and dull, one would obtain the gist of it.⁵²⁴

專用聰明, 事必不成; 專用晦昧, 事必有悖. 一明一晦, 得之矣.

By juxtaposing two opposites in parallel structure, the passage intends to spell out an indisputable truth amid bewildering circumstances, that is, a balance needs to be struck between two contrasting alternatives in order to optimize the outcome.

“Li yan” A.38

In general, those who are bright and intelligent, penetrative and perceptive should be on guard against excessive insight.

Those who are less-informed and out-of-touch should be on guard against becoming isolated and parochial.

Those who are audacious and fearless, valiant and valorous should be on guard against unchecked viciousness.

Those who are humane and amiable, genial, and good-humored should be on guard against lacking resolution.⁵²⁵

夫聰明疏通者戒於太察,
寡聞少見者戒於壅蔽,
勇猛剛強者戒於太暴,
仁愛溫良者戒於無斷也.

⁵²⁴ See *Yinwenzi* 尹文子 cited in the *Yilin*, 2.19a–b.

⁵²⁵ See *Han shu*, 81.3339.

Xiao Yi puts four common personality attributes in apposition. To each attribute, Xiao Yi attaches a cautionary note in order to keep each attribute in check. Xiao Yi does not hasten to subject these four attributes to predictable judgment, deeming a certain quality more desirable than other. Instead, taking each attribute as a given, Xiao Yi tries to find a neutral ground in each case to balance out any foreseeable undue consequence.

c. Contradictory and complementary (division of comparison)

“Li yan” A.11

When a bird encounters another bird, they trample on each other.
When a beast encounters another beast, they lock horns with each other
When a horse encounters another horse, they kick each other.
When a fool encounters another fool, they harm each other.
When heaven created these creatures, it gave them plenty of physical strength yet only a little dose of intelligence.
In formulating a plan, a wise man would accept one failure out of ten thousand.
A reckless person might get one thing right out of ten thousand. Therefore, a gentleman would take advantage of the one thing that the madman got right to supplement the one in ten thousand that he missed.⁵²⁶

鳥與鳥遇則相躐；獸與獸遇則相角；馬與馬遇則踶踶；愚與愚遇則相傷。天之生此物，多其力而少其智。智者之謀，萬有一失；狂夫之言，萬有一得。是以君子取狂夫之言，補萬得之一失也。

The first part of this passage relates to the invariable incompatibility that existed between two members of the same kind or on a par with each other. It then goes on to say that though the intellect of a reckless person might not match that of a wise man, the former can be adopted to complement the latter. This passage, on the one hand, acknowledges the inevitable intellectual limits of a wise man, and on the other hand, grants occasional soundness of mind to an

⁵²⁶ See *Shi ji*, 92.2618; *Han shu*, 34.1870.

unconventional person, a reckless person. This gives flexibility to otherwise rigidly defined divisions, and thereby allows the one involved to enhance his innate quality.

The passage relates to a complementary relationship between the wise man and reckless person, two parties that are essentially not on a par with each other. Speaking only from the party that is better off than the other, the passage highlights one-sided complementarity. It points out the advantage for a gentleman (*junzi* 君子) to adopt the other party's aptitude, however slight it might be, to overcome whatever shortcomings he might invariably have. The sense of flexibility as a cognitive trope is carried on to the next cognitive division.

d. Compare and contrast

Drawing similarity between/among different things

Drawing difference from two or more seemingly same things

This commonplace operates on the dichotomy of similarity and difference, yet is not confined by the simple dichotomy. It asks one to consider how one thing compares and contrasts with another in order to reveal the concealed similarity or difference.

“Li yan” B.25

Ascending on high makes one want to gaze afar;
Looking down on the depths makes one want to get a glimpse of it.
This is due to the place where one is situated.
Practicing archery makes one become upright;
Engaging in fishing makes one become respectful.
This is due to the activity in which one is engaged.⁵²⁷
Sometimes one exhales to fan the fire;
Sometimes one inhales to blow out the fire.

⁵²⁷ See He Ning, *Huainanzi jishi*, 16.1139; and Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 16.403.

[In each case] it is the *raison d'être* of the blowing that is different [from the other].⁵²⁸

登高使人欲望, 臨深使人欲窺, 處使然也。
射則使人端, 釣則使人恭, 事使然也。
或吹火而然, 或吹火而滅, 所以吹者異也。

Each of the first two clauses draws a conclusion based on an example of one aspect of similarity between two separate things. In the last clause, on the other hand, a conclusion is drawn based on different outcomes of the same action. This commonplace invites one to discover similar patterns or characteristics in ostensibly different things, and also to perceive different nuances in things that are naturally lumped together in the same category or attributed to the same cause. In the following passage, the similar aspect of two different historical incidents is highlighted.

“Li yan” A.48

Zengzi said: “In the past there was a person from Chu who covered his mouth when speaking with the intention of pleasing the king. The king took offense at it, and subsequently had him condemned to be executed.”⁵²⁹ When Heir Apparent Wei stuffed paper into his nose, Emperor Wu of Han thought he loathed his body odor.⁵³⁰ In this case too he was accused of a grave crime. These are two separate yet similar cases; they took place at different times, yet the grievance was the same.

曾子曰: “昔楚人掩口而言, 欲以說王. 王以為慢, 遂加之誅.” 衛太子以紙閉鼻, 漢武帝謂聞己之臭, 又致大罪. 二者事殊而相似, 時異而怨同.

This cognitive trope seeks to qualify the simple dichotomy between similarity and difference in empirical examples. It alludes to the general sense that any given dichotomy is

⁵²⁸ See He Ning, *Huainanzi jishi*, 16.1139.

⁵²⁹ See Zhang Jue, *Han Feizi jiaozhu*, 10.664.

⁵³⁰ See *Sanfu gushi* 三輔故事 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 367.4b.

neither definitive nor absolute but conditional and prone to change depending on a specific perspective. This disposition of referring to things only in relative terms is fully realized in the following cognitive commonplace.

e. Relativity/ perspective/ proper context

See things in perspective/ a good sense of perspective

This cognitive commonplace postulates putting things in perspective in order to steer clear of any absolute, biased, over-simplified, or unexamined opinions about various subjects.

“Li yan” B.10

Some seek to have all boats in the realm forbidden on the grounds that there are cases where people died riding a boat. Some seek to have all weapons in the realm put away on the grounds that there are cases where deploying troops led to the demise of the domain. If we introduce the metaphor of water and fire, when properly used, it would be a blessing. But if not properly implemented, it would cause disaster. As for the fact that a rebellious force constitutes an effective dose of medicine, the significance is enormous indeed.⁵³¹

有以乘舟死者，欲禁天下之船；有以用兵喪其國者，欲偃天下之兵。譬之若水火，能善用之則為福，不能善用則為禍。義兵之為天下良藥也，亦大也。

This passage shows the difficulty of referring to things in unqualified and absolute dichotomous terms, good or bad, blissful or disastrous. It stresses that the outcome is dependent on whether or not things are put to proper use.

“Li yan” B.16

⁵³¹ See Chen Qiyu, *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi*, 7.383–84.

The kingfisher is pulled apart for its decorative feathers. The elephant is mutilated for its fine tusks. The clam is cut up for the pearls it contains. Thoroughwort is burnt for its aroma. The lamp oil simmers itself for its luminary function. The osmanthus tree becomes diseased for the worm.⁵³² These are all cases where in seeking good fortune one brings about disaster.

夫翠飾羽而體分; 象美牙而身喪; 蚌懷珠而致剖; 蘭含香而遭焚; 膏以明而自煎; 桂以蠹而成疾; 並求福而得禍.

This example again points to the outcome of an event that is not pre-determined by its innate quality, but is relative to various factors in a given circumstance. By spelling out the outcome that is often relative and subject to change, this commonplace prescribes the cognitive practice of putting things in perspective, taking all variables into due consideration, and anticipating alternative outcomes.

f. Appropriate timing/ situation

This cognitive commonplace concerns itself with how to make the best and most effective use of a situation, timing, or resource in order to optimize the outcome of one's undertaking.

“Li yan” B.4

The *Lülan* [*Lüshi chungiu*] says, “One should offer clothes to those who are exposed to the cold, and offer food to those who are starving.”⁵³³

The Prince Si of Chen said: “To give a tiger a thousand caskets of gold is not as good as a pig leg. Those who are cold do not crave a piece of fine jade, but ask for a sufficient supply of swaddling clothes.”

⁵³² Similar passages are attested in “Taixuan fu” 太玄賦 attributed to Yang Xiong 揚雄 in the *Guwen yuan* 古文苑, *Siku quanshu*, 4.1a–3a. *Han shu*, 72. 3085. See *Suzi* 蘇子 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 983.6b.

⁵³³ See Chen Qiyu, *Lüshi chungiu jiaoshi*, 8.458, also cited in the *Yiwen leiju*, 5.92.

呂覽云：“衣人在寒，食人在饑。”陳思王云：“投虎千金，不如一豚肩；寒者不思尺璧，而思織衣足也。”

The passage consists of two quotations: the first prescribes the aptest timing to take certain actions; and the second recommends certain actions to the benefit of the agent in a specific situation.

“Li yan” B.44

One will not succeed if he only attends to the matter when it presents itself. Digging a well only when one is thirsty, or casting weapons when one encounters danger, in both cases, will not do any good.⁵³⁴ Not only that, one should again avail himself of optimal timing. There was a man from Lu who himself was skilled at making straw sandals, and his wife was skilled at weaving plain silk. When he was about to move to Yue, someone said to him, “You will inevitably become impoverished, for sandals are intended for walking, but the Yue people walk bare-foot. In any given case plain silk is intended for making caps, but the Yue people let their hair hang loose. [These skills] presumably will be of no use to you [in Yue].⁵³⁵

若臨事方就，則不舉矣。渴而穿井，臨難鑄兵，並無益也。非直是矣，復須適時用矣。魯人有身善[織]屨，妻善織縞，而徙於越。或謂之曰：“子必窮矣：夫屨而履，越人跣行；夫縞而冠，越人被髮，蓋無益矣。”

The first part of the passage speaks in favor of anticipating the situation ahead of time and taking remedial action rather than respond to it after it has taken place. To qualify this statement, one might mention that it relates to the importance of understanding the appropriate timing and situation before hastening into action.

“Li yan” A.34

The strategy of exercising authority over generals should always be properly measured [in terms of the degree of intensity] according to the timing. When the

⁵³⁴ See Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 17.439.

⁵³⁵ See Zhang Jue, *Han Feizi jiaozhu*, 7.477.

[emperor's] authority is in question, disputes will occur. When their authority is on a par with [the emperor], then chaos will arise. That is why Xiao He and Fan Kuai were put in bonds and fetters, and why Han Xin and Qiong Bu were executed.⁵³⁶ As for the disparate ways for keeping generals in check, how could one ever fail to pay careful heed to it?

制將之法，必使馳張從時。事疑則爭生，勢侔則亂起。所以蕭樊被於縲紲，信布見於誅夷。馭將之間，可不深慎之？

This passage deals with the intricate matter of “keeping underlings in check.” It refers to historical examples of the consequences of not attending to the matter properly. The prescription for evading conflicts and chaos is again to act in proper accordance with the force of circumstances.

g. Quantitative and qualitative change

This cognitive commonplace draws attention to the relation between quantitative and qualitative differences.

“Za ji” B.13

Mei Sheng once said: “One uses a grindstone without noticing it is diminishing until it is in time worn out. One plants trees without noticing they are becoming

⁵³⁶ Xiao He 蕭何 (257–193 BCE) was arrested for requesting Emperor Gaozu to make over part of the Shanglin Park for use by the inhabitants of Chang'an. But he was released soon following the remonstrance of another official at court. See *Shi ji*, 53.2018–19; *Han shu*, 39.2011. Emperor Gaozu believed the rumor that Fan Kuai 樊噲 (d. 189 BCE) was planning to upset the dynastic succession and ordered him to be put to death in 195 BCE. But the order was not carried out after the emperor died. See Fan Kuai's biography in *Shi ji*, 95.2659; *Han shu*, 41.2073. Emperor Gaozu suspected Han Xin 韓信 (c.a. 230–196 BCE) of plotting to rebel in 201 BCE. He was subsequently arrested and then pardoned. In 197 BCE., Han Xin allegedly took part in another unsuccessful rebellion. He was arrested and executed. See Han Xin's biography in the *Shi ji*, 92.2628–29; and *Han shu*, 34.1877–78. Ying Bu 英布 (d.196 BCE), also known as Qiong Bu, was named king of Huainan in 203 BCE. In 196 BCE., he revolted against the Han court, and was killed in the same year. See Ying Bu's biography in the *Shi ji*, 91.2603–05; *Han shu*, 34.1887–90.

increasingly large until they in time grow into big trees. One accumulates good deeds not aware of the benefit until they in time become useful. One forsakes propriety not aware of the harm until it in time brings about ruin.”⁵³⁷

枚乘有云：“磨礱不見其損，有時而盡。種樹不見其長，有時而大。積行不知其善，有時而用。棄義不知其惡，有時而亡也。”

This passage lists cases of qualitative change brought about by quantitative change both in the physical and metaphysical realms. The phrase *youshi* 有時 appears in all the cases, alluding to the underlying principle that any transmutation would take place at *some point* in the *due course of time*. In some cases, quantitative accumulation can indeed amount to qualitative change; it is equally important to recognize that the enhanced property of one category does not necessarily render change to the property of a related category.

h. Whole-parts

“Li yan” A.35

Potency is the lord’s vehicle, awesomeness is the lord’s whip, ministers are the lord’s horses, and subjects are the lord’s wheels. When potency is secure, the vehicle is stable. When awesomeness is established, the whip is strong. When ministers follow, the horses are well-trained. When subjects are in harmony, the wheels move smoothly.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁷ See this passage with a few variants is part of Mei Sheng’s admonition to the King of Wu. See Mei Sheng/Cheng’s biography in the *Han shu*, 51.2360–61: “We polish and grind [things] without noticing their decrease until they are in time exhausted. We plant trees and raise animals without noticing their increase until they are in time greater [in number]. We cultivate our virtues and accumulate worthy deeds without noticing the advantages until they are in time used. We abolish righteousness and oppose principles without noticing the disadvantages until they in time destroy us” 磨礱底厲，不見其損，有時而盡；種樹畜養，不見其益，有時而大；積德紮行，不知其善，有時而用；棄義背理，不知其惡，有時而亡。Trans. Chung, “A Study of the ‘Shu’ (Letters) of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D.220),” 468.

⁵³⁸ Cf. *Hanzi* 韓子 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 620.3a. See also Wang Qixiang 王啟湘, ed. and comm., *Dengxizi jiaoquan* 鄧析子校詮, in *Zhou Qin mingjia sanzi jiaoquan* 周秦名家三子校詮 (Beijing: Guji chubanshe, 1957), 5.

勢者君之輿，威者君之策，臣者君之馬，民者君之輪。勢固則輿安，威定則策勁，臣從則馬良，民和則輪利。

The passage likens an abstract notion of lordship/kingship to something as concrete as “driving a chariot.” Each of the four constituents of kingship, namely authority, awesomeness, ministers, and subject, is compared to the four integral parts of a chariot, respectively chassis, riding-whip, horse, and wheels.

In establishing parallelism between components of two entities, the passage not only describes the constituent parts that make up a whole, and but also specifies how individual parts relate to the whole. In a well-functioning kingship it is imperative to have just as much coordination among different components as it takes to drive a chariot.

In sum, this section covers eight topics of invention or cognitive commonplaces. Although not exhaustive, it nevertheless represents the core of the intellectual richness of the masters’ thought and knowledge that Xiao Yi availed himself of and from which he took inspiration. These cognitive commonplaces do not merely serve an instrumental purpose, but more importantly, point directly to the ways in which thought is generated and transmitted, and thus are fundamental to thought itself. Xiao Yi’s adaptation of the methods to the inquiry of thought is closely tied to a set of rhetorical devices, that is, ways in which the thought is expressed.

III. Deliver like a master (compositional method)

When asked how a master talks and thinks, we are actually inquiring about the ways that a master communicates his views to his audience or the implicit reader through his conscious

maneuvering and development of language. Apprentice masters, such as Xiao Yi, have at their disposal, compositional methods that they can use to deliver their own intellectual output.

a. Devising dichotomy

The dichotomy as a compositional strategy claims a fundamental and indispensable position in these two chapters. Each of the eight cognitive commonplaces, in varying degrees, expresses itself in dichotomous terms in order to bring out the depth and layers of one's argument. Rendering things into dichotomies between similarity and difference, the relative and absolute, quantity and quality, the changed and unchanged, part and whole, and so on, effectively prepares the ground that is accessible for further exploration.

b. Drawing an analogy

Analogy is the rhetorical device that serves as the engine that runs through the entire masters texts. It coordinates nicely with previously mentioned rhetorical strategies in bringing forth explanation or clarification through comparison. It renders a correlation between the two oppositions of a dichotomy or between the general experience and specific situation, thereby identifying metaphorical resemblances between the juxtaposed realms of reference.⁵³⁹

For example, in the following entry, Xiao Yi refers to phenomena in the natural realm to offer his nuanced observations about human society.

“Li yan” B.7

⁵³⁹ See “Analogical thinking” in *A Dictionary of Media and Communication*, Daniel Chandler and Rod Munday, eds. (2011; rpt, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016),

If it gets cold early in the autumn, then the following winter will inevitably be balmy. If it rains abundantly in spring, then the following summer will inevitably be dry. If heaven and earth cannot have both [ways], how much the less for people.⁵⁴⁰

秋早寒則冬必暖，春雨多則夏必旱。天地不能兩，而況於人乎？

It is perhaps important to point out that an analogy is not devised to withstand anachronistic logical or scientific scrutiny. Its liability to error or imprecision does not compromise its rhetorical potency.⁵⁴¹ Therefore it does not matter whether or not it is scientifically sound to claim, “If it gets cold early in the autumn then the following winter must be balmy.” As long as the statement that “the heaven cannot have it both ways” is got across, the point of argument “the same goes with the human being” can be expected to be delivered by means of the rhetoric device of analogy.

“Li yan” A.4

On a night with a bright moon, one can gaze afar, yet cannot write closely; in a morning that is misty and foggy, one can write closely, but cannot gaze afar. People’s innate nature is also like this, for each person has his own difference.⁵⁴²

明月之夜，可以遠視，不可以近書；霧露之朝，可以近書，不通以遠視。人才性亦如是，各有不同也。

The purpose of using analogy as a rhetorical tool is not to fashion a waterproof argument via an impeccably scrupulous line of reasoning, but to highlight the aspect that calls for further deliberation or analysis by referring to a phenomenon existing in different realms. In other

⁵⁴⁰ See Chen Qiyu, *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi*, 2.85.

⁵⁴¹ The term analogy is aptly defined as “a mode of predication using a term that is neither univocal nor equivocal but indicates a resemblance between parallel cases.” See Alexander Kazhdan and Michael W. Tkacz, “Analogy,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* Alexander P. Kazhdan, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 84.

⁵⁴² See He Ning, *Huainanzi jishi*, 17.1193.

words, the construction of the interrelationship between separate realms of reference is merely the means for the ultimate end of bringing out the hidden truth.

In the next example, Xiao Yi draws parallels between a natural phenomenon and that which is believed to be a supernaturally determined outcome resulting in corresponding ramifications in the human realm.

“Za ji” A.15

The auspicious and inauspicious reside with heaven. Just as a shadow lies in the form, the echo responds to the sound. When the form moves, then the shadow moves as well; when the sound comes forth, then the response resounds. This is the case where that which is dependent on a pre-determined allotment cannot be altered by the advancing and retreating of one's body and mouth.⁵⁴³

吉凶在天, 猶影之在形; 響之應聲也, 形動則影動, 聲出則回應. 此分數乃有所繫, 非身口之進退也.

Analogy is the most basic and versatile rhetorical apparatus used in masters texts. Xiao Yi uses it with high proficiency in the “Liyan” and “Zaji” chapters to explain, clarify, or illustrate something that is less familiar, more abstract, or in cases about which knowledge is limited by means of a more accessible or concrete realm of reference.

c. Amplification (or copia)

Amplification as a compositional apparatus refers to a generative/extending mechanism in both logical and stylistic terms that varies a given topic in manifold ways by referring to different nuances of the topic or by putting it into different forms and contexts. Take “Li yan”

⁵⁴³ See *Sanguo zhi*, 61.1401.

A.2 as an example of how a given general topic is rendered in manifold ways in referring to various aspects of it.

“Li yan” A.2

Giving someone kind words is more warming than hemp-cloth and silk;
Hurtful words cut people more deeply than spears or halberds.⁵⁴⁴
To present to others with right words is a weightier gift than gold, gems, pearls, or jade.
To display to others with right words is more beautiful than embroidered emblems or patterns.
To allow others to hear right words is more pleasurable than bells, drums, zithers, or zitherns.⁵⁴⁵

與人善言，煖於布帛。傷人以言，深於矛戟。
贈人以言，重於金石珠玉。觀人以言，美於黼黻文章。
聽人以言，樂於鐘鼓琴瑟。

The topic *yan* 言 is put into two different contexts. The first part addresses the power of words, while the second part addresses taking delight in words. The amplification of a central topic renders Xiao Yi, the compiler, resourceful in assembling citations of various origins and versatile in the discovery of the depth and complexity of the subject. The application of this mechanism, on the one hand, demonstrates the width and diversity with which Xiao Yi read, and on the other hand, alludes to the eclectic approach that he adopted to integrate his learning into his writing.

“Li yan” A.5

A gentleman does not become glum and dolorous when stranded, nor does he become gloomy and despondent when underappreciated.

⁵⁴⁴ See Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 2.53. Trans. Hutton, *Xunzi*, 23.

⁵⁴⁵ See Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 3.83–84. Trans. Hutton, *Xunzi*, 37.

He refuses to be encouraged by praise or deterred by disparagement. He is unwavering about the division between the inner and outer, and he is equanimous/in equipoise regarding the difference between honor and disgrace. He takes his stand and does not change his direction. This is what *heng* (perseverance/constancy) means.

君子無邑邑於窮，無勿勿於賤。
譽之而不加勳，非之而不加沮。
定外內之分，夷榮辱之心。
立不易方，斯有恆也。

The first two lines are an excerpt of a longer passage from the *Da Dai Liji*.

Therefore, a gentleman does not become glum and dolorous when stranded, nor does he become gloomy and despondent when underappreciated, and lastly he does not become ill at ease when unrecognized.⁵⁴⁶

故君子無悒悒於貧，無勿勿於賤，無憚憚於不聞。

The next four lines are adapted from the “Xiaoyao you” 逍遙遊 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.

He refused to be encouraged though the whole world praised him, or deterred though the whole world blamed him, he was unwavering about the division between inward and outward, discriminating about the boundary between honor and disgrace.⁵⁴⁷

且舉世而譽之而不加勸，舉世而非之而不加沮。定乎內外之分，辯乎榮辱之竟。

The last line is derived from the *Xiang* commentary of the “Heng” 恆 hexagram (#32) of the *Zhou yi* 周易.

Thunder together with Wind: this constitutes the image of Perseverance. In the same way, the nobleman takes a stand and does not change his direction.⁵⁴⁸
雷風，恆；君子以立不易方。

⁵⁴⁶ See Wang Pinzhen, *Da Dai Liji jiegou*, 5.93.

⁵⁴⁷ See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 1A.16–17. Trans. Graham, *Chuang-tzu*, 44.

⁵⁴⁸ See *Zhou yi zhengyi*, 4.35. Trans. Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 336.

The last line of the passage brings out *heng* 恆 “constancy” as the leitmotiv of the entire treatise which is introduced by the reference to the *junzi*. The message conveyed there is clear, that is, to be a gentleman means to embody the quality of *heng*. This leitmotiv is further evoked by citations from various sources in the next passage.

“Li yan” A.7

The *Yi* says: “Those who do not persevere in maintaining their virtue might have to bear the shame that comes with it.”

The *Lunyu* says: “Those who are devoid of constancy are not fit to consult the oracle. [Therefore, it can be inferred that in carrying out action one cannot but be constant.](#)

The *Shi* says: Those who do not have constancy “Might as well move like the whirlwind; Why not off to the north? / Why not off to the south?” [These are the kind of people I am referring to].

“Banshu did not put aside the plumb-line for the benefit of the clumsy carpenter. Yi did not compromise his standards of drawing the bow for the sake of the clumsy archer.”

This is because the Gentleman in embracing the Dao and De has moral standards. [As] the *Shi* says, “Is like the moon advancing to its full/ Like the sun climbing the sky.”

Confucius said: “How grand indeed is the Mean as a moral virtue.

He also said: “The way of being a gentleman consists in doing one’s best and in using oneself as a measure to gauge others. That is all.”

1. 易言: “不恆其德, 或承之羞.”
2. 論語言: “無恆之人, 不可卜筮.”
3. [故知人之為行, 不可不恆.](#)
4. 詩言: 無恆之人 “其如飄風. 胡不自南, 胡不自北” 者也.
5. 般輪不為拙工改繩準; 逢羿不為拙射變弦筈.
6. [君子懷道德之有檢.](#)
7. 詩云: “如月之恆, 如日之升.”
8. 孔子稱: “大哉中庸之為德, 其至矣乎”
又曰: 君子之道, 忠恕而已矣.”

The first two lines deal with the topic of *wuheng* 無恆, an antithetical situation of the leitmotiv.

1. The first line again is taken from the “Heng” hexagram of the *Zhou Yi*.

This one does not persevere in maintaining his virtue, so he might have to bear the shame of it, for constancy would be debased.⁵⁴⁹

不恆其德, 或承之羞, 貞吝.

2. The second line is a passage taken out of context in the *Lunyu*.

The Master said: “The southerners have a saying: ‘A man devoid of constancy will not make a shaman or a doctor.’ How well said! If one does not show constancy in one’s virtue, one will, perhaps, suffer shame.” The Master went on to comment, ‘The import of the saying is simply that in such a case there is no point in consulting the oracle.’⁵⁵⁰

子曰: “南人有言曰, ‘人而無恆, 不可以作巫醫.’ 善夫. 不恆其德, 或承之羞.” 子曰: “不占而已矣.”

3. The third line appears to be Xiao Yi’s effort to summarize the previous lines and to steer the focus from *wuheng* to “a person with no quality of consistency”.

4. Xiao Yi goes on to introduce a direct quote of the *Shi jing* with a topic of his invention, *wuheng zhiren* (those who do not observe the principle of constancy). He then closes his direct quotation of the *Shi jing* lines with *zhiye* 者也 (are those people with aforementioned qualities).

Mao # 199

Just what sort of person is this?

He moves like the whirlwind;

Why not off to the north?

Why not off to the south?⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁹ See *Zhou yi zhengyi*, 4.35. Trans. Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 338.

⁵⁵⁰ See See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 27.934. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 122.

⁵⁵¹ See Mao #199, *Mao shi zhengyi*, 12.187. Trans. Waley, *Book of Songs*, 188.

彼何人斯，其為飄風。
胡不自北，胡不自南。
胡逝我梁，祇攪我心。

5. Xiao Yi then quotes lines from the *Mengzi* (without explicitly indicating so), in which a concept *zhong* 中 and *zhong* 忠 which are taken as synonymous with the leitmotiv *heng* 恆 is laid out. This is an example of synonymymia: amplification by synonym.

A great craftsman does not put aside the plumb-line for the benefit of the clumsy carpenter. Yi did not compromise on his standards of drawing the bow for the sake of the clumsy archer. A gentleman is full of eagerness when he has drawn his bow, but before he lets fly the arrow, he stands in the middle of the path, and those who are able to do so follow him.⁵⁵²

孟子曰：“大匠不為拙工改廢繩墨，羿不為拙射變其彀率。君子引而不發，躍如也。中道而立，能者從之。”

7. Xiao Yi's own comment is followed by another passage from the *Shi jing*.

Mao #166
To be like the moon advancing to its full,
Like the sun climbing the sky.⁵⁵³

如月之恆/ 如日之升。

8. The treatise closes with two more approximate passages from the *Lunyu*, both relating to Confucius.

The Master said, 'Supreme indeed is the Mean as a moral virtue. It has been rare among the common people for quite a long time.'⁵⁵⁴

子曰：中庸之為德也，其至矣乎！民鮮久矣。

⁵⁵² See *Mengzi zhushu*, 13B.106. Trans. Lau, *Mencius*, 191–92.

⁵⁵³ See Mao #166, *Mao shi zhengyi*, 9.144. Trans. Waley, *Book of Songs*, 139.

⁵⁵⁴ See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 12.425. Trans., Lau. *The Analects*, 85.

Tseng Tzu said, “The way of the Master consists in doing one’s best and in using oneself as a measure to gauge others. That is all.”

曾子曰：“夫子之道，忠恕而已矣。”

This passage is an assemblage of disparate excerpts; quotations, poetic lines, and allusions that are deemed relevant to the leitmotiv *heng* 恆 are woven together to constitute a self-sufficient treatise on the topic.

In this section we identify three compositional methods through which Xiao Yi devises, develops, and elaborates on his intellect. These three devices all support an eclectic compositional guiding principle as the manifestation of a specific historical development, where the ability to comprehend various sources became fore-grounded.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we analyze Xiao Yi’s apprenticeship with the *zishu* tradition as reflected in the “Li yan” and “Za ji” chapters of his master’s composition *Jinlouzi*. In becoming a full-fledged master, who talks, thinks, and delivers like a master, Xiao Yi models himself on masters of the past in modes of speech, topics of invention, as well as compositional methods. A close examination of the three fields of apprenticeship reveals that each field interrelates insofar as the rhetorical devices and cognitive aptitudes serve and support the delivery of the master’s own intellectual output in written form.

Xiao Yi takes an apprenticeship with the established *zishu* tradition to familiarize himself with the general field of the masters and to prepare himself to take part in the textual realm

shaped by the masters. By adhering to the *zishu* tradition with respect to cognitive, rhetorical, and compositional devices, Xiao Yi's work appeals to the existing authority of the masters. Knowing the field and appealing to the authority of the *zishu* tradition, in and by themselves, do not earn one the title of "master." After all, being a master entails more than imitating the voice, thoughts, or rhetorical style of the masters. In seeking to become a master, one commits himself to the task of conveying the kind of intellect that is deemed worthy of a master.

Chapter Six: Becoming A Master: Part Two——“Li yan” 立言 (Establishing words) and “Za ji” 雜記 (Miscellaneous accounts) chapters

The path of becoming a master is by no means a solitary one; it ultimately leads to a textual community where works are read, produced, and circulated or transmitted by and for textually informed intellectuals.⁵⁵⁵ Xiao Yi's apprenticeship with the *zishu* tradition gives him immediate access to the textual community. But it takes a further commitment, that is, to link his work with the *zishu* tradition in a line of intellectual identification, to be admitted as a master to this community.

A typical *zishu* text, in its most essential form, is centered around one “master” figure as an intellectual authority. A master's text promises a self-sufficient intellectual output of the master as an embodiment of intellectual authority. To emerge as a master, therefore, amounts to committing oneself to deliver on that promise. Feeling the burden of the increasingly heavy textual past, Xiao Yi delivered that promise by becoming a competent collector, arbiter, and editor in handling and engaging with texts.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁵ For a definition and a helpful discussion of “textual community” in Western intellectual history, see Olson, *The World on Paper*, 273.

⁵⁵⁶ See Tian, “The Twilight of the Master: Masters Literature (Zishu) in Early Medieval China,” 484.

I. To be Textually Competent

A master-aspirant is first and foremost expected to be textually competent, to be able to manage texts with full capacity, as a reader, textual critic, commentator, and author.

In the “Zi xu” 自序 (Self-account) of the *Jinlouzi*, Xiao Yi refers to his penchant for reading extensively since childhood. He cites a saying that is attributed to Zengzi 曾子, which reads:

Reciting the *Shi* and reading the *Shu*, one dwells with masters of the past; Reading the *Shu* and reciting the *Shi*, one communicates with masters of the past.⁵⁵⁷

誦詩讀書, 與古人居. 讀書誦詩, 與古人期.

Master Zeng claims that being proficient in certain texts grants one access to masters of the past. The path of emerging as a master seems comparable with seeking to approximate masters of the past. Xiao Yi identifies this textual competency with true learning (*xue* 學), confronting the fact that new works were continuously added to the vast corpus of texts that had been accumulating since the fall of the Han.

“Li yan” A.37

Alas, among those erudite and percipient later-born men of my generation, those who are able to evaluate differences and similarities, trim and prune the weeds and overgrowth, so that each scroll may be free of defects and blemishes, and in reading comprehensively there will be no [textual] legacy left out; this may be referred to as “learning.”

嗟我後生博遠之士, 有能品藻異同, 刪整蕪穢, 使卷無瑕玷, 覽無遺功, 可謂學矣.

⁵⁵⁷ Also see *Shizi* 尸子 cited in the *Yilin*, 2.20b.

In the face of an overwhelming corpus of texts, true learning, in Xiao Yi's view, is predicated on and facilitated by the ability to "evaluate differences and similarities, trim and prune the weeds and over-growth, so that each scroll may be free of defects and blemishes, and in reading comprehensively there will be no [textual] legacy left out" 品藻異同, 刪整蕪穢, 使卷無瑕玷, 覽無遺功. Such a competent command of texts further gives Xiao Yi the basis to pass judgment on those who fall short of the paradigm of being "learned."

"Za ji" B.15

Huan Tan composed a text called *Xin lun*, as also did Hua Tan. Yang Xiong composed a *Taixuan jing*, and so did Yang Quan. Those who engage in conversations are often mistaken; they let slip misunderstandings through gestures or give away errors through appearance.⁵⁵⁸ Some say Huan Tan wrote the *Xin lun*, where does Hua Tan figure in the picture? Master Yang wrote the *Taixuan jing*, where does yet another *Taixuan jing* come from? These are all caused by not being learned.

桓譚有新論, 華譚又有新論. 揚雄有太元經, 楊泉又有太元經. 談者多誤, 動形言也[色]. 或云桓譚有新論, 何處復有華譚? 揚子有太元經, 何處復有太元經? 此皆由不學使之然也.

In Xiao Yi's view, only comprehensive learning facilitated by a solid grasp of texts, could spare one from this kind of self-inflicted embarrassment. With confidence boosted by a mastery of texts, Xiao Yi does not even appear to be daunted to find fault in Sima Qian's *Shi ji*.

"Za ji" A.22

⁵⁵⁸ The *Jinlouzi* passage cited in the *Taiping yulan* reads *ye* 也 as *se* 色. See *Taiping yulan*, 602.4b. Accordingly, Chen and Xiong opt for the *se* 色 reading here. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 6.1116.

The Grand Scribe's work contains errors here and there. The "Zheng shijia" refers to Zichan as the son of Lord Cheng of Zheng, while he actually was the son of Ziguo. The "Guming" chapter of the *Shang shu* reads, "The lord of Wei was actually a marquis," yet the "Wei shijia" refers to him as an earl. This is yet another discrepancy. The *Shang shu* relates that the opening of the metal-bound coffer took place before the Duke of Zhou's eastern expedition, but the *Shi ji* dates it to after the death of Ji Dan [the Duke of Zhou]. This is another mistake. There are quite a few other disparate mistakes in the rest of the work.

太史公書有時而謬。鄭世家云：“子產鄭成公子而實子國之子也。”尚書顧命“衛實侯爵，”衛世家言伯爵，斯又乖也。尚書云“[啟]金縢是周公東征之時，史記是姬旦[薨]後，”又紕繆焉。其餘瑣碎亦不為少。

A mastery of texts not only provides Xiao Yi with the means to rectify the misinformation and misunderstanding arising from a less solid grasp of texts, but also gives him the wherewithal to think critically and independently.

“Li yan” A. 31

Kong Wenju [Rong] once said: “When King Wu launched an attack on King Zhou, he hung [viz. Zhou's head] on a white banner. When Emperor [Gao]zu entered the Guan[zhong] area, Ziying [the heir of Qin] was pardoned from execution. In King Wu's reign the “white fish” was the only auspicious omen, whereas numerous auspicious omens occurred during Emperor [Gao]zu's reign. On account of this, Han [Gao]zu is superior and King Wu inferior.”⁵⁵⁹ Yin Hongyuan [Rong] said: “The troops that Emperor Wu of Wei amassed were trained by himself; when Emperor [Gao]zu of Han first rose to power, he relied on mutinous soldiers. For this reason, Emperor Wu of Wei is superior to the Han emperor.” Jiang Zitong [Ji] said: “Emperor [Gao]zu of Han's taking over the realm resembles the feat of climbing a mountain, Emperor Guangwu's taking over the realm resembles that of rolling balls [downhill].”

He [Emperor Guangwu] withstood [Wang] Xun and [Wang] Yi's army of millions, which was unprecedented. [When he marched across] the frozen Hutuo River, they [Emperor Guangwu and his troops], being exposed to the bitter cold, had their faces and bodies covered with blood.⁵⁶⁰ Would you call that easy? In cases like these, having texts [transmitted] is not as good as having no text at all. They might as well be consigned to the flames, which would be fitting for the matter in question.

⁵⁵⁹ See Kong Rong's 孔融 “Zhou Wuwang Han Gaozu lun” 周武王漢高祖論 cited in the *Yiwen leiju*, 12.228–29.

⁵⁶⁰ For this account see *Hou Han shu*, 1A.12.

孔文舉言：“武王伐紂而懸之白旗；漢祖入關，子嬰不死。武王歷年止有白魚之瑞；漢祖祥應其瑞不一。是則漢祖優而武王劣也。”殷洪遠云：“魏武興師，本由親舉；漢祖初起，本是亂兵。此則魏武優於漢帝。”蔣子通言：“漢祖取天下如登山；光武取天下如走丸。”

當尋邑百萬，振古未聞。滹沱河冰，身面流血。豈其易也？
凡如此例，有書不如無書，委之煨燼，於事為宜矣。

Xiao Yi enumerates judgments of three well-known scholars in the past, each of whom gives his assessment of the merits of a ruler by juxtaposing the ruler in question with a second ruler. Kong Rong 孔融 (153–208) regarded Emperor Gaozu of Han as superior to King Wu, citing as his reasons that the former treated his captive with more leniency, as well as that more auspicious omens appeared in Emperor Gaozu's reign. Yin Rong 殷融 deemed Emperor Wu of Wei superior to Emperor Gaozu because the power base from which the former arose was more respectable than the latter. Jiang Ji 蔣濟 (d. 249) claimed compared to the hardship that Emperor Gaozu had to endure in overthrowing the Qin regime, taking the throne came rather easily to Emperor Guangwu.

Xiao Yi selectively refutes Jiang Ji's claim by citing passages from the *Hou Han shu*. Not even attempting to conceal his impatience and contempt, Xiao Yi lashes out at statements that, in his opinion, show a blatant lack of competent grasp of texts, and are therefore, uninformed and misleading.

II. To Participate in Intellectual Discourses

On the basis of a mastery of texts, a master-aspirant is also expected to fashion an intellectual discourse, in which he then can become involved. To become one of the masters, one

must be textually competent, to learn which texts are important, how they are to be read, and to be able to think critically and independently.

The following entry provides a good example of how a textually competent master such as Xiao Yi could participate in an intellectual discourse owing to his own engagement with the texts.

“Li yan” B.48

Cao Zhi said: “Both of the two patriarchs of the Han raised from obscurity. Emperor Gaozu was negligent of minor points of conduct; Emperor Guangwu was well-versed in the virtue of ritual.

Zhuge Liang said: “In discussing [the achievement of] Emperor Guangwu, Cao [Zhi] Zijian argued that ‘none of his generals measured up to Han [Xin] and Zhou [Bo] and none of his advisers compared with [Zhang] Liang and [Chen] Ping.’ His contemporaries concurred with him. I take it as that while his argument was intended to glorify and augment the virtue of Emperor Guangwu, it, nevertheless, wrongly judged an outstanding talent of his generation.

Huang Qiong said: “Emperor Guangwu established his enterprise standing on melting ice and deployed his troops amidst thorny brambles. This was a remarkable undertaking.”⁵⁶¹

Someone questioned, “Did Emperor Guangwu have a rival [as mighty as] Xiang Yu?”

To which, I would respond, “In the past, Ma Yuan went to visit Gongsun Shu. Ma observed that Gongsun’s demeanor was affected and designed to impress and decided that he did not have great resolve. It is apparent that the same thing can be inferred from [Xiang] Yu’s behavior. Why would there be any doubt [about Huang’s assessment]?”

Zhongchang [Tong] Gongli (180–220) referred to Emperor Shizu’s exceptional insight in historical records, Emperor Jianwen of Jin said Emperor Guangwu was among the ranks of heroic and valorous men. He behaved according to checked and restraint principles. I, Shicheng, hereby consider that [Cao] Zijian (192–232) was the one who started the entire discourse, [Zhuge] Kongming introduced ripples on the matter, [Zhongchang] Gongli directed its track, and [Emperor] Jianwen amplified its

⁵⁶¹ See *Hou Han shu*, 61.2037.

course. Therefore, for people with comprehensive knowledge, it is Emperor Shizu who constituted a person of superlative excellence.

曹植曰：“漢之二祖，俱起布衣。高祖闕於細微，光武知於禮德....”

諸葛亮曰：“曹子建論光武，將則難比於韓周，謀臣則不敵良平。時人談者亦以為然。吾以此言誠欲美大光武之德，而有誣一代之俊異...”

黃瓊言：“光武創基於冰泮之中，用兵於枳棘之地，有奇功也。”

或曰：“光武之時，敵寧有若項羽者？”

余應之曰：“昔馬援見公孫述，自修飾作邊幅，知無大志。推羽之行。皆較然可見，而胡有疑也？”

仲長公理言世祖文史為勝，晉簡文言光武雄豪之類，最為規檢之風。

世誠以為子建言其始，孔明揚其波，公理導其源，簡文宏其說。則通人之談，世祖為極優矣。

Xiao Yi sets the stage for intellectual discussion by citing Cao Zhi's essay titled “Han erzu youlie lun” 漢二祖優劣論 which partially survives in the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚.⁵⁶² In the excerpt Cao Zhi speaks highly of both emperors but argues that Emperor Guangwu outshone Emperor Gaozu in that Emperor Guangwu was faced with more severe adversity and had less resources to his advantage than Emperor Gaozu.

Zhuge Liang apparently wrote an expository essay on the same topic, which directly addresses Cao Zhi's piece.⁵⁶³ The segment, which Xiao Yi cites here, is the only surviving fragment of the piece. Zhuge Liang, while in line with Cao Zhi's stance, only took issue with Cao Zhi's underplaying the capability of Emperor Guangwu's assistants to highlight the merits of the emperor. He, on the contrary, argued that the emperor's exceptional adeptness that outshone the overall merit of his aides further attests to the emperor's superiority.

⁵⁶² See *Yiwen leiju*, 12.237–38. For an annotated version, see Cao Haidong 曹海東, ed. and comm., *Xin yi Cao Zijian ji* 新譯曹子建集 (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 2013), 511–20.

⁵⁶³ See Liang Yuwen 梁玉文, Li Zhaocheng 李兆成, and Wu Tianwei 吳天畏, comm. and eds., *Zhuge Liang wen yizhu* 諸葛亮文譯註 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1988), 233–36.

Zhuge Liang's thesis is followed by Huang Qiong's favorable assessment of Emperor Guangwu's achievement. Furthermore, Xiao Yi also preemptively refutes a hypothetical objection to Huang's comment. In addition, Xiao Yi referred to Chongzhang Tong's 仲長統 (180–220) and Emperor Jianwen of Jin's (320–372, r. 371–372) appraisals of Emperor Guangwu.⁵⁶⁴ Xiao Yi finally took upon himself to summarize the sources and courses of the discussion and subsequently granted himself the floor to offer the closing remarks on the discourse, which concludes that Emperor Guangwu was indeed exceptionally qualified.

Xiao Yi shows that to participate in intellectual discourse, one needs not only to be familiar with the existing literature, but also have the intellectual aptitude to know what is relevant to the discourse in question? how they are to be read, and how they are to be applied in the current discussion. In other words, this entry is not a straightforward exercise in excerpting earlier sources, but rather, an involved effort to prepare a discourse which he seeks to participate in and subsequently own by virtue of his intellectual engagement.

“Li yan” B.50

Heshang gong's preface [to the *Laozi*] says: “When the way of Zhou was in decline, Laozi found fault with the king's not conducting governance properly. Thus, after composed the *Daode jing* in two chapters, he went west to the land of “flowing sands” [in exile].

When it comes down to the Wei and Jin period, even if one inquires from the well-informed, the purported meaning of Laozi's teaching had been lost after all. The concept of “non-doing (*wuwei*)” was taken up as the ideal to venerate, which goes against the rites and turns away from proper teaching, destroys customs and demolishes mores. It was transmitted from one to another until the present day, but the misconceptions about it have yet to be dispelled.

⁵⁶⁴ There is an excerpt in Zhongchang Tong's *Chang yan* 昌言 in which he compares Emperor Gaozu and Emperor Guangwu. See Zhang Lanhua 張蘭花, ed. and comm., *San Cao Qizi zhiwai Jian'an zuojia shiwen heji jiaozhu* 三曹七子之外建安作家詩文合集校注 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2013), 491–95.

Huangfu Shi'an [Mi] says: "Upon reading the line 'The spirit of the valley never dies/ This is called the mysterious female.'⁵⁶⁵ The cognoscenti among the current generation rush to appropriate Laozi's teaching to talk about transcendent beings.⁵⁶⁶ Although Laozi inquires after the principal way and moral potency, exalts purity and the void, his intellect is thorough and all-encompassing from the past to the present. The compositions which he handed down in writing, as well as those recorded in the *Li ji*, are among those that Confucius admired. Yet contemporary scholars are prepared to abandon the learning of rites and do away with humaneness and propriety, claiming that by reposing their trust in purity and the void alone they could reach the status of stability and peacefulness. How far they have gone from the words Laozi personally practiced!

河上公序言：“周道既衰，老子疾時王之不為政，故著道德經二篇，西入流沙。”至魏晉之間，詢諸大方，復失老子之旨，乃以無為為宗，背禮違教，傷風敗俗，至今相傳，猶未祛其惑。

皇甫士安云：“世人見其書云‘谷神不死，是謂元牝’故好事者遂假託老子以談神仙。”

老子雖存道德尚清虛，然博貫古今，垂文述而之篇，及禮傳所載，孔子慕焉是也。而今人學者，乃欲棄禮學，絕仁義，云獨任清虛，可以致治，其違老子親行之言。

Xiao Yi initiated and fully engaged with an intellectual discourse that has a direct bearing on the contemporary intellectual climate. Xiao Yi opens the passage with an excerpt from the preface of a commentary on the *Laozi* attributed to Heshang gong. This is followed by an account of the contemporary state of affairs to show how much the original intent of the *Laozi* has gone into oblivion. The discussion is substantiated by Huangfu Mi's comment. With the ground having been laid out, Xiao Yi then set out to rectify this disputed discourse and impart the proper application of Laozi's teaching.

In the entry that immediately follows Xiao Yi's criticism of the contemporary application of Laozi's teaching, Xiao Yi delves into the discussion of the current state of the intellectual

⁵⁶⁵ Trans. Lau, *Lao Tzu Tao Te Ching*, 62.

⁵⁶⁶ See *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集, *Siku quanshu*, 13.13b–14a.

field, which he refers to as “the latter-day manner” (*mosu zhi feng* 末俗之風), in comparison with the “manner of antiquity” (*guren zhi feng* 古人之風).

“Li yan” B.51

“Men of antiquity studied to improve themselves; men today study to impress others.”⁵⁶⁷ “When a student finds that he can more than cope with his studies, then he takes office; when a man in office finds that he can more than cope with his duties, then he studies.”⁵⁶⁸ This is the practice of antiquity. To cultivate the in-born virtue in order to get approbation in the human realm, as soon as he obtains the approbation in the human realm he then forgoes the heavenly-endowed approbation. This is the latter-day manner. Owing to the practice of antiquity, Confucius set forth forthright words. The latter-day manner was the reason Mencius wrung his wrist [in dismay].

古之學者為己，今之學者為人。學而優則仕，仕而優則學，古人之風也。修天爵以取人爵，獲人爵而棄天爵，末俗之風也。古人之風，夫子所以昌言。末俗之風，孟子所以扼腕。

There are two kinds of scholars in the past, and four in the present. Those who are the disciples of masters, or who are students receiving the master’s teachings handed down over the generations, or who comprehend the classics of the sages, are all referred to as Ruist scholars. Those, such as Qu Yuan, Song Yu, and [Sima Xiangru] Zhangqing, who limited themselves to *fu* writing are referred to as *wen* [litterateurs]. Ruist scholars of the present have an exhaustive command of both the masters texts and histories. Although they are able to identify the phenomena, they do not recognize the principle behind them. This is referred to as learning. As for those who were not proficient in composing poems, such as Yan Zuan, those who were versed in composing petitions and memorials, such as [Zhang Song] Bosong, writings of this kind are generally called utilitarian prose.⁵⁶⁹ Intoning popular airs and ditties and indulging in sorrowful thoughts, are referred to as *wen* [belles-lettres].

然而古人之學者二，今人之學者有四。夫子門徒，轉相師受，通聖人之經者謂之儒，屈原宋玉枚乘長卿之徒，止於辭賦則謂之文。今之儒博窮子史，但能識其事，不能

⁵⁶⁷ See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 29.1104. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 128.

⁵⁶⁸ See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 38.1324. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 155.

⁵⁶⁹ Yan Zuan 閻纂 is mentioned in the *Jin shu* by his official title secretary of the grand mentor (*taifu sheren* 太傅舍人), who buried Yang Jun 楊駿 (d. 291) after he was executed in 291. See Yang Jun’s biography in *Jin shu*, 40.1180. Zhang Song 張竦, *zi* Bosong 柏松, was a governor of an unspecified commandery in Wang Mang’s time. In 3 AD., Zhang Song drafted and presented a petition in praise of Wang Mang and was subsequently awarded the title of Marquis Shude 淑德侯. See *Han shu*, 99A.4082–83.

通其理者, 謂之學. 至如不便為詩如閻纂, 善為章奏如柏松, 若此之流, 汎謂之筆. 吟詠風謠, 流連哀思者, 謂之文.

It is custom of the present, from eminent officials to little children, from common folks to young students, to hold superficial and volatile scholarship in high regard. When they avail themselves of the various masters, they are partial to the vapid and eccentric. When they dabble in the Classical works, they lack a comprehensive grasp of their principal purport. Even if they manage to put together a complete piece, the value of it resides in pleasing the eyes of the beholder. A dragon's head is fashioned together with a pig's legs to cater to the contemporary taste. A bull's head is installed side by side with a horse's thighs, forcefully being attached one to the other.

夫今之俗, 搢紳稚齒, 閭巷小生, 學以浮動為貴, 用百家則多尚輕側, 涉經記則不通大旨. 苟取成章, 貴在悅目, 龍首豕足, 隨時之義; 牛頭馬髀, 彊相附會.

This passage is an excellent example of Xiao Yi's exposition. With a commanding view of the textual legacy that the eclectic intellectual outlook endows, Xiao Yi straightens out the bifurcated streams of the scholarly tradition, itemizes and assesses the merits and demerits of each individual stream. The passage not only attests to his adept textual competency and assured intellectual engagement, but also speaks of Xiao Yi's commitment to addressing issues that bear direct relevance to the discourse in his lifetime.

The intellectual commitment of addressing the relevant discourse, bringing outdated discourses up-to-date, and offering an original insight into the matters, constitutes the "prizes" that masters have sought and constantly keep their eyes on.

III. Eyes on the Prize

By and large, master-hood is an embodiment of intellectual authority; it promises an original and distinctive contribution to the intellectual world. Keeping one's eyes on the prize is

the commitment on which the “master” title is predicated. Once this commitment is carried out, the master in question is due to be recognized for the weight of intellectual authority commensurate with his intellectual output.

Throughout the “Li yan” and “Za ji” chapters Xiao Yi poises to have his “eyes on the prize” in that he purports to impart the kind of intellect that addresses empirical concerns, ranging from issues that are practical and concrete, such as governance or social etiquette, to inquiries that are abstract and timeless, such as spiritual nourishment or moral ethics. On the other hand, reflective thought about “concepts with which one approaches the world” themselves—perception of the world, acquisition of knowledge, formation of beliefs—do not concern him.

“Li yan” A.21

When Confucius was traveling in the East, he saw two small children arguing with each other. One child said, “I think that the sun is nearer to us at sunrise, the other said that “it is nearer at noon.” The first child said: “When the sun first rises it resembles the shape of a carriage canopy; by noon it takes the shape of a plate or a bowl. How could it not be the case where that which is near appears big, and that which is far appears small?” The other child said: “When the sun first rises the air is cool and brisk, by noon it is like dipping your hand in hot water. Isn’t it the case where that which is far feels cool, and that which is close feels hot?”⁵⁷⁰

孔子東游，見兩小兒相鬥。一兒曰：“我以日初出去人近。”一兒曰：“日中近。”一兒曰：“日初出如車蓋，至中裁如盤盂，豈不近者大，遠者小？”一兒曰：“日初出，滄滄涼涼，至日中有如探湯，此非遠者涼，近者熱耶？”

This same story is recorded in the “Tang wen” 湯問 chapter of *Liezi* 列子, with the two children laughing at Confucius, who apparently was not able to decide the issue, saying, “And

⁵⁷⁰ See Yang Bojun, *Liezi jishi*, 5.105–06.

still others regard you as a learned man?” 孔子不能決也。兩小兒笑曰：“孰為汝多知乎？” This more anecdotal ending is replaced here with Xiao Yi’s didactic discussion of what implementing good governance consists of, and how to make use of it?

What Confucius did not realize is that, when the sun is high up in the sky it appears small, and when it casts light on the “fusang” tree it becomes big. Engaging in governance is the same in the sense that people necessarily make use of it on a daily basis without realizing it, as inconspicuous as the sun in the mid-sky. As resplendent and imposing as it appears, this probably is the governance of “the setting sun,” and is not praiseworthy.

孔子亦不知，日中天而小，落扶桑而大。為政亦如是矣。須日用不知，如中天之小也。雖赫赫然，此蓋落日之治，不足稱也。

Xiao Yi does not diverge into the realm of the operation of the natural world, but with attention firmly fixed on the human and societal realm and is eager to make use of empirical observation to address practical concerns. The phrase “what Confucius did not realize is [that]” 孔子亦不知, which introduces Xiao Yi’s renewed insight, announces Xiao Yi’s intellectual autonomy in making an original contribution to the overall understanding of the issue. In the following entry, Xiao Yi claims that his intellectual independence regarding the wisdom of masters of the past is in agreement with his early medieval sensibility.

“Za ji” A.1

Tang executed Dumu, Guan Zhong executed Shi Fu, Lü Wang [the Grand Venerable Wang] executed Ren Xie, Cao of Wei executed [Kong] Wenju, Sun Ce executed Gao Dai, Huang Zu executed Mi Heng, Minister of Jin [Sima Zhao] executed Ji [or Xi] Kang, and Emperor Xuan of Han executed Yang Yun.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁷¹ See Wang Xianqian, ed. and comm., *Xunzi jijie*, 20.520–21; Xiang Zonglu, ed. and comm., *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 15.380–81. The person whom Tang executed is Yin Xie 尹諧 in the *Xun zi* and Zhu Mu 蠅沐 in the *Shuo yuan*.

How could these cases concern matters of grand larceny? Well-versed in political guile, they often cast aspersions on [the ruler] furtively and stealthily. They could not have kept their lives intact.

成湯誅獨木, 管仲誅史符, 呂望誅任高, 魏操誅文舉, 孫策誅高岱, 黃祖誅禰衡, 晉相誅嵇康, 漢宣誅楊惲. 此豈關大盜者, 深防政術, 腹誹心謗, 不可全也.

This entry consists of a set of comparable incidents where a ruler or a regent minister proactively prevented further political turmoil by executing unruly elements at the onset of their errant ways. The enumeration of those who truly deserved to be executed is a trope associated with Confucius himself. The *Kongzi jiayu*, *Xunzi* 荀子, *Shuo yuan*, and *Yinwenzi* 尹文子 record the same story which tells when Confucius served as the acting prime-minister of Lu, he executed the prominent official Shaozheng Mao 少正卯.⁵⁷² When questioned by his disciple (this disciple is identified as Zigong 子貢 in the *Shuo yuan* and *Kongzi jiayu*), Confucius justifies the capital punishment by characterizing Shaozheng Mao as the embodiment of the five vices (*wu e* 五惡). This is followed by a list of unruly individuals in history, all “executed victims of the gentleman” (*junzi zhizhu* 君子之誅). The exact names of those executed vary only graphically from text to text; the list of the ones who order the executions also remains consistent throughout the texts. There are Tang the ruler of Shang, King Wen of Zhou, the Taigong of Qi, Guan Zhong of Qi, and Zichan of Zheng. The Duke of Zhou’s execution of Guanshu [and Caishu] is added to the list in the *Xunzi* and *Shuo yuan*; the rest remain the same.

⁵⁷² See Chen Shike, *Kongzi jiayu shuzheng*, 1.9a–b. Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 20.520–21. Trans. Hutton, *Xunzi*, 318–19. Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 15.380–81. See Wang Qixiang 王啟湘, ed. and comm., *Yinwenzi jiaoquan* 尹文子校詮 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1958), 35–36.

Xiao Yi presents more up-to-date cases where executions of reprehensible individuals are deemed both necessary and well-deserved. The list includes Cao Cao's (155–220) execution of Kong Rong (153–208), Huang Zu's (d. 200) execution of Mi Heng (ca. 199), and Sima Zhao's (211–265) execution of Ji or Xi Kang (223–262). The existing narratives devised to justify and legitimize Confucius' execution of Shaozheng Mao, on this account, lend authority to Xiao Yi's effort to bring the narrative more relevant to his time and apropos of his own political status.

“How could these cases concern matters of grand larceny?” 此豈關大盜者 is a rhetorical paraphrase of what Confucius said in explaining his decision to execute Shaozheng Mao: “There are five vicious traits for people to have, and being a robber or thief is not among them” 人有惡者五, 而盜竊不與焉.

Xiao Yi reiterates that they were executed not because they might usurp the throne (or “steal the country” as he puts it), but as professional politicians, their resentment and unruliness had the potential to bring unanticipated disruption. His final judgment “they could not have kept their lives intact” *buke quan ye* 不可全也 echoes Confucius' pronouncement “could not be but executed” *buke bu zhu* 不可不誅. But Xiao Yi reaches his judgment based on his take on a more extended list of cases of “execution by the gentleman” *junzi zhizhu* 君子之誅. This last line is an integral part of a master's utterance. It highlights the intellectual value that the current master adds to the existing cultural narrative. The intellectual authority that Xiao Yi assumes is not necessarily separated from, but seems on a par with, that of Confucius.

In the two passages cited above, as well as many other entries not included here, Xiao Yi appears to aspire to offer fresh, relevant, and up-to-date knowledge and insights that address this-worldly concerns—how to opt for the most favorable outcomes, how to avoid inadvertent

calamities, how to manage a state, how to be a true gentleman—the exact issue may vary, but they invariably revolve around the essential quest of establishing or reinforcing one’s standing in the society.

With his eyes fixed on the prize, that is, seeking to deliver original, distinctive, and relevant contributions to the intellectual world, Xiao Yi adopts an eclectic intellectual outlook to facilitate the relevance of his contributions.

“Li yan” A. 39

I make use of Sun [Wu] and Wu [Qi] as my encampment and fortification, and wear the [Duke of] Zhou and Confucius as my sacrificial cap and sash. I take Masters Lao and Zhuang to engage in convivial banquets. I consume the “Expedient and Substantial” as my sustenance and provender.⁵⁷³ I deem cheloniomancy and milfoil sortilege to be the enlightened numen. I regard the ordering of government as my hands and feet. A log of one *wei* (girth) sustains [a house of] thousand *jun*, a linchpin of five *cun* controls the opening and closing [of a gate]. He who possesses an overall command of it is enlightened.

余以孫吳為營壘，以周孔為冠帶，以老莊為歡宴，以權實為稻糧，以卜筮為神明，以政治為手足。一圍之木持千鈞，五寸之撻制開闔，總之者明也。

In this entry, Xiao Yi paints a picture where he, standing at the apex of the textual legacy, puts various components of the intellectual tradition at his disposal. With a subtle self-congratulatory tone, Xiao Yi pronounces that the eclectic intellectual outlook that he embraces renders him, and indeed anyone endowed with a commanding view of the textual realm, “enlightened” 總之者明也. The eclectic intellectual outlook is what Xiao Yi could appeal to in seeking to deliver on his commitment as a master in his own right. It becomes especially

⁵⁷³ “Expedient and Substantial” 權實 refers to the Theravada and Mahayana schools of Buddhism respectively.

pertinent given that the cultural legacy had become diffuse and multiform, lacking established and recognized authorities for texts.

Xiao Yi is not so much an innovator in this outlook than he is an adherent writing within an eclectic tradition that had arisen following the fall of the Han. Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465–ca. 521), Xiao Yi's earlier contemporary, observes that the masters texts that emerged during and after the Han, as a whole, "had generally become derivative and eclectic" 類多依采.⁵⁷⁴ Although seen as a symptom of a declining vigor of this form of writing, "derivative and eclectic" compositional methods were widely adopted by post-Han masters. This seems to have been a coping strategy, amid an abundance of written texts, to establish a solid grasp of the texts, to engage in the intellectual discourse, and to facilitate the originality and relevance of their intellectual output. This eclectic outlook was not embraced by post-Han masters exclusively, but was also keenly sought after by other intellectuals of the time. The entire early medieval intellectual world was saturated with an erudition tradition in that various aspects of knowledge in general were eagerly pursued. This is attested by compilations such as the *Bowu zhi* 博物志 and *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義, as well as by a frequent reference to extensive reading and broad learning (typically evoked by the term *bo* 博, comprehensive) throughout the biographies in dynastic histories from the Eastern Han to Tang.⁵⁷⁵ This newly emerged tradition further calls for a system by which large amounts of information from various sources could be organized in such a way that individual items were accessible and easy to refer to for readers. Finely and systematically compartmentalized knowledge was embodied in bibliographical catalogs, encyclopedic compendia (including *leishu* 類書), and digests or epitomes (*shuchao* 書鈔) consisting of

⁵⁷⁴ See Huang Shulin, *Zengding Wenxin diaolong jiaozhu*, 4.230

⁵⁷⁵ See Nicoll-Johnson, "Fringes and Seams," 332–33.

excerpts from other texts,⁵⁷⁶ all of which began to proliferate during the early medieval period. With paper widely available at no great cost as the main writing medium during this period, textual knowledge in various forms became more accessible to any literate member of society. This new textual reality not only dissolved the masters' monopoly on a competent command of texts, but also rendered the "masters texts" compositional format obsolete with the prospect that knowledge, comprehensively accumulated and systematically organized, was within everyone's easy reach.

Furthermore, to make an original contribution to the intellectual world, the "price" once exclusively associated with masters texts, was no longer predicated on the claim to master-hood. Tian Xiaofei points out that in the course of the fifth century, compiling literary collections of individual authors (*ji* 集) gradually become an alternative way of "accomplishing a discourse of one's own."⁵⁷⁷ Two new developments account for this change. First, poetry in the early medieval period bore a more personal imprint than in the past and therefore was increasingly individualized. Second, the disquisition (*lun* 論), which occupied a prominent position in the individual author's literary collection, proved to be a vigorous compositional format to impart wisdom through such means as discussions of current events or passing judgments on various issues.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁶ *Chao* 鈔 (excerpting) is a new early-medieval textual activity, which mainly involved selectively copying out excerpts from earlier texts that were deemed important or worthwhile for personal reference or private collection. See Tian Xiaofei, *Beacon Fire and Shooting Star, the Literary Culture of the Liang*, 79–80. One could either produce an epitomized version of one single compilation of colossal size, such as *Huanglan chao* 皇覽抄, or, perhaps more commonly, put together a methodical collection on a given subject consisting of relevant information extracted from different source, *Jin chao* 晉抄 ("the epitome of the history of the Jin") and *Zichao* 子鈔 ("the epitome of the masters texts").

⁵⁷⁷ Tian, "The Twilight of the Master: Masters Literature (Zishu) in Early Medieval China," 475.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

It is in the context of what one might call the “democratization” of a mastery of knowledge, as well as the emergence of competing forms of intellectual discourses, and diffuse, multiform textual traditions, that we address the rise of the post-Han masters, a distinct sub-cult of their own, which I tentatively term the “latter-day masters.”⁵⁷⁹

IV. To Stand as a Latter-Day Master

While these latter-day masters were driven to resort to eclectic textual approaches and intellectual outlooks to cope with the new textual reality in the early medieval period, they, nonetheless, were expected to hold onto their intellectual affiliation with the *zishu* tradition at large and live up to the name of “master” by creating a self-sufficient discourse of one’s own that makes an original contribution to the intellectual world.

But with the existing hierarchy of the intellectual authority reshuffled, the way in which intellectual authority was constructed and redefined, the latter-day masters’ writings are seen imbued with certain uneasiness, an acute self-consciousness, and a latter-day sense of crisis. The struggle to remain relevant, to impart original intellectual contributions to the world, and ultimately to establish one’s own tradition as a master, is the common cause that the latter-day masters found themselves engaged in.

The following entry attests to Xiao Yi’s apprehension at being misunderstood and concern that his intellectual contribution would be reduced to oblivion.

⁵⁷⁹ In her article “The Twilight of the Master,” Xiaofei Tian provides a detailed account of the decline of the *zishu* tradition in the sixth century. It is according to this notion that I refer to Xiao Yi as the “latter-day master.” See Tian, “The Twilight of the Master: Masters Literature (Zishu) in Early Medieval China,” 465–86.

Upon seeing a cook, I heaved a sigh saying, “Both Yiyin and Yiya were skilled in harmoniously blending stew in a cooking-pot, yet they differed from each other in terms of worthiness.⁵⁸⁰ Then I further sighed, “Those who lack insight speak of Yiyin in comparison with Yiya, how much less will they speak of me?” I withdrew and heaved a sigh again, saying “*bilu*” (green gem-stone) resembles jade, but only Yidun could tell one from the other.⁵⁸¹ White jade resembles ivory, but only Lilou could tell one from the other.⁵⁸² An Yidun and a Lilou are encountered only once in a thousand years. The grievance of a piece of ivory being treated as a bone, how would that be alleviated? I once saw people preparing pickled food. I sighed saying, “As a creature a dragon is referred to as one of the four divine creatures. But all the same it is pickled. As a creature, a fish is referred to as one of the “five blends.”⁵⁸³ It is pickled. Could this be a case of the honorable Shen’s [viz. Yi Yin] harmoniously blending stew in a cooking-pot, and my instituting the domain of Xiaoxiang? Once again I withdrew and heaved a sigh saying “the divine tortoise of five colors resembling jade and gold cannot escape from being made into a meat stew. What would be my lot? What would be my lot?”

余見宰人歎曰：“伊尹與易牙同知調鼎，而有賢不肖之殊。”既而歎曰：“無識之徒，尚以伊尹方易牙，余何有哉？”退而復歎曰：“碧廬似玉，猗頓別之；白骨似牙，離婁別之。猗頓離婁，千年不曾遇；牙骨之怨，何時當弭？”余見人為鮓，歎曰：“龍之為物也，謂之四靈，而亦為鮓；魚之為物，謂之五協，而又為鮓。抑乃有萃之調鼎，瀟湘之開國歟。”退而復歎曰：“靈龜五色似玉金，不免為臠，余何有哉？余何有哉？”

In the entire passage, Xiao Yi sighed five times to relay his fear that his legacy might be thrown into chaos, his speech muddled and garbled. The set of culinary metaphors is of some interest. He is worried that he one day would be denied access to tell his own stories, and would have to have his legacy told and mis-told by others, in the same way, a tortoise and dragon are

⁵⁸⁰ Yiyin 伊尹 was a minister of Shang with impeachable integrity. Yiya 易牙 was a fawning courtier of Qi. Both of them were skilled cooks. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* (Xigong 17), 14.107. *Shi ji*, 32.1492.

⁵⁸¹ Yidun 猗頓 was a well-known merchant with extraordinary wealth.

⁵⁸² Lilou 離婁 is known for his exceptional eye-sight. See *Mengzi zhushu*, 7A.53.

⁵⁸³ The term *wu xie* 五協 is not otherwise attested. Xu Yimin suggests that it might be *wu zu* 五俎 (the five cuttings) or *wu ding* 五鼎 (the five cooking-pots), namely, pig, fish, cured meat, goat, and goat’s intestines. See Xu Yimin, *Jinlouzi jiaojian*, 4.824.

sliced up and reduced to pickled or cooked dishes. In claiming “what would be my lot?” he finds himself commiserating with the fish and dragon made into pickled dishes and identifying with the numinous tortoise that ended up in a meat stew.

The anxiety of being misjudged or simply reduced to oblivion makes this latter-day master eager to create his intellectual legacy and to have his legacy handed down faithfully.

“Li yan” A.40

Yan Hui emulated the deeds of Shun,⁵⁸⁴ therefore he perished prematurely. Jia Yi was keen on learning, which subsequently precipitated his demise.⁵⁸⁵ Yang Xiong’s writing a *fu* gave rise to talk about “dreaming of the intestines.”⁵⁸⁶ Cao Zhi’s writing a literary piece led to the discussion about “turning the stomach inside out.”⁵⁸⁷ Life has its limit, but knowledge is limitless. Rather than using a limited life span to chase after limitless knowledge,⁵⁸⁸ I shall nourish my inborn nature and my spirit so that I may capture the unicorn with this composition of the *Jinlouzi*.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁴ Chen Zhiping and Xiong Qingyuan concur with Wu Qian’s 吳騫 (1773–1813) original collation notes on the *Jinlouzi* arguing that Shun 舜 should be read *sheng* 聖. *Xisheng* 希聖 (emulating the sage) is an attested phrase in the early medieval period. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 4.665. The *Xin xu* also attributes Yan Hui’s untimely death to his admiration for Confucius. See Sun Pingyi 孫馮翼, compl., *Huanzi Xin lun* 桓子新論, *Congshu jicheng*, 29b.

⁵⁸⁵ Jia Yi 賈誼 (201–169 BCE) died at the age of 33, shortly after the death of Liu Yi 劉揖, to whom he served as senior tutor. Jia Yi blamed himself for the premature demise of the prince. See *Han shu*, 48.2264.

⁵⁸⁶ This refers to a story related by Huan Tan that Yang Xiong was so worn out composing the “Ganquan fu” 甘泉賦 that he dreamed that his viscera came out on the ground. See Sun Pingyi, *Huanzi Xin lun*, 9b. For a translation of the story in the *Xinlun* as well as other versions of the same story, see Pokora, *Hsin-lun*, 72–73. See *Yiwen leiju*, 56.1013; 75.1289. Also see *Taiping yulan*, 587.7a; 739.2a.

⁵⁸⁷ In traditional Chinese medicine *fanwei* 反胃 is the term for “regurgitation of food.” See Zhang Zhibin and Paul U. Unschuld, eds. *Bencao gangmu Dictionary*, Vol. One (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 151. See *Weilüe* cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 376.10b.

⁵⁸⁸ See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 2A.115. Trans. Graham, *Chuang-tzŭ, the Inner Chapters*, 62.

⁵⁸⁹ The allusion to “capturing the unicorn” *huo lin* 獲麟 is associated with Confucius. When Lord Ai went hunting to the west in 481 BCE., a unicorn was captured. Upon seeing the unicorn, Confucius reportedly wept and sighed, “my way is at an end” and drew his compilation of the *Chunqiu* to a close. See Du Yu 杜預, “*Chunqiu Zuo shi zhuan xu*” 春秋左氏傳序, in *Chunqiu*

顏回希舜[聖], 所以早亡; 賈誼好學, 遂令速殞. 揚雄作賦, 有夢腸之談; 曹植為文, 有反胃之論. 生也有涯, 智也無涯, 以有涯之生, 逐無涯之智. 余將養性養神, 獲麟於金樓之制也.

Xiao Yi reflects on himself against his literary predecessors, and each has their health compromised by devoting themselves to intellectual endeavors. Xiao Yi comes to terms with the boundlessness of knowledge by focusing on delivering his magnum opus, the *Jinlouzi*. Thoughts of mortality drive him to properly nurture his body and spirit, to create an intellectual legacy that will last into the future. Filled with a sense of his own mortality, in the next entry, Xiao Yi directly addresses his retainers, urging them to preserve and transmit his work.

“Li yan” B.47

I have momentarily tried to delay the sundial and water-clock [the march of time], yet I worry about the suddenness and abruptness [of human life]. When I was young, I was wildly ambitious and had accomplished a handsome number of compositions.⁵⁹⁰ Those of you who could transmit my writings, even during times like those of the Yellow Turbans or Lülin [Greengrove rebels], cannot be deprived or divested of this learning. If when flames ascend and soaking waters descend [in times of fire and flood], one can at that time preserve them, then he would be “Master West of the Passes,” with a reputation comparable to that of Confucius.⁵⁹¹ The Master of the Eastern Village [Your deceased master] would reward you in a dream.⁵⁹²

Zuo zhuan zhengyi, 1.1708. The preface is also included in the *Wen xuan*, 45.2037. Also see *Shi ji*, 130.

⁵⁹⁰ Cf. Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 10.343: “Our young men at home are wildly ambitious, and have great accomplishments for all to see, but they do not know how to prune themselves” 吾黨之小子狂簡, 斐然成章, 不知所以裁之. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 79.

⁵⁹¹ “Guanxi fuzi” 關西夫子 (Confucius west of the Passes) refers to Yang Zhen 楊震 (d. 124), who was immensely learned in the classics. See *Hou Han shu*, 54.1759.

⁵⁹² This line alludes to an anecdote recorded in the biography of Zhou Pan 周磐 (49–121), a renowned Eastern Han classist scholar, in the *Hou Han shu*, which tells that in 121, Zhou Pan held an assembly of his students. By the end of day, he announced that he dreamt about his deceased teacher, Master of the Eastern Village (of whom we do not know anything), discussing the subject of death with him. Zhou Pan then died a few days later. See *Hou Han shu*, 39.1310–12. Here the Master of the Eastern Village refers to Xiao Yi himself.

吾假延晷漏，常慮奄忽，幼好狂簡，頗有勤成。諸生孰能傳吾書者，使黃巾綠林，不能攘奪，炎上潤下，時為保持。則關西夫子，此名方丘；東里先生，夢中相報。

Xiao Yi realizes that transmitted words are indeed an efficacious charm to withstand oblivion and to maintain relevance. Rather than placing his legacy at the mercy of unsympathetic critics of later generations, it is better to have his words transmitted in their entirety.

V. A Second-Coming Sage-Master

To make sure that transmitted words convey what he intends to convey, Xiao Yi devotes considerable space in the “Li yan” chapter to lay out his authorial intention. The way in which Xiao Yi takes steps to control his legacy is modeled on the “Self-narrative” of Sima Qian’s *Shi ji*. Xiao Yi gives a synopsis of Sima Qian’s faithful reproduction of Sima Tan’s treatise “Liu jia yaozhi” 六家要旨 (Concise purports of the six schools).⁵⁹³

“Li yan” A.14

“All in the world ultimately comes to congruence in thought, though there might be hundreds of ways to deliberate about it. Everything comes to the same end, though the roads to it are different.”⁵⁹⁴ Why this is so?

The Ruists order the etiquette between lord and subject and father and son, and the proper distinction between husband and wife and elder and younger. The Mohists hold that foundations of the halls [of Yao and Shun] were three *chi* high with three steps of earth leading up; their halls were roofed with untrimmed thatch and their timbers and rafters were untrimmed. In winter they wore the skins of deer to show deference, and at the height of summer they wore clothes of coarse fiber to show veneration. The Faists do not differentiate between the honorable and the lowly, do not distinguish between those who are close to oneself and those who are distant.

⁵⁹³ See *Shi ji*, 130.3296.

⁵⁹⁴ The translation is based Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 81.

They are strict and show little mercy. This is what they mean by *fa*. The Mingists indulge in hair splitting and tortuous reasoning. They are fastidious but miss the truth. This is what they mean by *ming*. The Taoist school takes emptiness and inaction as its basis, and compliance and accordance [with nature and the times] as its practice.⁵⁹⁵

天下一致而百慮，同歸而殊途，何者？夫儒者列君臣父子之禮，序夫婦長幼之別。墨者堂高三尺，土階三等。茅茨不剪，采椽不斲。冬日以鹿裘為禮，盛暑以葛衣為貴。法家不殊貴賤，不別親疏。嚴而少恩，所謂法也。名家苛察繳繞，檢而失真，是謂名也。道家虛無為本，因循為務。

Every line in Xiao Yi's synopsis, except for the last one, can be accounted for in Sima Qian's original summary. It is only to the Taoist school that Xiao Yi attaches his own thoughts, commenting thereby on the contemporary intellectual climate, as well as its inevitable entanglement with political circumstances. It reads:

The chaos and turmoil of the Central Plain were indeed caused by this trend. The execution of He [Yan] and Deng [Yang] first and the demise of Pei [Wei] and Wang [Yan] later on, perhaps all occurred because of this.

中原喪亂，實為此風。何鄧誅於前，裴王滅於後，蓋為此也。⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁵ Trans. Burton Watson, *Ssu-Ma Ch'ien Grand Historian of China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 45–47. For another translation of Sima Tan's "Liu jia yaozhi" see Harold Roth and Sarah Queen, "A Syncretist Perspective on the Six Schools," *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, eds. W. T. de Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 278–82.

⁵⁹⁶ He Yan 何晏 (d. 249) was well-versed in the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* and is considered one of the main proponents of *xuanxue* 玄學 (arcane learning). During the Zhengshi 正始 period (r. 226–239), He Yan was associated with the regent Cao Shuang 曹爽 (d. 249). He was executed in 249 when Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179–251) staged a palace coup against Cao Shuang. See *Sanguo zhi*, 9.288–93. See also Knechtges and Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature*, 365–66. Deng Yang 鄧颺, see *Wei lue* 魏略 cited in Pei Songzhi's commentary to the *Sanguo zhi*, 9.288. Pei Wei 裴頠, see *Jin shu*, 35.1041–47. Wang Yan 王衍, see *Jin shu*, 43.1235–39.

In the “Self-account,” Sima Qian goes on to give a personal account of his father’s conferring an unshakable sense of responsibility on himself, urging him not to relinquish his duty as a grand scribe. Sima Qian’s family heritage was further inspired by and endowed with a higher intellectual calling, that is, to emulate the deeds of the great sage-master Confucius. Sima Qian recalls that his deceased father used to say to him, “Five hundred years after the Duke of Zhou died Confucius appeared. It has now been five hundred years since the death of Confucius. There must be someone who can succeed to the enlightened ages of the past, who can set right the transmission of the *Book of Changes*, continue the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and search into the world of the *Odes* and *Documents*, the *Rites*, and the *Music*.”⁵⁹⁷ 自周公卒五百歲而有孔子。孔子卒後至於今五百歲，有能紹明世，正易傳，繼春秋，本詩書禮樂之際？ On this, Sima Qian remarks: “Was this not his intention? Was this not his intention? How can I, his son, dare turn away from it?” 意在斯乎，意在斯乎。小子何敢讓焉？

Xiao Yi readily attaches himself to the theory that in the course of every five hundred years a true sage will arise, and thereby freely declares himself the intellectual heir apparent of Sima Qian in the five-hundred-year cycle.

“Li yan” A.13

⁵⁹⁷ The theory that in the course of every five hundred years a true sage will arise and bring peace and prosperity originates in the *Mengzi*. See *Mengzi zhushu*, 14B.116. The *Mengzi* passage traces the line from the legendary rulers Yao, Shun, and Yu to Tang, founder of the Shang, to King Wen, founder of the Zhou, and finally to Confucius. Sima Tan proposes a slightly different line of sages where Confucius was preceded by the Duke of Zhou, and he and his son are deemed the heirs of Confucius, the candidates for sage-hood during this five hundred-year span. See Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch’ien Grand Historian of China*, 87.

Five hundred years after the death of the Duke of Zhou along came Confucius; five hundred years after the death of Confucius along came the Grand Scribe. This cyclical appearance of sages every five hundred years, how would I dare turn away from it?”

周公沒五百年有孔子，孔子沒五百年有太史公。五百年運，余何敢讓焉？

The prospect of being a second-coming sage gives Xiao Yi a larger-than-life intellectual responsibility, conferring a sense of mission on his composition, and finally enabling him to link himself with the sages themselves and his work with theirs. But at the same time, Xiao Yi refuses to be profiled in accordance with the presupposed masters’ sensibility and reserves the right to configure his own intellectual orientation. He writes:

Nevertheless, if the water is too clear, no fish will gather there; if a man is too perceptive, he will have no companions.⁵⁹⁸ This saying is exactly on the mark. It is fittingly put as “[He who] is not constrained is seen as if he is wise; he who remonstrates forthrightly is seen as if he is upright; he who converses with witty repartee is seen as if he is winning; he who sullies his deeds is seen as if he is hermit-like.”⁵⁹⁹

但水至清則無魚，人至察則無徒，斯言至矣。正當不窮似智，正諫似直，應諧似優，穢德似隱。

I used to say to others that, “Zhuge [Liang] Marquis of Wu and Huan [Wen] Xuanwu, both aided and assisted the imperial household, exerting their authority far away from the central domain. This is what, I, this lowly man, aspire to emulate. Dong Zhongshu and Liu [Xiang] Zizheng were thoroughly versed in the “Hong fan” and comprehended the subtlety of the “Gongyang [commentary]. This is what, I, this

⁵⁹⁸ This line is excerpted from Dongfang Shuo’s 東方朔 (fl. 140–130 BCE) “Da ke nan” 答客難 in *Han shu*, 65.2866. Trans. Watson, *Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China*, 99. The line also appears in *Da Dai lijì*. See Wang Pinzhen, *Da Dai Liji jiegou*, 8.141.

⁵⁹⁹ See *Han shu*, 65.2873–74: “Nevertheless, the fact that Dongfang Shuo’s fame exceeds his substance can be seen in that though he was witty and expansive to the extent that he did not confine himself in one kind of behavior. He converses with witty repartee as if he is winning. Not being constrained is seen as if he is wise. He remonstrated forthrightly as if he is upright. He sullies his deeds is seen as if he is hermit-like” 然朔名過實者，以其詼達多端，不名一行，應諧似優，不窮似智，正諫似直，穢德似隱。 Trans. Watson, *Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China*, 105–06.

lowly man, hope to achieve. Rong Qiqi strummed the stone-chime, indulged himself in drinking and extemporized tunes as he walked alone. This constitutes the utmost pleasure, which is what, I, this lowly man, appreciate.

嘗謂人曰：“諸葛武侯桓宣武並翼贊王室，宣威遐外，此鄙夫之所以慕也。董仲舒劉子政深精洪範，妙達公羊，鄙夫之所以希也。榮啟期擊磬縱酒行歌，斯為至樂，鄙夫之所以重也。”

Why? Allow me to expatiate on this. Perhaps there is some truth in saying that the worthiness of the Marquis of Wu and the intellect of Xuanwu were bestowed from heaven. All the same, had they encountered cultivated and enlightened sovereigns, or come upon principled and sagacious lords, they would be worthy of steadying, my, this lowly man's, carriage wheels.⁶⁰⁰ How could they expect to wear blue-green and purple ribbon-cords [become government officials]? Dongfang [Shuo]'s analogy of “rat and tiger” truly captures the essence of it.⁶⁰¹ As for [Dong] Zhongshu's scholarly expertise, [Liu Xiang] Zizheng's exploration of the recondite, the former was prized as the harbinger of the Yuanguang period (134–129 BCE), the latter regarded as overshadowing the entire period of Jianshi (32–28 BCE). The former stayed up all night and forsook sleeping;⁶⁰² the latter lowered his curtain [and studied] all day long.⁶⁰³ If one does not have expertise in learning, how can he become intellectually competent?

何者？請試論之：夫以武侯之賢，宣武之智，自天祐之，蓋有以然也。假使逢文明之后，值則哲之君，不足為鄙夫扶輅，豈青紫之可望邪？東方鼠虎之論，斯得之矣。及仲舒之學術，子政之探微，見重元光之初聲，高建始之末。通宵忘寐，終日下帷，不有學術，何以成器？

The rushing torrent from the stream splits stones, how could one afford not to exert himself? A fleeting beam of light does not linger; a coursing river flows by swiftly. A piece of fine jade does not amount to anything valuable; an inch of shade is something to be cherished. The ways of cultural refinement and martial prowess should be on a par with each other. [I think of] [Rong] Qiqi strumming the stone-

⁶⁰⁰ Cf. Yang Xiong 揚雄, “Yulie fu” 羽獵賦, *Wen xuan* 8.390: “Huan of Qi would be unworthy to steady His wheels” 齊桓曾不足使扶輅. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 119.

⁶⁰¹ See Dongfang Shuo 東方朔, “Da ke nan” 答客難, *Wen xuan*, 45.2002 and *Han shu*, 65.2865: “If he makes use of them they get to be tigers, and if he doesn't they remain mice” 用之則為虎，不用則為鼠. Trans. Dominik DeClercq, *Writing against the State: Political Rhetorics in the Third and Fourth Century China* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998), 27.

⁶⁰² See *Han shu*, 36.1963.

⁶⁰³ See *Shi ji*, 121.3127.

chime, yet what kind of person was he?⁶⁰⁴ I would dwell in peace in the poems of [Liang] Boluan,⁶⁰⁵ and go along with the songs of [Dong] Weinian.⁶⁰⁶ At one moment I deem myself the “horse,” at the next the “ox.”⁶⁰⁷ Zhuang Zhou has already taken his leave, and [Ruan] Sizong is long gone.⁶⁰⁸ As far as I know(?), in this realm of time and space, is there another person like them!

川溜決石, 可不勉乎? 馳光不留, 逝川倏忽. 尺璧非寶, 寸陰可惜. 文武二途, 並得儔匹. 啟期擊磬, 彼獨何人? 甯止伯鸞之詩, 將同威輦之詠. 一以我為馬, 一以我為牛, 莊周往矣, 嗣宗長逝. 吾知宇宙之內, 更有人哉.

In this passage, Xiao Yi traces the origin and course of his own intellectual outlook and ideology. He expresses his admiration for the formidable military generals Zhuge Liang and Huan Wen and for esteemed Ruist scholars such as Dong Zhongshu and Liu Xiang. He also entertains the fantasy to become an unrestrained, free-spirited recluse. He eventually resorts to set his heart to become a learned scholar, seeking to be understood.

⁶⁰⁴ Rong Qiqi 榮啟期 is known as one of the “highly-minded recluses” (*gaoshi* 高士), who is mentioned in various Han and post-Han texts, such as *Shuo yuan*, *Liezi*, and *Huainanzi*. See Rong Qiqi’s biographical account in the *Gaoshi zhuan* 高士傳, *Sibu beiyao*, A.8a. For a discussion of Rong Qiqi see Audrey G. Spiro, *Contemplating the Ancients: Aesthetic and Social Issues in Early Chinese Portraiture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 83–84.

⁶⁰⁵ Liang Hong 梁鴻 (ca. 15–ca. 80), *zi* Boluan 伯鸞, was a learned scholar of the Confucius classics in the Eastern Han. He later withdrew to the hills south of Chang’an and lived as a recluse. In 80, when he passed the capital Luoyang, Liang Hong composed the song “Wu yi ge” 五噫歌 (Song of the five sighs) to criticize the extravagance of the court. According to Liang Hong’s biography in the *Hou Han shu* he had written more than ten literary pieces. See *Hou Han shu*, 83.2765–68. For a detailed discussion of Liang Hong see Alan J. Berkowitz, *Patterns of Disengagement: The Practice and Portrayal of Reclusion in Early Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 106–12.

⁶⁰⁶ Dong Jing 董京, *zi* Weinian 威輦, is mentioned in Wang Yin’s *Jin shu* 晉書 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 502.4a. Only one short poem attributed to him is extant.

⁶⁰⁷ This line alludes to the sage-ruler in the remote antiquity described in the *Zhuangzi*: “[He] slept sound and woke up fresh: at one moment he deemed himself the logician’s ‘horse’, at the next his ‘ox’” 其臥徐徐, 其覺于于. 一以己為馬, 一以己為牛. See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 3B.287. Trans. Graham, *Chuang-tzŭ, the Inner Chapters*, 94.

⁶⁰⁸ Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–263), *zi* Sizong 嗣宗, had a profound interest in Taoism. He wrote several essays that espouse Taoist ideas, including his famous “Da Zhuang lun” 達莊論 (Disquisition on understanding Zhuangzi). See *Jin shu*, 49.1359–62. See Donald Holzman, *Poetry and Politics: The Life and Works of Juan Chi AD 210–263* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

In seeking to be thoroughly understood, Sima Qian stages a dialogue between himself and an interlocutor Hu Sui 壺遂 to reveal his innermost cares and deep-felt aspirations.

Similarly, Xiao Yi brings in Pei Ziye 裴子野 as his interlocutor, whose persistent inquiry will lead to a revelation of the force and intention that drove Xiao Yi to compile this work. Pei Ziye sets out to reiterate the familiar trope, first noted by Sima Qian in the “Self-account,” that compiling a written work is the ultimate catharsis for venting personal suffering and frustration.⁶⁰⁹

“Li yan” A.15

When the Earl of the West [King Wen of Zhou] was imprisoned, he explicated the *Yi*. When Zhongni [Confucius] encountered adversity, he composed the *Chunqiu*. When Sunzi encountered Pang Juan, when Han Fei met the sovereign of Qin, when Yu Qing was destitute and in straitened circumstances, when [Lü] Buwei was exiled to Shu, Shiyong hastened on his way, and [Bo] Yi and [Shu] Qi lived in reclusion, and they all had discontent in their hearts, and they then composed written works.

西伯拘而闡易; 仲尼厄而作春秋. 孫子之遇龐涓; 韓非之值秦后. 虞卿窮愁, 不韋遷蜀. 士羸疾行, 夷齊潛隱. 皆心有不悅, 爾乃著書.

He then inquires about Xiao Yi’s motivation behind his assiduous effort to compile works, given that the aforementioned premise clearly does not apply to his case.

You, my master, enjoy the privilege of ruling a thousand-chariot state; the screen for the procession of your entourage extends for a myriad leagues; your fiefdom is like that where [Ji] Dan, the Duke of Zhou, was enfeoffed; your reputation is on a par with that of [Ji] Shi of Yan; the prestige that you enjoy is comparable with that of the four noblemen; the authority that you assume measures up to that of the “Five Lords.”⁶¹⁰ Retainers wearing tortoiseshell hairpins follow one after another in tight rows; guests bearing pearl-studded swords line up like fish scales. When you lower

⁶⁰⁹ See *Shi ji*, 130.3300.

⁶¹⁰ The “Five Lords” here presumably refer to the five hegemonies of the Spring and Autumn period, which are Duke Huan of Qi, Duke Wen of Jin, Duke Xiang of Song, Duke Zhuang of Chu, and Duke Mu of Qin respectively.

your curtain and compose written works, what is the meaning of it? The status that you assume and the activities in which you are engaged are at odds with each other; surely there is no reason to feel discontent or frustrated.

夫子實尊千乘, 寧帷萬里. 地得周旦, 聲齊燕爽. 豪匹四君, 威同五伯. 玳簪之客, 雁行接踵. 珠劍之賓, 肩隨鱗次. 下帷著書, 其義何也? 殊為抵牾, 良用於邑.

Xiao Yi replies, first by acknowledging that, as a member of the imperial family, he too, harbors unfulfilled aspirations. In a self-reflective pose, Xiao Yi confesses rather candidly that it was his disposition to pass judgment on things that impels him to devote his time to this compilation. He says:

I, among the all under heaven, am not particularly of menial status. The reason that “In washing my hair once, I must hold it up thrice; in eating one meal I twice spit out food unchewed,”⁶¹¹ is exactly because my name and reputation are yet to be established. I once yearned to exhibit my military prowess in Hanhai,⁶¹² cutting through the curtain of sandy-dust in Juyan,⁶¹³ die ten thousand deaths without hesitation. I would be determined to inspire awe throughout various Xia regions and then cross Liaocheng and look afar, marching to the Yang Pass and enter in triumph.⁶¹⁴ I swear to be absolutely loyal and strive my hardest, in order to render service to my state. This is what my dearest wish entails. My second wish is for a flask of undiluted wine and to play a song on my *qin*-zither. Even if I have unfilled ambitions, what could one do about fate? Cutting loose from the doctrine of “names and punishments,” lessening and releasing my cares are things that I have yet to be able to accomplish. This is simply because my innate nature is vicissitudinous. I am constantly inclined to weigh and evaluate things. This is the very reason that I undertook this “grand exploit,” taking no regard of heat at the height of summer, nor fearing the cold in severe winter.

⁶¹¹ This line is primarily associated with the Duke of Zhou. *Shi ji*, 33.1518. See also Xu Weiyu, *Han shi waizhuan jishi*, 3.117. Trans. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 114. See also Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 10.240.

⁶¹² Hanhai 瀚海 (alt. 翰海), first mentioned in the *Shi ji*, 111.2936, probably refers to Lake Baikal. Later it is used to refer to large water bodies in the northern frontier in general.

⁶¹³ Juyan 居延 is located northwest of modern E'jina 額濟納 *qi*, Inner Mongolia. See Shi Weile 史為樂, Deng Zixin 鄧自欣, and Zhu Lingling 朱玲玲, *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian* 中國歷史地名大辭典 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005), 1719.

⁶¹⁴ This line probably alludes to the story that tells of Lu Zhonglian 魯仲連, on behalf of Qi, persuading a Yan general who had occupied Liaocheng (twenty-two *li* northwest of modern Liaocheng *shi*, Shandong) for an extended period of time to surrender it to the Qi army. See *Shi ji*, 83.2456–69.

吾於天下亦不賤也, 所以一沐三握髮, 一食再吐哺, 何者? 正以名節未樹也. 吾嘗欲棲威瀚海, 絕幕居延, 出萬死而不顧, 必令威振諸夏. 然後度聊城而長望, 向陽關而凱入. 盡忠盡力, 以報國家, 此吾之上願焉. 次則清酒一壺, 彈琴一曲, 有志不遂, 命也如何? 脫略刑名, 蕭散懷抱, 而未能為也. 但性過抑揚, 恆欲權衡稱物, 所以隆暑不辭熱, 凝冬不憚寒, 著鴻烈者, 蓋為此也.

Pei Ziye formulates another question designed to elicit further clarification of Xiao Yi's authorial intention. He asks:

Why did not you, my master, seek those with command of knowledge to compose this work in a collaborative effort. Why did you so assiduously toil over this?

子何不詢之有識, 共著此書, 曷為區區自勤如此?

To which, Xiao Yi replies:

In any particular case, to those who wrap themselves with felt and cover themselves with hide, it is difficult to convey the intricate and delicate qualities of refined silk floss; with those who consume a stew of goosefoot and partake of dried grain, it is not worthwhile to discuss the succulence of “Tailao” sacrificial animals [beef, lamb, and pork].⁶¹⁵ How could retainers possibly comprehend a master's undertaking and his areas of expertise? This perhaps would amount to striking a bell with a stem of grass, or using a calabash shell to measure the ocean. I once resented the king of Huainan's and [Lü] Buwei's compositions, referring them as the products of their respective retainers and acquaintances. [For the same reason], every time I set out to compose, I do not allow retainers to steal a glance at my work.

夫荷旃被毳者, 難與道純綿之緻密; 羹藜含糗者, 不足論太牢之滋味. 故服絺綌之涼者, 不苦盛暑之鬱煩; 襲貂狐之煖者, 不知至寒之淒愴. 子之術業, 豈賓客之能闢. 斯蓋以莛撞鐘, 以蠡測海也. 予嘗切齒淮南不韋之書, 謂為賓遊所製, 每至著述之間, 不令賓客闕之也.

Xiao Yi's reply stakes out his authorial control over his compilation. This exercising of authorial control is attested in his keen intellectual undertaking and his disapproval of allowing

⁶¹⁵ *Han shu*, 64B.2822; *Wen xuan*, 47.2089.

his retainers to become involved in what he deems an essentially individual endeavor. The same point is made in his preface to the *Jinlouzi*, where he says:

I used to laugh at the [King of] Huainan's soliciting help [to compile his book].⁶¹⁶

Every now and then, I sneer at [Lü] Buwei's entrusting his compilation to others.⁶¹⁷

Because of this, when I was "at the age of setting my heart on learning," I took it upon myself to search and compile, and put together this "discourse of my own self."

常笑淮南之假手，每蚩不韋之託人。由年在志學，躬自搜纂，以為一家之言。

The phrase "to establish a discourse of one's self" echoes Sima Qian's memorable proclamation, where he says, with this work, he seeks to "accomplish the tradition of one household, to supplement the various interpretations of the Six Classics and to put into order the miscellaneous sayings of the Hundred Schools" 成一家之言，厥協六經異傳，整齊百家雜語。⁶¹⁸ This statement of mission, to accomplish a discourse of one's own and to restore order in the literary tradition of his time, seems also applicable to the compilation of the *Jinlouzi*.

Along with other latter-day masters, Xiao Yi, too, found himself facing the changing textual climate of the early medieval period. The appeal of master's texts gradually eroded and masters' intellectual contributions were soon outsourced to a variety of new compositional

⁶¹⁶ Liu An 劉安 (?179–122 BCE), King of Huainan, recruited to his capital at Shouchun 壽春 (modern Shou 壽 *xian*, Anhui) a large group of literati guests, some of whom helped him compile the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Master Huainan).

⁶¹⁷ Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (d. 235 BCE) requested each of his retainers that he recruited to write down what they knew. Their writings were subsequently edited into a compilation titled *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Annals of Master Lü).

⁶¹⁸ See *Shi ji*, 130.3319–20.

formats. As such, masters texts as a compositional form that had been sliding into obliteration. But in Xiao Yi's words, we see the tenacity of a later-day master relentlessly seeking to align his work with the great *zishu* tradition, and to place himself among the prominent masters in the past, and ultimately, to bring order and principles to the literary tradition of his time.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we trace Xiao Yi's journey from an apprentice master to a master with early medieval sensibilities in the "Li yan" and "Za ji" chapters of the *Jinlouzi*. Xiao Yi's entrusting his cause of struggling with human transience and mortality to compositional form that had been gradually marginalized in the textual landscape bears the hallmark of a latter-day master.

In the preface, Xiao Yi expresses his wish of being identified by and remembered for, before anything else, his master's compilation bearing his self-chosen style name "the Master of Golden Tower."

The one who once engaged himself with matters of ritual and sacrifice now has become a person wearing a helmet and armor.⁶¹⁹ When one's knowledge is limited, yet whose schemes are grand, wherein lies his merit and renown? May they reside in the composition that bears the title "Master of Golden Tower."

昔為俎豆之人，今成介冑之士。智小謀大，功名其安在哉？蓋以金樓子為文也。

Xiao Yi's restless aspiration that drove him to complete this work originally arose from a

⁶¹⁹ This line probably alludes to the brutal war Xiao Yi engaged against Hou Jing 侯景 (549–552) who first offered allegiance to and then rebelled against Liang.

desire to be known to be understood, but it transformed into a grand sense of mission, namely to take control of his intellectual legacy, to claim his place among the constellation of masters of the past, and more generally, to contribute to the wellbeing of the intellectual realm and to rectify the mores of contemporary society.

Although the master who emerges from this compilation appears somewhat brash, narcissistic, judgmental, and at times fraught with insecurity and other personality flaws (which he freely acknowledges in his book), his aspiration to bring about a restoration of literary culture by establishing a competent, authoritative, and meritorious model of the master for latter days, is unmistakable. In the final analysis, this master's compilation, on the one hand, fulfills the master's need for self-expression and self-representation, and on the other hand, attests to his intellectual identity and his life-long ambition, to become a second-coming sage master of his time.

Conclusion

The *Jinlouzi* is multifaceted. It is both personal and performative “In the name of the father” (Chapter 1) and “In the name of the son” (Chapter 2). It is the product of “The best of times and the worst of times” (Chapter 3) in equal measure and an outgrowth of “The age of wisdom and the age of foolishness” (Chapter 4). It was during a time when Xiao Yi, fueled by political ambition and personal aspirations, looked into the path to “Becoming a master” (Chapters 5 and 6) by virtue of the *Jinlouzi*. Xiao Yi proceeded on the course of the “master” tradition; at the same time, he blazed a trail of his own in a quest for “masterhood.”

As a conclusion, we ask, what kind of master is the “Master of the Golden Tower”?

This is a master who wanted it all, a master who engaged in multifarious activities and assumed different roles with equal eagerness and enthusiasm. Throughout the *Jinlouzi*, Xiao Yi freely and readily took different historical figures as mentors, heroes, exemplars, and sources of inspiration.

Zhuge [Liang] Marquis of Wu and Huan [Wen] Xuanwu, both aided and assisted the imperial household, exerting their authority far away from the central domain. This is what, I, this lowly man, aspire to emulate. Dong Zhongshu and Liu [Xiang] Zizheng were thoroughly versed in the “Hong fan” and comprehended the subtlety of the “Gongyang [commentary]. This is what, I, this lowly man, hope to achieve. Rong Qiqi strummed the stone-chime, indulged himself in drinking, and extemporized tunes as he walked alone. This constitutes the utmost pleasure, which is what, I, this lowly man, appreciate.

諸葛武侯桓宣武並翼贊王室，宣威遐外，此鄙夫之所以慕也。董仲舒劉子政深精洪範，妙達公羊，鄙夫之所以希也。榮啟期擊磬縱酒行歌，斯為至樂，鄙夫之所以重也。⁶²⁰

Xiao Yi was inspired to be a minister who exercised critical influence over the political domain, a scholar known for his scholarly accomplishments, and as well, a recluse who enjoyed the freedom to live life to its fullest. He embraced each of the three roles with complete sincerity and commitment, sometimes even when others did not concur with his proclivities.

[Xiao Yi] formed cordial personal associations with Pei Ziye, Liu Xian, Xiao Ziyun, Zhang Zuan, and other outstanding talents of the time. He often compared himself to Zhuge Liang and Huan Wen, with which only [Zhang] Zuan concurred.⁶²¹

與裴子野、劉顯、蕭子雲、張纘及當時才秀為布衣交。常自比諸葛亮、桓溫，惟纘許焉。

This passage from the *Nan shi*, originally meant to indicate that Zhang Zuan was an especially close confidant of Xiao Yi, indicates Xiao Yi's assertiveness to bear comparison with Zhuge Liang and Huan Wen. It cannot be a mere coincidence that, according to Zhuge Liang's biography in the *Sanguo zhi*, when Zhuge Liang lived in Jingzhou as a recluse, he often compared his own abilities to those of the sage minister Guan Zhong and the general Yue Yi. Two of Zhuge Liang's close friends agreed with him.⁶²²

Beyond their celebrated administrative and military abilities, both Zhuge Liang and Huan Wen had close connections with Jingzhou. This might be another reason why Xiao Yi identified

⁶²⁰ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 4.611–12.

⁶²¹ See *Nan shi*, 8.243.

⁶²² See *Sanguo zhi*, 35.911. In the preface to the *Jinlouzi*, Xiao Yi also expresses his admiration for Zhuge Liang's hero, Guan Zhong, as well as Gubei Liang himself. See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 5.

with them. Zhuge Liang took refuge with Liu Biao in Jingzhou in 195.⁶²³ When Liu Bei first called upon Zhuge Liang, Zhuge Liang pointed out the strategic importance of Jingzhou and advised Liu to take Jingzhou and Yizhou as his power base.⁶²⁴

Huan Wen was appointed regional inspector of Jingzhou and area commissioner with special powers in 345.⁶²⁵ It was from this stronghold that Huan Wen launched a military expedition again Li Shi (r. 343–347) in the Shu area in 346 and the first two of three northern expeditions against the Former Qin in 354 and 356. Xiao Yi held his predecessor inspector of Jingzhou in high regard, writing:

While Huan [Wen] Yuanzi governed Jingzhou, he was ashamed to employ harsh punishments to intimidate his subjects. When he sent a clerk to be flogged, “the rod cleared away the cloud roots above and brushed away the feet of the ground below.” To what extent do I measure up to this?

桓元子在荊州，恥以威刑為政。與令史杖，上梢雲根，下拂地足。余比庶幾焉。⁶²⁶

While seeking to compare himself to a variety of renowned figures, Xiao Yi was also keenly aware of his weaknesses and flaws. His sober self-evaluation, “I am more militarily resourceful than literati scholars, yet am shamed before military men “我韜于文士，愧于武夫” is a good indication that he was not a self-deceiving madman as some people claim.

In the *Jinlouzi*, Xiao Yi freely admits that he is “narrow-minded and short-tempered by nature” 性乃隘急 and that he was self-assured, pompous, and readily passed judgment on others

⁶²³ See *Sanguo zhi*, 35.911.

⁶²⁴ See *Sanguo zhi*, 35.912–13; de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary*, 1172.

⁶²⁵ See *Jin shu*, 98.2569.

⁶²⁶ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 4.729. This story with fuller context is cited in the *Shishuo xinyu*. See Xu Zhen’e, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 101. Trans. Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yu*, 94.

in his youthful days.⁶²⁷ Xiao Yi made no secret of his failing health and his physical impairment.⁶²⁸ He not only wrote about things that he is good at and that played significant roles in his life but also things that he just could not begin to get a general sense of.⁶²⁹ At times in the *Jinlouzi*, Xiao Yi appears unrelenting and unforgiving. For example, he speaks ill of his estranged brother Xiao Xu, who had already died by the time Xiao Yi wrote the entry.⁶³⁰ Nor does he hesitate to cast aspersions on his former aid, Xiao Bi, whom he executed out of personal animus in 552.⁶³¹ The way in which he puts his personality faults, intellectual shortcomings, and other imperfections out for the world, sheds a light of authenticity and humanness on a fundamentally flawed master figure in the *Jinlouzi*.

This master who owns up to all his flaws, while still not at all bashful to compare himself to historical figurines, is a master who unapologetically stands by his own intellectual authority. Xiao Yi's willingness to be identified with a whole array of figures and schools of thought attests to his reluctance to be identified with any specific figure or particular school of thought. Following no set pattern, Xiao Yi avails himself of all the intellectual resources he had at his disposal.

I make use of Sun [Wu] and Wu [Qi] as my encampment and fortification and wear the [Duke of] Zhou and Confucius as my sacrificial cap and sash. I take Master Lao and Master Zhuang to engage in convivial banquets. I consume the "Expedient and Substantial" as my sustenance and provender.⁶³² I deem cheloniomancy and milfoil sortilege to be the enlightened numen. I regard the ordering of government as my hands and feet.

⁶²⁷ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.348.

⁶²⁸ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 2.308; 6.1141–42; 6.1146.

⁶²⁹ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 6.1138–41.

⁶³⁰ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 6.1075–76.

⁶³¹ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 4.677.

⁶³² "Expedient and Substantial" 權實 refers to the Theravada and Mahayana schools of Buddhism respectively.

余以孫吳為營壘，以周孔為冠帶，以老莊為歡宴，以權實為稻糧，以卜筮為神明，以政治為手足。

Xiao Yi's eclectic method and outlook is an indication not of inferior talent, but on the contrary, of his confidence in his own uniqueness and his intellectual originality. He believed that the master of the Golden Tower as embodied in the *Jinlouz* is in a class by himself; he is not necessarily superior to his predecessors, but he is certainly not inferior to them. In his own words: “He who has an overall command of it is enlightened” 總之者明也。

It is with this assertiveness and a sense of defiance that Xiao Yi declines to be categorized according to preexisting norms. He evokes a line from the *Zhuangzi*, “At one moment I deem myself the ‘horse,’ at the next the ‘ox’” 一以我為馬，一以我為牛。⁶³³ Xiao Yi makes clear that his individuality and intellectual uniqueness resist any preconceived definition and are to be celebrated:

Zhuang Zhou has already taken his leave, and [Ruan] Sizong is long gone.⁶³⁴ As far as I know, in this realm of time and space, is there another person like me?

莊周往矣，嗣宗長逝。吾知宇宙之內，更有人哉。

Coda

⁶³³ This line alludes to the sage-ruler in the remote antiquity described in the *Zhuangzi*: “[He] slept sound and woke up fresh: at one moment he deemed himself the logician’s ‘horse’, at the next his ‘ox’” 其臥徐徐，其覺于于。一以己為馬，一以己為牛。 See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 3B.287. Trans. Graham, *Chuang-tzŭ, the Inner Chapters*, 94.

⁶³⁴ Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–263), *zi* Sizong 嗣宗, had a profound interest in Taoism. He wrote several essays that espouse Taoist ideas, including his famous “Da Zhuang lun” 達莊論 (Disquisition on understanding Zhuangzi). See *Jin shu*, 49.1359–62. See Holzman, *Poetry and Politics: The Life and Works of Juan Chi AD 210–263*

Before he was murdered on January 27, 555, Xiao Yi composed four poems in captivity in anticipation of his imminent death.⁶³⁵ The third poem of the set reads:

The breeze through the pines turned mournful with the approaching dawn,
The frosty haze arrived that very night.
After a thousand years in the silent stillness,
Who would [still] hold the Xuanyuan Terrace in awe?⁶³⁶

松風侵曉哀，霜霧當夜來。
寂寥千載後，誰畏軒轅臺。

In the last two lines of the poem, Xiao Yi presents a particularly bleak prospect that his brief existence as an emperor would hardly inspire any awe a thousand years in the future. No one knows whether or not the *Jinlouzi* ever came across his mind when he wrote this poem. But the compilation that bears his self-chosen name has withstood the passage of time.

In the final analysis, to borrow a line from Liu Xie's appraisal of the genre "Zhu zi," this is a master who: "Places himself in his mind among the ancients and conveys his inner thoughts to people who come thousands of years after him" 標心於萬古之上，而送懷於千載之下。⁶³⁷

When Xiao Yi named the compilation after his own narrative name, the master of the Golden Tower, he also left a piece of himself in the compilation. After almost 1,700 years, his unique intellect shines through the entire compilation. As Liu Xie wrote:

⁶³⁵ See *Nan shi*, 8.245.

⁶³⁶ The Xuanyuan Terrace refers to a mythological relic that is mentioned in the *Shanhai jing* 山海經. The terrace, located in the "great wastes" outside the central realm in the west, was associated with the legendary ruler, Huangdi. It is said that archers of the area dared not to shoot arrows westward out of reverence for the Xuanyuan Terrace in the west. See Yuan Ke, *Shanhai jing jiaoyi*, 7.192.

⁶³⁷ Yang Mingzhao, *Wenxin diaolong jiaozhu shiyi*, 4.230. Trans. Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 136.

“Musical instruments of metal and stone may have perished; but must the resonance become extinct too?” 金石靡矣, 聲其銷乎.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁸ Ibid.

Appendices

Appendix 1 “Preface” of the *Jinlouzi*

The master says: “Given that I, within the subcelestial realm, do not exactly hold menial status,⁶³⁹ I have ventured to think that Zang Wenzhong, who though long gone, has established words for the world.⁶⁴⁰ Cao [Pi] Zihuan said: “By establishing his virtue and putting something into writing, one does not decay.”⁶⁴¹ Du [Yu] Yuankai said: “To be deemed virtuous is not something that can be expected to be attained, yet by establishing words one may almost get there.”⁶⁴² Therefore, hanging the knife and brush at the door and window,⁶⁴³ I harbor this aspiration to transmit and compile [books]. I used to laugh at [the King of] Huainan’s soliciting

⁶³⁹ This line is primarily associated with the Duke of Zhou, who reputedly said to his eldest son Boqin: “I am the son of King Wen, the younger brother of King Wu, and the uncle of King Cheng. Within the subcelestial realm, I also do not exactly hold menial status. To rise up to receive visiting scholars, in washing my hair once, I must hold it up thrice; in eating one meal I twice spit out food unchewed. Still, I fear to lose [an interview with] one the worthy men” 我文王之子，武王之弟，成王之叔父，我於天下亦不賤矣。然我一沐三捉發，一飯三吐哺，起以待士，猶恐失天下之賢人。 See *Shi ji*, 33.1518.

⁶⁴⁰ Zangsun Chen 臧孫辰 (d. 617 BCE), zi Wenzhong, a high official of Lu, was held as the example of “establishing immortality through words” in the *Zuo zhuan* (Xianggong 24). See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 35.24a. Trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition*, 1125.

⁶⁴¹ This is a paraphrase of a line in Cao Pi’s letter to Wang Lang 王朗 (ca. 156–288): “Only when one establishes his virtue and makes his name known does he not decay. The next best thing to do [to achieve this] is to compose pieces and texts” 唯立德揚名，可以不朽；其次莫如著篇籍。 See *Sanguo zhi*, 2.88; note 1.

⁶⁴² See *Jin shu* (by Wang Yin fl. 318–320) cited in Liu Xiaobiao’s commentary to the *Shishuo xinyu*. See Xu Zhen’e, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 163.

⁶⁴³ Putting a writing brush or stylus and carving knife (to erase errors written or engraved on the bamboo strips) on the wall is a common early medieval trope to describe someone who is assiduous in writing. It is first seen in Wang Chong’s biography in the *Hou Han shu*, 49.1629. See Tsien, *Written on Bamboo and Silk*, 194–98.

help [to compile his book].⁶⁴⁴ Every now and then, I sneer at [Lü] Buwei's entrusting his compilation to others.⁶⁴⁵ Because of this, when I was "at the age of setting my heart on learning," I took it upon myself to search and compile,⁶⁴⁶ and put together this "discourse of my own self."⁶⁴⁷

先生曰：余於天下為不賤焉，竊念臧文仲既歿，其言立於世。⁶⁴⁸ 曹子桓云：立德著書，可以不朽。杜元凱言：德者非所企及，立言或可庶幾。故戶牖懸刀筆而有述作之志矣。常笑淮南之假手，每蚩不韋之託人。由年在志學，躬自搜纂，以為一家之言。

Verily, with mediocre and ordinary talent, I was bestowed "soil in cogon grass" to found my own state [viz. to be enfeoffed as a prince] early in my life.⁶⁴⁹ Enfeoffed at the drainage area of the

⁶⁴⁴ Liu An 劉安 (?179–122 BCE), King of Huainan, recruited to his capital at Shouchun 壽春 (modern Shou 壽 *xian*, Anhui) a large group of literati guests, some of whom helped him compile the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Master Huainan). On the authorship of the *Huanhaizi*, refer to Harold D. Roth, *The Textual History of the Huai-nan tzu* (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 1992), 18–23.

⁶⁴⁵ Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (d. 235 BCE) requested each of his retainers that he recruited to write down what they knew. Their writings were subsequently edited into a compilation titled *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Annals of Master Lü). On Lü Buwei's role in compiling of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, refer to Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 27–46. Also see John Marshall Louton, "The *Lüshi Chunqiu*: An Ancient Chinese Political Cosmology." Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1981.

⁶⁴⁶ See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 3.70: "The Master said, "At fifteen I set my heart on learning" 子曰吾十有五而志于學. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 63.

⁶⁴⁷ Sima Qian first used this phrase "discourse of one household" *yijia zhi yan* 一家之言 to refer to his completion of the *Shi ji*. See *Shi ji*, 130.3319–20.

⁶⁴⁸ The Zhibuzu zhai edition has "*qi liyan yushi*" 其立言於世. Here I follow the *Siku* edition.

⁶⁴⁹ In 514 at the age of seven, Xiao Yi was enfeoffed as Prince of Xiangdong 湘東. The bestowal of a lump of earth wrapped with cogon grass symbolizes the emperor's granting of the fief and the mound on which the altar to the local gods of grain and soil stood. See *Shang shu zhengyi*, 6.36.

Xiao and Xiang Rivers, I assumed the post in Jingzhou with the curtains of my chariot raised.⁶⁵⁰

In my early years I served in an acting capacity in the metropolitan capital as a regent, then later in my life I became a minister residing outside of the capital.⁶⁵¹ With official documents and letters piled up in front of me, the screen of my studio has never been removed. I work late at night as if it were during the daytime. I dare say my diligence reached this extent.

粵以凡庸, 早賜茅社. 祚土瀟湘, 褰帷陝服. 早攝神州, 晚居外相. 文案盈前, 書幌未輟. 俾夜作晝, 勤亦至矣.

In the meantime, I have frequently been engaged in the words of *xuan*, and I have often mounted

⁶⁵⁰ Shanfu 陝服 (literally the Shan submission zone) refers to the Jingzhou area. In the Six Dynasties, the strategic position of Jingzhou 荊州 was often compared to that of Shanzhou 陝州, according to which the Zhou royal domain was divided into east and west parts under a dual-nucleus administration system. See *Nan Qi shu*, 15.274. Xiao Yi served as regional inspector of Jingzhou 荊州 (administrative headquarters in Jiangling 江陵, modern Jingzhou, Hubei) from 526–539 and 547–555. The term *qianwei* 褰帷, literally “to lift up the curtains [of a chariot],” alludes to an anecdote about Jia Cong 賈琮 (fl. 184). According to the biography of Jia Cong in the *Hou Han shu*, when Jia Cong arrived in Jizhou 冀州 to serve as the regional inspector, he had the curtains of his chariot unfurled, saying, “being a regional inspector one ought to extend his vision and broaden his hearing, to supervise and examine good and bad, how could one lower the screen curtains and shut himself out instead? 刺史當遠視廣聽, 糾察美惡, 何反垂帷裳以自掩塞乎. See *Hou Han shu*, 80.1112.

⁶⁵¹ The first line refers to the time when Xiao Yi served as governor of the metropolitan district of Danyang from 522–526. He was put in charge of military affairs at the Shitou 石頭 fortress near the capital (524–526). Yu Jiaxi takes the “minister residing outside of the capital” as a specific reference to his appointment in 549, which made him palace attendant commissioned with a “battleaxe” warrant [to represent the emperor], commend-in-chief, minister of education, and recipient of edit [with the authority to act at his will as circumstances may require]. See *Liang shu*, 5.113. See Yu Jiaxi, *Muluxue fawei*, 3.88.

the lecture halls.⁶⁵² I set forth the fine pattern of the jade lifter, which lies outside the realm [of Buddhist doctrine]; I promote the paradigm that is woven by layers of golden threads within the realm.⁶⁵³ I let myself follow the path of the one who brought about the marketplace of Huayin⁶⁵⁴ and forsake the course of the one who wrote the “Forthright words.”⁶⁵⁵ This is the first type of affairs that I am engaged in. The affairs involving the “Six Tribes” are numerous; the governance of the “domain of a thousand chariots” is tangled and entangling. Overlooking the moat in the evening, I examine its posture of the “crescent moon;”⁶⁵⁶ gazing at the auspicious vapor in the

⁶⁵² Here *xuan yan* (words of *xuan*) refers to three texts that were of great importance to the study of the *xuan* 玄學, namely, *Laozi*, *Zhuangzi*, and *Yi jing*. Xiao Yi is credited with the compilation of *Laozi jiangshu* 老子講疏 (Elucidations of the *Laozi*) and *Zhou yi jiangshu* 周易講疏 (Elucidations of the *Zhou yi*). See *Liang shu*, 5.136. As the titles suggest, these two texts are probably Xiao Yi’s lecture notes on the *Laozi* and *Zhou yi*.

⁶⁵³ *Yuxuan zhi wen* 玉鉉之文 mostly likely refers to texts belonging to the Ruist tradition, pertaining to governance, social customs, and morality; *Jintie zhi dian* 金疊之典 refers to Buddhist sutras, which are commonly decorated with layers of golden threads.

⁶⁵⁴ This line alludes to Zhang Kai 張楷, *zi* Gongchao 公超, a renowned scholar of the Eastern Han. According to his biography in the *Hou Han shu*, Zhang Kai maintained a private academy with hundreds of students at the capital. When he later went into the mountains west of Hongnong 弘農 commandery (administrative seat north of modern Lingbo 靈寶 *shi*, Henan) enthusiastic scholars pursued him there, and a market known as Gongchao Market 公超市 developed about the place where he lived. See *Hou Han shu*, 36.1242–43. Also see de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)*, 1060–61.

⁶⁵⁵ This line alludes to Zhongchang Tong 仲長統 (180–220), a later Eastern Han political thinker and writer, who wrote *Chang yan* (Forthright words), a series of essays consisting of 100,000 words. Only portions of the original work are extant. The title *Chang yan* comes from a phrase used in the *Shu jing* to describe advice given to a sage ruler. See *Shang shu zhengyi*, 4.14a; 4.17a; 5.1a. According to Rafe de Crespigny, Zhongchang Tong wrote the *Chang yan* “with a sense of indignation and despair, describing the inevitable cycle of dynastic failure,” See *Hou Han shu*, 49.1643–44; de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)*, 1136.

⁶⁵⁶ The *meiqi* 美氣 originally refers to an auspicious vapor associated with Emperor Guangwu of Han about which a geomancer exclaimed: “How auspicious is this fine vapor, so densely refined and lushly luxuriant” 佳哉美氣，鬱鬱葱葱。See *Hou Han shu*, 1B.86; *Dongguan Han ji*, 1.1a–b.

morning, I survey the existence of that which is not mist.⁶⁵⁷ [This] instead of brush and scraper [writing and compiling], is the second type of affair in which I am engaged. Furthermore, in the Western Park, under the autumn moon, I gather up my kerchief and raise a goblet.⁶⁵⁸ Facing the Eastern Sea, on spring mornings, I display literary elegance piece after piece. Even though there was a moment when I took delight in some of the “inch-length-pieces of brocade” [short literary compositions], for long they have been abandoned in favor of “large pieces of jade” [long and more substantial piece of writing]. This is the third type of affairs that I am engaged in.

其間屢事玄言，亟登講肆。外陳玉鉉之文，內宏金疊之典。從乎華陰之市，廢乎昌言之說，其事一也。六戒[戎]多務，千乘糾紛。夕望湯池，觀仰月之勢；朝瞻美氣，眺非煙之色。替於筆削，其事二也。復有西園秋月，岸幘舉杯；左海春朝，連章離翰。雖有欣乎寸錦，而久棄於尺璧，其事三也。

However, being weak and sickly, I suffer from shattered health; my heart's *qi* constantly fluctuates. Resting in bed all day long to recuperate, “Huaiyang” earned his reputation for his

⁶⁵⁷ This refers to *qing yun* 卿雲 (felicitous clouds), which “resemble mist but are not mist; resemble clouds but are not clouds. They are clustered and dense, thinly attenuated, whorled and warped” 若煙非煙，若雲非雲，郁郁紛紛，蕭索輪囷。See *Shi ji*, 27.1339.

⁶⁵⁸ The Western Park alludes to the “Bronze Bird Park” (Tongque yuan 銅雀園) of the Yecheng, built by Cao Cao. It was located west of the main palace hall, Wenchuang Hall 文昌殿, thus also known as the Western Park. See Joanne Tsao, *The City of Ye in Chinese Literary Landscape* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020), 23. Cf. Cao Zhi’s “Lord’s feast” (Gong yan 公宴), *Wen xuan*, 20.942–43: “In the pristine night we tour West Park, / Our flying canopies follow one another” 清夜遊西園，飛蓋相追隨。Gathering up a kerchief is a gesture of casualness and spontaneity, which was particularly favored among literary elites of the Six Dynasties.

accomplished governance;⁶⁵⁹ without vaulting into the saddle, “Liaocheng” displayed the art of rendering the enemy defenseless.⁶⁶⁰ This is the first undertaking from which I cannot break free. I, for long, have valued “non-acting” and often sneer at those who have something to rely on. When the idle studio feels desolate and deserted, facing springs amid the woods I hold the handle for conversation.⁶⁶¹ When the empty abode feels vast and void, taking pleasure in birds and fish, I toy with clustered yarrow stalks.⁶⁶² My inclination towards tranquility is manifested in these [activities]. However, with the cavalry patrol coming and going in a continuous stream, I still wield the fan of white feathers.⁶⁶³ With the weapons and chariots are yet put in rest, I, up to this point, preside over the “troops of the blue water-buffalo.”⁶⁶⁴ This is another matter from which I cannot break free.

而體多羸病，心氣頻動。臥治終日，睢[淮]陽得善政之聲；足不跨鞍，聊城有卻兵之術。吾不解一也。常貴無為，每嗤有待。閒齋寂寞，對林泉而握談柄。虛宇遼曠，玩魚鳥而拂叢蓍。愛靜之

⁶⁵⁹ “Huaiyang” is metonymy for Ji An 汲黯 (d. 112 BCE), who served as governor of Huaiyang while confined to bed. See *Shi ji*, 120.3110.

⁶⁶⁰ “Liaocheng” is metonymy for Lu Zhonglian 魯仲連 (d. 245 BCE) a Qi strategist who helped the Qi army capture Liaocheng by undermining the morale of the defending Yan troops. See *Shi ji*, 83.2465–69.

⁶⁶¹ This refers to *zhuwei* (麈尾), a chowry or whisk made of the tail of the *zhu*, which was used as a formulaic prop of the practice of *qingtán* 清談 (pure conversation) during the early medieval period, hence the name *tanbing* 談柄 (handle for conversation). Mather renders it as sambar-tail chowry. See Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yu*, 58.

⁶⁶² The yarrow stalk is traditionally used in ancient China as the aid of divination practices, especially the divination practice that is associated with the *Yi jing* tradition. See Bernard E Read, *Chinese Medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu A.D. 1596* (Peking: French Bookstore, 1936. rpt. Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1977), 1.

⁶⁶³ For the cultural associations of the white feather fan, see David R. Knechtges, “Southern Metal and Feather Fan: the ‘Southern Consciousness’ of Lu Ji,” *Southern Identity and Southern Estrangement in Medieval Chinese Poetry*, eds. Wang Ping and Nicholas Morrow Williams (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), 19–41.

⁶⁶⁴ “Troops of the blue water-buffalo” refers to maritime troops.

心, 彰乎此矣. 而候騎交馳, 仍麾白羽之扇. 兵車未息, 還控蒼兕之軍. 此吾不解二也.

Having these three things that cast learning aside and two undertakings that I cannot free myself of, I, nevertheless, compose without surcease. Why is that [you ask]? If I am not “the obscure recluse of the ‘Valley of the fool,’” then I must be “the madman of Gaoyang.”⁶⁶⁵ I have ventured to hold high regard for Guan Yiwu [Zhong]’s refined discourse and Zhuge Kongming [Liang]’s grand disquisition. Their writings are adequate in articulating affairs of the human realm and in demonstrating the art of governance, at which I have ventured to look with admiration. Laozi has this saying which goes, “Those who understand me are few, those who imitate me are dear.”⁶⁶⁶ How true it is, how very true!

有三廢學, 二不解, 而著書不息, 何哉? 若非隱淪之愚谷, 是謂高陽之狂生者也. 竊重管夷吾之雅談, 諸葛孔明之宏論. 足以言人事, 足以陳政術, 竊有慕焉. 老氏有言: “知我者希, 則我者貴矣.” 有是哉, 有是哉!

⁶⁶⁵ The “valley of the fool” alludes to a story recorded in the *Shuo yuan*, where a valley was named after a recluse considered a fool by his neighbor. See Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 7.148. “The mad man of Gaoyang” alludes to Li Yiji 酈食其 (268–204 BCE), who went to request an audience with Liu Bang (256–195 BCE) and later became one of his trusted advisors. See *Shi ji*, 97.2692.

⁶⁶⁶ See Laozi “Those who understand me are few; those who imitate me are honored” 知我者希, 則我者貴矣. See Gao Ming, *Boshu Laozi jiaozhu*, 175. Trans. Lau, *Tao Te Ching*, 103.

Pei Jiyuan [Ziye] (469–530), Liu Sifang [Xian] (480–543), Xiao Guanghou [Li], and Zhang Jianxian [Zuan] (501–552) were the ones who knew me the best.⁶⁶⁷ [Now] facing Boya’s zither, I heave a long sigh for “Green Silk” long cast aside.⁶⁶⁸ As for Juqing’s swift horse, I ask myself where shall I go, riding this white horse?⁶⁶⁹ The one who once engaged himself with matters of ritual and sacrifice now has become a person wearing a helmet and armor. When one’s resources are limited, yet whose schemes are grand, wherein lies his merit and renown? May they reside in the composition that bears the title “Master of Golden Scriptorium.” While his *qi* does not always follow the writing in due course, his writing invariably makes use of *qi*. Although his intellectual capacity is not particularly adequate to be deployed, he sees to it that all is fashioned in accordance with his heart.⁶⁷⁰ The words that he acquires during leisure moments, with no exception, soothe his breast. If the pine tree and rock were able to talk, they would certainly appreciate the charm in them. If the wind and clouds were endowed with profound sensibility, they perhaps also might succeed in seeing and understanding them.

裴幾原，劉嗣芳，蕭光侯，張簡憲，余之知己也。伯牙之琴，嗟綠綺之長廢；巨卿之驥，驅白馬

⁶⁶⁷ Xiao Li 蕭勵，posthumously known as marquis of Guang 光，died before the Hou Jing rebellion, see *Nan shi* 51.1262–63. Zhang Zuan 張纘 (501–552)’s posthumous name Jianxian 簡憲 was given by Xiao Yi after he ascended the throne as emperor in December, 552. See *Liang shu*, 34.503

⁶⁶⁸ This line alludes to Boya 伯牙，who smashed his zither, after his friend Zhong Ziqi 鍾子期，the only one who can appreciate Boya’s zither playing, died. “Green Silk” original was the name of Sima Xiangru’s zither. Here it is metonymy for zither. See Fu Xuan’s 傅玄 “Qin fu xu” 琴賦 敘 cited in *Taiping yulan*, 577.6b–7a.

⁶⁶⁹ This line alludes to the story of Fan Shi 范式, *zi* Juqin 巨卿，who rode a white horse and traveled thousands of miles to attend his friend’s funeral. See *Hou Han shu*, 81.2677.

⁶⁷⁰ Cf. “Cailüe” 才略, *Wenxin diaolong*: “Hsi K’ang’s essays express the mind of a master artist, and Juan Chi’s poetry is permeated with his whole spirit and life” 嵇康師心以遣論，阮籍使氣以命詩。See Yang Mingzhao, *Zengding Wenxin diaolong jiaozhu*, 10.575. Trans. Shih, *Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 255.

其安歸？昔為俎豆之人，今成介冑之士。智小謀大，功名其安在哉？蓋以金樓子為文也。氣不遂文，文常使氣。材不值運，必欲師心。霞閒得語，莫非撫臆。松石能言，必解其趣。風雲玄感，儻獲見知。

Now I have gathered and compiled [matters] from the beginning of heaven and earth, down to what I have encountered with my own ears and eyes. Using the style name of the master, it is titled “Master of the Golden Scriptorium.” I presume this to be [modeled on] Shi’an [Huangfu Mi]’s *Xuanyan [chunqiu]* and Zhichuan [Ge Hong]’s *Baopu [zi]*.⁶⁷¹

今纂開闢已來，至乎耳目所接。即以先生為號，名曰金樓子。蓋士安之元晏，稚川之抱朴者焉。

⁶⁷¹ Huangfu Mi’s self-styled sobriquet is Xuanyan xiansheng 玄晏先生 (Master of Arcane Repose); the *Xuanyan chunqiu* 玄晏春秋, originally in three *juan*, only survives in fragments cited in the *Yiwen leiju* and *Taiping yulan*. It can be inferred from the surviving fragments that the *Xuanyan chunqiu* was a chronicle of Huangfu Mi’s life both as a private scholar and recluse. Ge Hong’s 葛洪 (283–343) *Baopu zi* 抱朴子 (Master Who Embraces Simplicity) is divided into two parts, the “Nei pian” 內篇 (Inner chapters) of twenty-one *juan* and the “Wai pian” 外篇 (Outer chapter) of thirty *juan*. See *Sui shu*, 33.977; 34.1006.

Appendix 2: How was the *Jinlouzi* (six *juan*) reconstructed from the *Yongle dadian*

The current version of the *Jinlouzi* in 6 *juan* was entirely reconstructed from the *Yongle daidan* in the 18th century as part of *Siku quanshu* project at the Qionglong emperor's command. The *Yongle dadian* was a Ming *leishu* (encyclopedic compendium) completed in 1407. The compilation was mammoth, it had 22,937 *juan*, about 370 million characters. By the time the *Siku* project started, 2422 *juan*, about ten percent of the *Yongle dadian* were already missing.⁶⁷²

The *Yongle dadian* entries are single-character words. They are arranged under the characters of the 76 rhymes as found in the *Hongwu zhengyun* 洪武正韻 the most recent rhyme dictionary of that time. A typical entry consists of three parts:

a. Glosses and graphic tokens

This part provides both semantic glosses and sound glosses for the entry word. It usually first cites the *Hongwu zhengyu* entry for the word and then glosses from other rhyme books (*yunshu* 韻書) and character dictionaries (*zishu* 字書). This is followed by different graphic representations for the word in question extracted from character dictionaries.

b. Literary references (“Shi yun” 事韻)

⁶⁷² Most volumes of the second copy were destroyed in a fire during the Boxer Rebellion at the turn of the century. Then rest of them were looted and scattered in different parts of the world. See Guo Bogong 郭伯恭, *Yongle dadian kao* 永樂大典考 (1937; rpt. Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1962), 165–71; Zhang Chenshi 張忱石, *Yongle dadian shihua* 永樂大典史話 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 18–19. Also see Appendix Two “Xiancun Yongle dadian juanmubiao” 現存永樂大典卷目表 in *Yongle dadian shihua*, 101–65.

This part gives two-/three-/four-character allusions, literary references, and expressions, with the entry word appearing at the end. It cites lines or passages of a work that contains the phrase expression in question. The citations here are relatively short, in comparison with those cited in the next category.

c. Literary compositions (“Shi wen” 詩文)

This section typically includes literary compositions that have a title containing the entry word. Literary compositions are typically cited in their entirety.

Some parts of the *Jinlouzi* were cited in the *Yongle dadian* as large and self-contained textual units, while other passages were recovered in smaller or fragmentary units. Wang Guowei’s 王國維 (1877–1927) notes that the *Jinlouzi* in six *juan* was mainly extracted from *juan* 10, 291 of the *Yongle dadian*, under the entry for “Zi.”⁶⁷³ In addition, there are four chapters of the *Jinlouzi* that are mentioned by title in the table of contents of the *Yongle dadian*. These five citations, in relative larger textual units, were most likely included in the “Shi wen” part of their respective entries in the *Yongle dadian*. None of these *juan* is extant.

Chen and Xiong went through all the extant *Yongle dadian* volumes and compiled a list of thirty-five shorty entries of the *Jinlouzi*, all of which are included in the *Jinlouzi* in six *juan* edition.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷³ See Wang Guowei 王國維, *Chuanshu tang cangshu zhi* 傳書堂藏書志 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014), 3.571–72. *Chuanshu tang cang shanben shuzhi* 傳書堂藏善本書志 is a catalog of a private library owned Jiang Ruzao 蔣汝藻 (1877–1954). In 1919, Jiang commissioned Wang Guowei to compile the catalog, which Wang finished in 1923.

⁶⁷⁴ See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 1165–74.

<i>Jinlouzi</i> chapter title	Entry word	<i>Yongle dadian</i> <i>juan</i> number	Extant
“Shuo fan” 說蕃	Fān 蕃	4263	n/a
“Li yan” 立言	Yán 言	4872	n/a
“Xing wang” 興王	Wáng 王	6789	n/a
“Zhi guai” 志怪	Guài 怪	15110	n/a
* <i>Jinlouzi</i> 金樓子	Zǐ 子	10291	n/a

Table 1: *Jinlouzi* chapters cited in the *Yongle dadian*

Two *Jinlouzi* passages were cited in *juan* 13203, one of the seventeenth *juan* of the *Yongle dadian* that were discovered overseas and published in 2003.⁶⁷⁵ The entire *juan* is occupied by a portion of the “Shi yun” section of the entry for the word Yòng 用.⁶⁷⁶

Yongle dadian *juan* 13203

Hongwu zhengyun rhyme group: “Sòng” the first rhyme group [of the qù sheng] 一送

Entry word: Yòng 用

⁶⁷⁵ These seventeen *juan* were published in one volume titled *Haiwai xinfaxian Yongle dadian shiqi juan* 海外新發現永樂大典十七卷 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2003).

⁶⁷⁶ This *juan* is currently housed at the British Library, London.

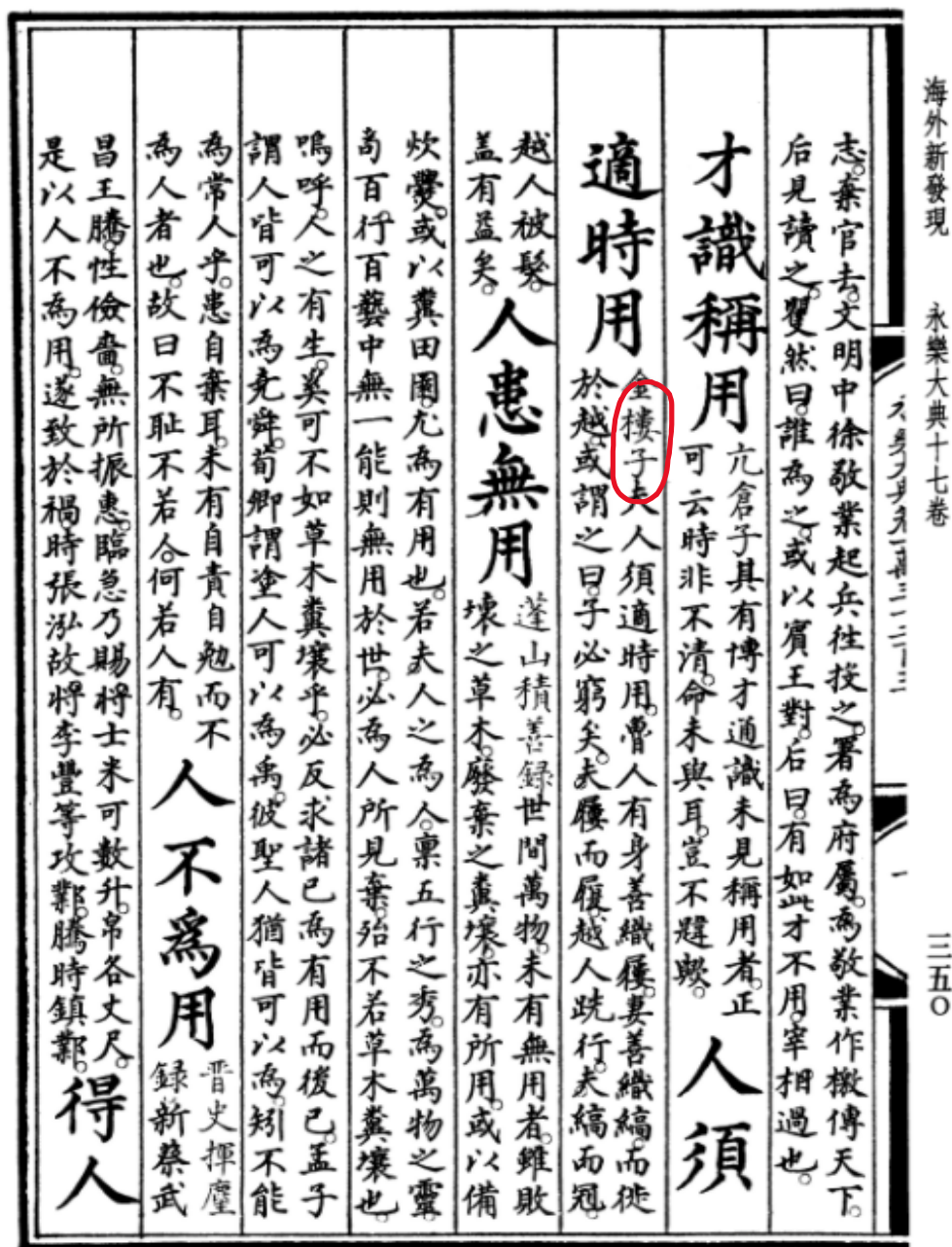


Figure 3: A passage from the “Li yan” chapter cited in the *Yongle dadian*, from *Haiwai xinfaxian Yongle dadian shiqi juan*

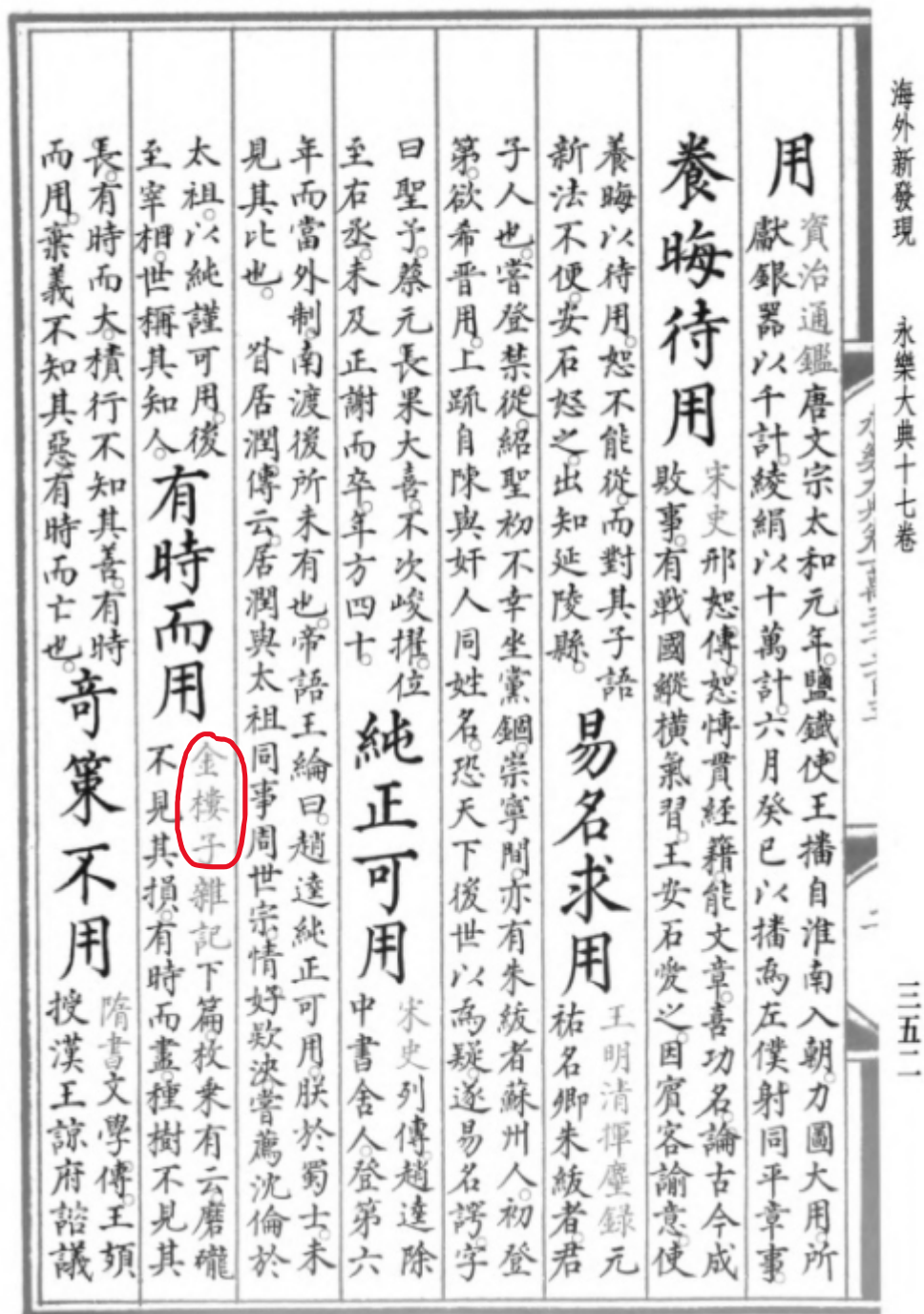


Figure 4: A passage from the “Za ji” chapter cited in the *Yongle dadian*, from *Haiwai xinfaxian Yongle dadian shiqi juan*

“Li yan” B.44

In any particular case one should avail himself of optimal timing. There was a man from Lu who himself was skilled at making straw sandals, and his wife was skilled at weaving plain silk. When he was about to move to Yue, someone said to him, “You will inevitably become impoverished, for sandals are intended for walking, but the Yue people walk bare-foot. In any given case plain silk is intended for making caps, but the Yue people let their hair hang loose. [These skills] presumably will be of no use to you [in Yue].”

夫人須適時用。魯人有身善織屨，妻善織縞，而徙於越。或謂之曰：“子必窮矣：夫屨而履，越人跣行；夫縞而冠，越人被髮，蓋無益矣。”

“Za ji” B.13

Mei Sheng once said: “One uses a grindstone without noticing it is diminishing until it is in time worn out. One plants trees without noticing they are becoming increasingly large until they in time grow into big trees. One accumulates good deeds not aware of the benefit until they in time become useful. One forsakes propriety not aware of the harm until it in time brings about ruin.”

枚乘有云：“磨礱不見其損，有時而盡。種樹不見其長，有時而大。積行不知其善，有時而用。棄義不知其惡，有時而亡也。”

Jinlouzi in six *juan*

It was composed by Emperor Xiaoyuan of Liang. According to the “annuals” of the *Liang shu* the emperor was well-versed in books and his literary writings were widely circulated at the time. During his time in his fiefdom, he styled himself “Master of Golden Tower,” which he used to title this compilation. The bibliographic treatises of the *Sui shu*, *Tang shu*, and the *Song shi* all listed it in twenty *juan*.⁶⁷⁷ Chao Gongwu’s [*Junzhai*] *Dushu zhi* recorded the work in fifteen *pian*, which means that the compilation was still complete in Song.⁶⁷⁸ Neither Song Lian’s (1301–1381) *Zhuzi bian* nor Hu Yinglin’s (1551–1620) *Jiuli xulun* mentions the work.⁶⁷⁹ From that we infer that the compilation had become obscure and obsolete already by the early part of Ming. By the end of Ming, the work was no longer extant. Thus, Ma Su, the compiler of the *Yi shi*, a work which cites most extensively [from existing texts], notes that he had never seen a transmitted version [of the *Jinlouzi*]. He only managed to retrieve and gather a few excerpts of it from other texts. Having examined each rhyme group of the *Yongle dadian*, we found a considerable number of excerpts [of the *Jinlouzi*]. Its base text, upon close examination, is an edition prepared in the Zhizheng reign (1341–1370). We have investigated and verified the preface and headings, both of which are complete and well preserved. The only thing is that the listed fourteen *pian* does not conform to the number of fifteen given by Chao Gongwu. Among them, entries of the “Ernan Wuba” chapter in many cases overlaps with those of the “Shuo fan.” Could it be the case that the one who transcribed and prepared the text for printing misplaced the content under this heading and thus lost the original content of this [“Ernan Wuba”] *pian*. Furthermore, the culling and layout of the *Yongle dadian* lack principle, and it broke [whole pieces] into fragmentary excerpts. In some cases, excerpts of different pieces were mistakenly put together [as one piece]; in other cases, excerpts were cut from somewhere else and pasted [in the piece under discussion], while the original piece were left out instead. As for the prefatory notes, only those of the “Jie zi,” “Hou fei,” “Jie dui,” and “Zhi guai” four chapters are extant, while the others have fallen away and become lost. However, among them, the “Xing wang,” “Jie zi,” “Ju shu,” “Shuo fan,” “Li yan,” “Zhu shu,” “Jie dui,” and “Zhi guai” chapters are all complete and fully composed from beginning to end. As for the other chapters, though the excerpts are muddled and disorganized, it is fortunate that the items and entries are discernible and recognizable, which may still be arrayed in order and constitute a bundle. With great caution, we have carefully and thoroughly assembled and pieced them together, and

⁶⁷⁷ It seems that the *Siku* scholars mistakenly took twenty *juan* for ten *juan* here. See *Sui shu*, 34.1006; *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1534; *Song shi*, 205.5208. The *Nan shi* also mentions the *Jinlouzi* in ten *juan*. See *Nan shi*, 8. 246.

⁶⁷⁸ See Sun Meng, *Junzhai dushuzhi jiaozheng*, 516.

⁶⁷⁹ See Hu Yinglin 胡應麟, *Shaoshi shanfang bicong* 少室山房筆叢 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), 27.343–81.

have consulted and examined, collated and corrected [each of them]. Thus, we have affixed them into six *juan*.

金樓子六卷 永樂大典本

梁孝元皇帝撰。《梁書本紀》稱帝博總群書，著述詞章，多行於世。其在藩時，嘗自號金樓子，因以名書。《隋書經籍志》、《唐書》、《宋史藝文志》俱載其目，為二十卷。晁公武《讀書志》謂其書十五篇，是宋代尚無闕佚。至宋濂《諸子辨》、胡應麟《九流緒論》所列子部，皆不及是書。知明初漸已湮晦，明季遂竟散亡。故馬驢撰《繹史》，徵采最博，亦自謂未見傳本，僅從他書摭錄數條也。今檢《永樂大典》各韻，尚頗載其遺文。核其所據，乃元至正間刊本。勘驗序目，均為完備。惟所列僅十四篇，與晁公武十五篇之數不合，其二南五霸一篇與說蕃篇，文多複見。或傳刻者淆亂其目，而反佚其本篇歟？又永樂大典詮次無法，割裂破碎，有非一篇而誤合者，有割綴別卷而本篇反遺之者。其篇端序述亦惟戒子后妃捷對志怪四篇尚存，餘皆脫逸。然中間興王戒子聚書說蕃立言著書捷對志怪八篇，皆首尾完整，其他文雖攙亂，而幸其條目分明，尚可排比成帙。謹詳加裒綴，參考互訂，釐為六卷。

	<i>Yongle dadian</i> (index)	<i>Siku tiyao</i>	Preface	Postface	卷次
0. 序			-	-	卷一
1. 興王	√	√			
2. 箴戒					
3. 后妃			√		卷二
4. 終制			√		
5. 戒子		√			
6. 聚書		√		√	
7. 二南五霸					
8. 說蕃	√	√			卷三
9. 立言	√	√	√		卷四
10. 著書		√			卷五
11. 捷對		√	√		
12. 志怪	√	√	√	√	
13. 雜記					卷六
14. 自序			√		

Table 2: *Jinlouzi* chapters mentioned in the *Yongle dadian* index and the *Siku tiyao*

Appendix 3: Emperor Wu of Liang in the “Xing wang” chapter

(1)

Gaozu, Emperor Wu of Liang, was born with precocious and extraordinary features and possessed sagacious virtues. His neck was glossy with dragon fluid. On his tongue there was a pattern resembling the graph for “eight.” The protuberance of his head consisted of folded mounds. His forehead was as prominent as the sun. On his hand there were marks of three characters: “Emperor Wu [Wudi]” and his personal name [Yan].⁶⁸⁰

梁高祖武皇帝，生而靈異，有聖德。頸光龍液，舌文八字，頂垂帶重丘，額照日象，有文在手曰武帝并上諱三字。

(2)

[At the age of] hair hanging tufts, he was already fond of [playing] the zither and [reading] books. His countenance and demeanor were naturally brought about and complied with the rites. He often competed with other children in games. He could walk and stand mid-air without holding any support. Spectators would strike clappers [in amazement], all cheering for the wondrousness [of his performance].

始在髻髮，便愛琴書。容止進退，自然合禮。常與兒童鬥技，手無所持，躡空而立，觀者擊節，咸共稱神。⁶⁸¹

(3)

Upon suffering the death of Empress Xian [his mother], the emperor [a boy then] wailed and stamped his feet in great grief. Even Gao Chai could not have surpassed his observance of the mourning rites.⁶⁸² Every time he read the *Xiaozhi zhuan* (Biographies of filial sons), he was always overcome with sorrow and grief so much so that he could not make it to the end of the scroll.⁶⁸³ For that reason his family cherished and esteemed him, and would never let him sit

⁶⁸⁰ Note that here Xiao Yi refers to Emperor Wu by his posthumous title. Emperor Wu’s posthumous name was decided in the eleventh month of 549. Thus this entry was edited after that date. See Xiao Yi’s proposal presented to the court concerning Emperor Wu’s posthumous title. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 1009–30.

⁶⁸¹ Emperor Wu’s biography in the *Liang shu* and *Nan shi* include a few similar, but less elaborate accounts about the emperor’s exceptional physiognomic features and his precocious talents at an early age. The consensus is that the compilers of the *Liang shu* and *Nan shi* did not have access to the *Jinlouzi* itself and probably relied on the same texts that Xiao Yi drew on. See Zhong Shilun, “*Liang shu buzai Jinlouzi kao, jianlun Liang shu bianzhuan wenti*,” 93–97.

⁶⁸² Gao Chai 高柴 was one of Confucius’ disciples, known for not showing his teeth (grinning) for three years during his observance of the mourning rites. See Wang Pinzhen, *Da Dai Li ji jigu*, 6.111–12; Chen Shike, *Kongzi jiayu shuzheng*, 3.9a.

⁶⁸³ This anecdote about becoming emotionally overwhelmed by reading accounts of filial sons

under the eaves of a building [lest the tiles fall down on him, that is, keep him from danger].

及遭獻太后憂，哭踊大至，居喪之哀，高柴不能過也。每讀孝子傳，未曾終軸輒輟書悲慟。由是家門愛重，不使垂堂。

(4)

4.1) In his late years the emperor probed into the recondite and inquired after the hidden; he thoroughly explored the internal structures of things and their inherent nature. He thoroughly read ancient documents and records. With his numinously perceptive and keenly insightful intellect, he could remember and recite from memory books that he had read without going through them a second time. Therefore, his knowledge traversed past and present, encompasses and epitomizes both the internal and external. He was capable of categorizing and expounding the correlated and enclosed, intricately deliberating about the “hard and white.”⁶⁸⁴ Liu Huan (434–489) from the Pei area was regarded as the Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan of his era. When the emperor set out to analyze doubtful explanations, the two of them often politely deferred to each other’s opinion.

4.2) The emperor was profound, quiet, demure, and reticent. Rarely did he casually mingle with others. Those who were associated with him were all the most talented and intelligent people of the time. He always surrounded himself with the right kind of people. The entrance to his residence was known for accommodating numerous scholars.

4.3) His dwelling place was elegant and solemn, often enveloped by vapor and mist. He kept his curtained unfolded and canopy hanging, which would inspire awe in anyone who looked from afar.⁶⁸⁵ He was also versed in the “six principles” and “four beginnings” [of the *Shi*], and was especially proficient in the ritual system. He composed a literary piece whenever he climbed to a height; none of the pieces were without maximum effect.⁶⁸⁶ After he ascended to the court as a young man of twenty *sui*, he was consulted fairly frequently.

due to his extraordinary grief comes from Xiao Yan’s own account in his preface of the “Xiaosi fu” 孝思賦 (*Fu* on filial devotion). See *Quan Liang wen*, “Every time I read the *Xiaosi zhuan*, I cannot not help but put down the book before I finish it, bitterly grieving, weeping with my hands pressed against my chest” 每讀孝子傳，未嘗不終軸輟書悲恨，撫心嗚咽，in Yan Kejun, *Quan shang sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*. Xiao Yan wrote this piece in 515, after completing the construction of two monasteries in honor his parents. Keith Knapp notes that the motif of being emotionally stirred by reading accounts of filial sons has been used to demonstrate one’s own possession of filial devotion in the early medieval period. See Knapp, *Selfless Offspring*, 79.

⁶⁸⁴ The term “hard and white” is a proposition from ancient logic used to show that two qualities independent of each other cannot co-occur. The term is widely mentioned in pre-Qin masters texts.

⁶⁸⁵ Cf. *Liang shu*, 1.2: “The chambers that he occupied often seemed as if enveloped by clouds and mist. When a person walked pass it, his comportment would immediately become solemn” 所居室常若雲氣，人或過者，體輒肅然。

⁶⁸⁶ See *Han Shi waizhuan*: “When a gentleman climbs a height, he would inevitably express himself” *junzi denggao bifu* 君子登高必賦。For the term *jingce* 警策 see Lu Ji’s “Wen fu” 文賦:

- 4.1 登於晚年，探蹟索隱，窮理盡性，究覽墳籍，神悟知機。讀書不待溫故，一閱皆能成誦憶。所以馳聘古今，備該內外，辨解聯環，論精堅白。沛國劉瓛，當時馬鄭。上每析疑義，雅相推揖。
- 4.2 深沈靜默，不雜交游，所與往來，一時才雋。至於得人，門稱多士。
- 4.3 居宇精肅，常有煙霧，垂廉拱帳，望者竦然。六義四始，尤解禮體。登高必賦，莫非警策。弱冠升朝，令問籍甚。

(5)

Wang Jian (452–489), defender-in-chief, the counselor-in-chief of Qi, in admiring the emperor's cultural sophistication, invited him to serve as subsidiary clerk in the Revenue Section. Prince of Jingling of Qi [Xiao Ziliang], minister of education, and cavalry general, who hosted literati gatherings known as the “literati grove” (*shilin*), also treated the emperor cordially with deference.⁶⁸⁷

太尉王儉，齊國阿衡，欽上風雅，請為戶曹屬。司徒竟陵王，齊室驍騎，招納士林，待上賓友之禮。

(6)

At the time Fan Yun (451–503) served as record keeper for the minister of education, he deeply admired the virtue of the emperor and formed a spiritual association with him. One would ride his chariot to the other's front door several times within a short period. Once the same morning when the emperor set out to visit Fan Yun, Fan Yun first heard the sound of roads being swept and cleared out in preparation for an imperial procession. Then he heard the sound of ceremonial music being played by the emperor's entourage. Just as Fan Yan concluded that it must be the emperor [Emperor Wu of Qi, r. 482–493] going to the southern suburb, the emperor [Xiao Yan] sent somebody to announce that he was calling on Fan Yun. Fan wondered about this uncanny incident, but did not dare speak of it then.

范雲時為司徒記室，深慕上德，自結神遊。驅車到門，頃日驟至。上嘗旦往報雲，雲聞街衢灑掃，喚呼清道。俄聞笳鼓之聲。雲意天子出幸南苑，尋乃上遣通焉。心獨怪之，未敢言也。⁶⁸⁸

“Even though the multitude of other words is well ordered, / This is needed to produce maximum effect” 立片言而居要，乃一篇之警策。Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan* Vol. Three, 223.

⁶⁸⁷ In the “Shuo fan” 說藩 chapter of the *Jinlouzi* Xiao Yi details the gatherings of literati known as Shilin 士林 (literati groves) that Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494), Prince of Jingling 竟陵, hosted at his Western Residence (Xi di 西邸) on Jilong 雞籠 Mountain northeast of the imperial palace grounds. Xiao Yi names eleven regular guests of such gatherings, three of whom also belonged to the group known as “the Eight Companions of Jingling” (Jingling bayou 竟陵八友). See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 3.461–64. A similar but more succinct record is also seen in Xiao Ziliang's biography in *Nan Qi shu*, 40.694. For “the Eight Companions” see *Liang shu*, 1.2. Knechtges and Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature*, 456–57.

⁶⁸⁸ Fan Yun's biography in the *Nan shi* mentions that when Xiao Yan came to visit Fan Yun, Fan's wife often heard the sound of roads being cleared for an imperial procession. See *Nan shi*, 57.1418.

(7)

The emperor had an intuitive grasp of people's characters; his consideration was thorough and infallible. He served as a peripheral administrator in the law and education sections, assumed positions that enabled him to make friends and cultivate benevolence.”⁶⁸⁹

上哲於知人;慮無遺事。歷司徒法曹祭酒掾,會友輔仁之職。

(8)

In the ninth year of the Yongming reign (491) the emperor served as militant consultant of the [general of] Western Garrison [viz. Xiao Zilong 蕭子隆 (474–494), the Prince of Sui, regional inspector of Jingzhou]. On his journey to the west to report for duty, just as they traveled through Mt. Niuzhu (southwest of modern Ma'anshan, Anhui), a storm suddenly arose. Since the waves and tides were not calming down they moored in Longdu.⁶⁹⁰ He then disembarked and rambled at ease. He gazed west toward Mt. Liang and looked at remote villages from afar. An old man in a scholar's robe approached and bowed to the emperor saying, “You, sire, have a dragon's face and tiger's gait, your physiognomy cannot be explicated. Now the all under heaven is still in chaos, the four seas are yet to be unified; could you, sire, be the one to put all living creature into order?” The emperor laughed and said, “You, sir, seem too respectable to be teasing me.” Shortly thereafter, the storm died down. That evening, they unexpectedly arrived in Gushu (in modern Dangtu *xian*, Anhui).

永明九年,出為鎮西諷[諮]議。西上述職,行過牛渚,直暴風卒起。入泊龍瀆,既波浪不可靜,登岸逍遙。四[西]望梁山,瞻眺墟落。見一長老,披儒服至,揖上曰:“君龍顏虎步,相不可言。天下方亂,四海未一。安蒼生者其在君乎?”上笑之曰:“觀公長者,不容見戲。”俄而風靜,此夕竟屆姑熟。⁶⁹¹

(9)

9.1 In the tenth year of the Yongming reign (492), Emperor Taizu (posthumous title for Xiao Yan's father Xiao Shunzhi 蕭順之) died. Upon first hearing the news that his father was indisposed, the emperor immediately sought to return home. He took a swift boat and set forth, taking none of the gifts and bestowals given by the regional administration. He did not even take the Prince of Sui's advice to stay one more night (start out the next morning). He set out on a starlit night with a single skiff. Braving the storm and challenging the waves, he traveled without stopping. With swirling wind surging from the ground, tall waves gushing to the sky, the skiff

⁶⁸⁹ Cf. *Lun yu* 12/24: “A gentleman makes friends through being cultivated, but looks to friends for support in benevolence” 君子以文會友,以友輔仁. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 117.

⁶⁹⁰ In Zhang Guowei's 張國維 (1595–1646) *Wuzhong shuili quanshu* 吳中水利全書 Longdu is listed under Wujin 武進 district (south of modern Changzhou, Jiangsu). See *Wuzhong shuili quanshu*, *Siku quanshu*, 6.60a.

⁶⁹¹ The same anecdote with less detail can be found in *Nan shi*, 6.168.

was able to move steadily and securely, as if sailing in calm waters. Everyone on board was amazed by this. When the skiff began to leak and was about to sink, the sounds of astonishment did not stop. Zhou Da, the person in charge of a troop stationed in Quetou, presented another boat.⁶⁹² The emperor rushed over to resume his trip back home. He arrived at Jingkou (Zhenjiang, Jiangsu) within twenty days.

9.2 Already during the trip, the emperor had stopped grooming himself and set aside his regular sleep and eating routine. He let his anxiety and worry disfigure himself and he was no longer recognized by others. During the stage of “examining the burial site” and “abstaining from referring to the deceased by name,” he went without breath [passed out] for a long time. After the burial, he vomited several pints of blood and abstained from food and nourishment for four days. During the mourning period, he no longer consumed any [fine] grain. The coarse grain with which he was sustained only amounted to two double-pounds every day. Whenever he visited the mausoleum, he had to rely on the mourning staff to get up.⁶⁹³ Wherever he shed tears even pine trees altered their [unchanging] color.⁶⁹⁴ During the time of wailing and pining away in the tomb hut, no one saw him revealing his teeth (viz. crack a smile).⁶⁹⁵ He frequently stayed in the mausoleum [to mourn] and wished to retire from official service. He only gave up this plan after being persistently admonished by the grant mentor King Xuanwu [the posthumous title for Xiao Yan’s elder brother, Xiao Yi 蕭懿 (d. 500)].

9.1 永明十年，太祖登遐。上始承不豫，便即言歸。輕舟仍發，州府贈遺，一無所受。齊隨郡王苦留一宿不許。得單艇望星上路，犯風冒浪，兼行不息。雖狂飆地發，高浪天湧。船行平正，常若安流。舟中之人皆稱神異。及舟漏臨沒，叫不輟聲。鵲頭戍主周達奉上一船，奔波就路，至京不踰二旬。

9.2 自在途便不盥櫛，寢食俱廢，焦憂易形，視人不識。望宅奉諱，氣絕良久。既葬，嘔血數升，水漿不入口者四日，憂服之內，不復嘗米，所資麤麥，日中二溢。再[每]拜山陵，杖而後起，涕淚所灑，松為變色。及號思廬室，未當見齒，仍留山陵。因欲隱遁。太傅宣武王苦諫乃止。

⁶⁹² Quetou is located west of Nanling 南陵 *xian* (in modern Wuhu, Anhui). See *Yuanhe junxian zhi* 元和郡縣志, *Siku quanshu*, 29.17a.

⁶⁹³ Cf. “Wen sang” 問喪 of *Li ji*: “Someone asked, ‘What is the use of the staff [in the context of the burial rite]? The answer is: “When a filial son mourns for his kin, he cries and weeps profusely and commits himself to the three-year observance [of mourning]. His body becomes ill and his constitution weakens, so he uses a staff to support himself” 或問杖者以何為也? 曰孝子喪親，哭泣無數，服勤三年，身病體羸，以杖扶病也。 See *Li ji zhengyi*, 56.16b.

⁶⁹⁴ This alludes to an anecdote about Wang Pou, who, being a filial son, visited his father’s tomb and wailed every day. It is said that he wept so profusely that the color of the cypress in front of his father’s tomb was altered. See *Sanguo zhi*, 11.348–49, note3.

⁶⁹⁵ This alludes to Gao Chai 高柴, one of Confucius’ disciples, who is allegedly “not showing his teeth” 未嘗見齒 for three years in observing the mourning rites. See Chen Shike, *Kongzi jiayu shuzheng*, 3.9a; Wang Pinzhen, *Da Dai Li ji jiegou*, 6.111.

(10)

Then there was a certain Buddhist monk named Senghui; no one knows where he was from. He claimed to have acquired the technique of Xu Fu and submitted his name to request an audience with the emperor.⁶⁹⁶ Upon seeing the emperor, he was startled and said, “My benefactor, the crown of your head looks like a reclining dragon. This is not the physiognomy of a minister. I, a humble monk, have never seen such thing [in anyone]. When one day you [as an emperor] offer the *feng* sacrifice at Mt. Tai, I wish to be sought out.” The emperor only smiled and did not reply. After that no one knew his whereabouts.

有桑門釋僧輝，不知從何來也。自云有許負之法，通名詣上，見而驚曰：“檀越頂有伏龍，此非人臣之相。貧道所未見也。若封泰山，願能見覓。”上笑而不答。此後莫知所之

⁶⁹⁷

(11)

[Emperor] Ming of Qi (r. 494–498) secretly decreed to appoint the emperor as commandant in Yongzhou (administrative seat in modern Xiangfan, Hubei), to go to Xinye (modern Xinye, Henan) and relieve it [from Northern Wei’s aggression].⁶⁹⁸ He started out immediately and led the troops for the long expedition. His commands and orders were clear and strict; no one committed even the slightest offense. He made sure that those who deserved to be rewarded were rewarded and those who did not were not rewarded. Officers and soldiers alike all committed to risk their lives for him. In the past whether on private or official trips, the emperor stopped at Dalei many times.⁶⁹⁹ Each time he would stay for two or more nights and would not grant permission to resume the trip in a timely fashion. When the emperor and his troops arrived at Pukou (near modern Honghu, Hubei) the wind just began to surge and waves began to swell, and they were facing strong counter-currents. No one dared to advance. The director of the troops reported to the emperor and said that the storm was overpowering, and they could not venture further. It would be better to go into the cove to wait for the waters to calm down. He also suggested offering a sacrifice to Lord Zhou and Lord He [to avert misfortune].⁷⁰⁰ The emperor replied, “Zhou Gongjin and He Wuji both assiduously served their respective lords. How is that different from what I set off to do? If their sentient beings are indeed present, they ought to make the wind subside.” He subsequently ordered a drum struck to hasten their advance. They did not go far afield when the waves calmed down and the wind subsided. The conditions became favorable for traveling by water. For the most part they sailed with the wind. At the time the

⁶⁹⁶ Xu Fu 許負 was a famous physiognomist in early Western Han. See *Shi ji*, 49.1970; 57.2073–74.

⁶⁹⁷ The same anecdote with less detail can be found in the *Nan shi*, 6.170.

⁶⁹⁸ *Nan shi*, 5.144.

⁶⁹⁹ Dalei 大雷 was a military stronghold, also known as Leichi 雷池, located in modern Wangjiang 望江 *xian*, Anhui.

⁷⁰⁰ Referring to Zhou Yu 周瑜 (175–210) and He Wuji 何無忌 (d. 410). Beginning from the fifth century, Zhou Yu and He Wuji were mentioned together as two local deities in Dalei 大雷. See Xie Tiao 謝朓 (464–499), “Jiwen Dalei Zhou He ershen wen” 祭文大雷周何二神文, cited in the *Yiwen leiju*, 79.1354.

grain in the area of the Han and Mian Rivers was overpriced and common folks were starving. The emperor provided relief to those who lacked food and other supplies and made sure that the entire area was not short of any resources.

齊明密敕上為雍州領兵，往救新野。仍即發引，振旅長途，號令清嚴，所過秋毫不犯，信賞分明。士卒咸思盡命。凡公私行旅，多停大雷，輒逾信次，不肯時發。上軍浦口，值風起浪生，沿流溯波，無敢行者。軍直兵啟：風浪大，不可冒，宜入浦待靜，兼應解周何郎神。上曰：“周公瑾何無忌。在昔勤王，如我今日，亦復何異？爾若有靈，當令風靜。”因打上鼓催進。行途未遠，便波恬風息。於是利涉，常乘便風。漢沔穀貴，百姓多饑。上賑救乏絕，闔境不匱。

(12)

On the ninth day of the ninth month, the emperor practiced military maneuvers.⁷⁰¹ At that time the spectators, both men and women, from near and far, all came and gathered to watch. During the demonstration, a storm with a violent wind arose; smoke and dust closed in from all directions. Only the sky above where the emperor stood appeared clear and open, with purple clouds soaring tall and alone.

九月九日，上出講武，時士女觀者遠近畢至。中間忽暴風起，煙塵四合。當上所居，獨白日清照，有紫雲特起。⁷⁰²

(13)

13.1 Earlier when Emperor Gao of Qi (r. 479–482) was still serving [the Song court], he dreamed about ascending the Taiji Hall [the central palace of the imperial palace complex] wearing wooden clogs. He was followed by three men. The first was Emperor Wu of Qi, then Emperor Ming of Qi, and the third one, holding a diagram of Heaven and Earth, whom he did not recognize. He [the third one] gestured that he was one of the descendants of Emperor Taizu (viz. Xiao Shunzhi). After Emperor Gao of Qi ascended the throne, he once discussed privately with Emperor Taizu, saying, “I have secured all under heaven with toil and hardship, yet the throne is not destined to be transmitted to my grandson. After I die, the dragon son (viz. Emperor Wu of Qi) shall have it, and after he dies, it goes to Adu (viz. Emperor Ming of Qi). Finally it shall go back to your descendants.” Subsequently [as prophesied], the emperor [Emperor Wu] achieved the grand hegemony.

13.2 On his way to assist the [besieged] capital [in 500], the grand mentor [Xiao Yi 蕭懿] spent the night at the former Yue citadel [south of the capital] where he took the opportunity to get some sleep. Suddenly he dreamed about a nobleman wearing a vermilion robe walking towards him pulling three horses. He then mounted one of the horses, which leaped halfway into the sky and dropped down. He was followed by the Prince of Hengyang (viz. Xiao Chang, 460–500),

⁷⁰¹ During the early medieval period it was common to practice military maneuvers on the ninth day of the ninth month. See *Jin shu*, 21.671.

⁷⁰² A slightly more elaborate account of this event is seen in the *Nan shi*, 6.171.

riding the second horse, who also fell after jumping over a building. The third horse that the emperor was riding transformed into a dragon and then soared up to the sky.

13.1 始齊高在府，夢著屐，上太極殿，三人從，一從齊武，一人齊明，一人張天地圖而不識。意言是太祖子弟。及踐阼，嘗與太祖密謀，謂太祖曰：“我辛苦得天下，而祚不傳孫。我死，龍子當得。龍子死，當屬阿度。此後當還卿子孫。”遂至大霸。⁷⁰³

13.2 及太傅援京邑，夜在越城假寐，忽夢見一大人，著朱衣，牽三匹馬來。太傅因騎一匹，騰空半天而墜。次衡陽王，一馬踴過屋而落。後上騎一匹，因化成龍，遂飛上天。⁷⁰⁴

(14)

“Being mysteriously assisted by the numinous and the enlightened, auspicious omens appear beforehand.”⁷⁰⁵

此幽讚神明，吉之先見。

(15)

Since the emperor inherited the throne from Emperor Taizu, he has been trustworthy and committed to his imperial duty with reverence. In the fortified terrace he built the Temple of Utmost Sublimity, where the hundreds of assorted delicacies on display were comparable in scale to grand sacrificial offerings. Among them, there were Marquis Sui's pearl and [Bian] He's jade disc, the round pool on the square well, all of which were of the same standard as displayed in the ancestral temple. Every first and fifteenth day of the month the emperor would wail and weep bitterly until he choked and could no longer breathe. He would personally walk to the door of the inner chamber following the example of King Wen carrying out his duty as an heir. Then he offered the title Emperor Taizu as a posthumous honor for his father and built the Temple of Great Respect and Affection on Mt. Zhong. He also offered the title Empress Xian as a posthumous honor for his mother and built the Temple of Great Wisdom and Salvation.

及受終太祖，允恭寶歷。臺城內起至敬殿，庶羞百品，若殷薦焉。其中隋珠和璧，圓淵方井，侔於宗廟。上晦朔恆號慟哽絕，躬至寢門，若文王之為世子也。又奉為太祖，於鍾山起大愛敬寺。又奉為獻后，起大智度寺。

(16)

⁷⁰³ A similar narrative is also recorded in the *Nan shi* with fewer additional details. See *Nan shi*, 7.224.

⁷⁰⁴ This story is not seen in any other transmitted texts.

⁷⁰⁵ Cf. “Shuo gua” of the *Zhou yi zhengyi*, 9.1a: “In the distant past, the way the sage made the *Changes* is as follows: He was mysteriously assisted by the gods and so initiated the use of yarrow stalks” 昔者聖人之作易也，幽贊於神明而生蓍。Trans. Lynn, *The Classics of Changes*, 119.

The emperor had been on the throne for some fifty years.⁷⁰⁶ In putting heaven above in peace and his subjects in good order, changing and transforming [outdated] customs and [obsolete] practices, throughout all of history, no one could measure up to [his achievement].⁷⁰⁷ In addition he composed fifty pieces of “Strung pearls” to illustrate the way of filial piety.⁷⁰⁸

即位五十年，至於安上治民，移風易俗，度越終古，無得而稱焉。又作聯珠五十首以明孝道云。

(17)

Humbly I trace our august sovereign’s filial devotion:

With the four seasons moving forward in succession, it does not shift with his personal circumstances;

With the five phases operating in alternation, it does not alter according to his social status.

Sitting in solemn silence at the court, he feels regretful thoughts of “transitory events” even more acutely.⁷⁰⁹

Walking with trailing [robe] and folded [hands] among layered corridors, he endures the increasingly poignant pain of the “wind tree.”⁷¹⁰

He piously observed rules in serving the ancestral temples,

And reverently he comes to sacrifice to the bounds.

Before he could utter any words, his tears stream down; without changing his countenance he is deeply saddened within.”

This is what is referred to as “the grief that one lives with for his entire life.”

⁷⁰⁶ Emperor Wu of Liang reigned from 502 to 549 for forty-seven years.

⁷⁰⁷ Cf. Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 15.507: “Surely T’ai Po can be said to be of the highest virtue. Three times he abdicated his right to rule over the Empire, and yet he left behind nothing the common people could acclaim” 泰伯，其可謂至德也已矣。三以天下讓，民無得而稱焉。 Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 92. Xiao Yi uses the phrase differently from its original usage.

⁷⁰⁸ *Lianzhu* is a prose form consisting of a series of aphorisms written mainly in four-syllable and six-syllable lines. The bibliographic treatise of the *Sui shu* records a one-*juan* collection of Xiao Yan’s *lianzhu* titled *Liang Wu lianzhu* 梁武連珠 (Strung pearls of Emperor Wu) and two versions of *Liang Wudi zhi zhi lianzhu* 梁武帝制旨連珠 (Emperor Wu’s imperial announcements composed in strung pearls) in ten *juan*. See *Sui shu*, 35.1087. Only a fragment of the compositions is cited in *Yiwen leiju*, 57.1038. For a comprehensive study of the genre *lianzhu*, refer to Jenny Tu-li, Teng, “The Genre of Lien-chu.” Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1985.

⁷⁰⁹ This alludes to a line in the *Shuo yuan*, 3.59: “The lifespans of two parents are like glimpsing through a gap in the wall...even though worthy men wish to care for their parents, they will not tarry” 二親之壽，忽如過隙...賢者欲養，二親不待。

⁷¹⁰ This alludes to a line in the *Han Shi waizhuan*: “The tree would be still, but the wind will not stop, the son wishes to look after them, but his parents will not tarry” 樹欲靜而風不止，子欲養而親不待也。 See Xu Weiyu, *Han shi waizhuan*, 9.309. Trans. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 292.

When it comes to filial piety, there are only four figures in ten thousand years: Shun of Yu, Yu of Xia, King Wen of Zhou, and the Emperor of Liang.

伏尋我皇之為孝也。四運推移，不以榮落遷貿，五德更用，不以貴賤革心。臨朝端默，過隙之思彌慚；垂拱巖廊，風樹之悲踰切。齊潔宗廟，虔事郊禋。言未發而涕零，容弗改而傷慟。所謂終身之憂者，是之謂也。蓋虞舜夏禹，周文梁帝，萬載之中，四人而已。

Appendix 4: The “Bibliocaust” Revisited

The destruction of books takes two forms throughout history and across different civilizations. First is book burning as a form of intellectual intimidation (e.g. Nazi Germany's book burning in Bebelplatz, Berlin in 1933) and an exercise of power over the realm of written knowledge (e.g. the Catholic Church's using book burning as the pronouncement of bans on heretical ideas).⁷¹¹ The second is the destruction of the library, due to negligence and obsolescence (e.g. the library of Alexandria)⁷¹² or accidents, most commonly, fire (e.g. the Cotton library collection destroyed in the Ashburnham House fire in 1731, London); in some other heinous cases, a library or archive as the memory of a culture and a people was deliberately targeted and intentionally.⁷¹³

If the last case of library destruction, for which the term “bibliocaust” should be reserved, can be viewed as a cultural genocide, then an emperor willfully setting fire to the collection of the imperial library—the cultural artifact that he himself had been entrusted with—is probably the first and the only case of cultural ethno-suicide. If it can be proven true, it is an atrocity both unheard of and unspeakable.

The earliest extant historical account of the destruction of books in Jiangling in 555 is Niu Hong 牛弘 (545–611)'s petition to Emperor Wen of Sui 文帝 (r. 581–604) in the early years of the Kaihuang 開皇 reign (581–600), in which he mentioned that Xiao Yi ordered some 70,000

⁷¹¹ See Neil Harris, “Book Burning,” *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, eds. Michael F. Suarez, S.J. and H. R. Woudhuysen, E-book (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁷¹² Although it is commonly believed to have been destroyed in a huge fire around two thousand years ago, scholars now begin to argue that the most likely fate of the library of Alexandria was that as the Roman Empire lost power and influence, the funds that supported the library have dried up, leaving the library vulnerable to neglect and destruction over many years. See James W.P. Campbell, *The Library: A World History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 45.

⁷¹³ See Neil Harris, “Library Destruction,” *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, eds. Michael F. Suarez, S.J. and H. R. Woudhuysen, E-book (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

juan of books of the Liang imperial library burned when the capital Jiangling was about to fall into the hands of the Western Wei.⁷¹⁴ By his count, this constituted the fifth case of the “Five Bibliothecal Catastrophes (*wu’e* 五厄)” in history.⁷¹⁵

The number given in the *Nan shi* (completed in 659) becomes more than 100,000 *juan*.⁷¹⁶ According to the *Sanguo dianlüe* 三國典略 (Summary documents of the Three States) compiled by Qiu Yue 丘悅 (ca. d. 715), Xiao Yi set fire to some 140,000 *juan* of books.⁷¹⁷ This astonishing number presumably takes account of both Xiao Yi’s private collection of 80,000 *juan* that he mentioned in the “Ju shu” chapter and the 700,000 *juan* of the collection of the Liang imperial library, which Xiao Yi had sent to Jiangling.⁷¹⁸

Not only the number of books burned increased over time, but the account of the event also becomes more and more elaborate. The bibliographic treatise of the *Sui shu* (completed in 636) reports:

⁷¹⁴ See *Sui shu*, 49.1297–300.

⁷¹⁵ The other four catastrophes, in chronological order, refer to 1) Emperor Shihuang of Qin’s (221–210 BCE) ordering to burn books that were not aligned with the regime in 213 BCE; 2) the Han imperial library was burned during the insurrections and riots in Chang’an toward the end of Wang Mang’s reign in 23 CE; 3) the warlord Dong Zhuo (d. 192) forced Emperor Xian of Han (r. 189–220) to move the capital from Luoyang to Chang’an in 190; during the turmoil, books were destroyed or abandoned on the way; 4) as the Western Jin capital fell in 311 at the hands of troops from Northern China in 311, the imperial library was looted and razed to the ground. See *Sui shu*, 49.1299. For the third catastrophe, also see the *Fengsu tong* 風俗通 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 619.7a.

⁷¹⁶ See *Nan shi*, 8.245.

⁷¹⁷ Qiu Yue’s 丘悅 *Sanguo dianlüe* 三國典略 has been lost. For a modern reconstruction of the *Sanguo dianlüe* 三國典略, see Du Deqiao 杜德橋 [Glen Dudbridge] and Zhao Chao 趙超, *Sanguo dianlüe jiyi* 三國典略輯佚 (Taipei: Dongda tushu gufen gongsi, 1998). It is a reconstruction and critical edition of *Sanguo dianlüe* from surviving textual fragments in works such as the *Taiping yulan*, *Taiping guangji*, and so forth. This is also mentioned in Glen Dudbridge, *Lost Books of Medieval China* (London: British Library, 2000), 38–44.

⁷¹⁸ See *Sui shu*, 32.907.

When the Zhou troops [the Western Wei army led by the founding ruler of the Northern Zhou] entered Ying [viz. Jiangling], [Xiao Yi] personally set fire to all the books.

周師入郢, 咸自焚之.⁷¹⁹

Nan shi reports:

[Xiao Yi] then gathered books and charts that amounted to more than 100,000 *juan* and ordered them all burned.

乃聚圖書十餘萬卷盡燒之.⁷²⁰

The *Sanguo dianlüe* reports:

When the troops of the Western Wei captured Jiangling, Prince of the Liang [Xiao Yi] realized that the situation was unredeemable. He entered the Bamboo Hall of the Eastern Palace and ordered Gao Shanbao, the secretary of the palace, to burn the 140,000 *juan* of books and charts, ancient and modern.⁷²¹ He was going to throw himself into the flames as well, to perish together with them [the books], but palace ladies clutched at his clothes [and stopped him]. When the flames died out, he then hacked his precious sword on the pillar to break it, exclaiming, “The way of literary cultivation (*wen*) and militancy (*wu*) has come to an end upon this night.”

周師陷江陵, 梁王知事不濟, 入東閣竹殿, 命舍人高善寶焚古今圖書十四萬卷. 欲自投火, 與之俱滅. 宮人引衣. 遂及火滅盡, 並以寶劍斫柱令折, 歎曰: “文武之道, 今夜窮矣.”⁷²²

The same passage with a few variations is also recorded in Zhang Huaiguan’s 張懷瓘 (fl.

724) *Er Wang deng shulu* 二王等書錄.⁷²³

⁷¹⁹ See *Sui shu*, 32.907.

⁷²⁰ See *Nan shi*, 8.245.

⁷²¹ The name Gao Shanbao is not otherwise attested.

⁷²² See *Sanguo dianlüe* cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 619.7a.

⁷²³ *Er Wang deng shulu* is cited in Zhang Yanyuan’s *Fashu yaolu* 法書要錄, *Siku quanshu*, 4.7a–10b.

Towards the end of the Chengsheng reign, Western Wei troops attacked Jingzhou. When the city fell, Emperor Yuan was about to surrender. That night, he had 140,000 *juan* of books and charts, ancient and modern, together with surviving calligraphy of the two Wangs, and ordered Gao Shanbao, the secretary of the palace library, to set fire to them. Then, seizing precious swords of Wu and Yue, two at time he started to hack at a pillar with them and made them break, at which he sighed and said: “I, Xiao Shicheng [Xiao Yi’s *zi*], at last have come to this. The way of literary cultivation (*wen*) and militancy has come to an end upon this night.” The treasured artifacts of successive dynasties were all reduced into cinders and ashes. Zhou generals Yu Jin (493–568), Puliuru Zhong [a.k.a. Yang Zhong 楊忠 (507–568), father of Yang Jian 楊堅 (541–604), the founding ruler of the Sui (r. 581–604)], and others gathered and recovered about a total of 4,000 *juan* from the remains which they brought back to Chang’an.

承聖末，魏師襲荊州。城陷，元帝將降。其夜，乃聚古今圖書十四萬卷，並大小二王遺跡，遣後閣舍人高善寶焚之。吳越寶劍，並將斫柱，乃歎曰：“蕭世誠遂至於此，文武之道，今夜窮乎！”歷代秘寶，並為煨燼矣。周將于謹，普六茹忠等捃拾遺逸凡四千卷，將歸長安。⁷²⁴

Zhang Yanyuan’s 張彥遠 (815–907) *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Record of famous painters of successive dynasties), completed in 847, repeats the same story, except that the number of books burned hiked from 140,000 to 240,000 *juan*.

When [Hou] Jing was pacified, what (few) paintings were left were transported to Jiangling, which was [soon afterwards in the year 554] taken by general Yu Jin of the Western Wei. But when the time came for Emperor Yuan to surrender, he had 240,000 *juan* of famous paintings, fine calligraphy and classical texts gathered together and ordered Gao Shanbao, the secretary of the rear palace library, to set fire to them. Then the emperor made as if to throw himself into the fire to be burned together with them, but ladies of the palace clutched at his robes [and stopped him]. Then, seizing precious swords of Wu and Yue, two at time he started to hack at a pillar with them and made them break, at which he sighed and said: “I, Xiao Shicheng [Xiao Yi’s *zi*], at last have come to this. The way of literary elegance shall not survive this night.” Yu Jin and his people recovered from among the embers more than four thousand scrolls of calligraphy and painting which they took back with them to Chang’an.⁷²⁵

⁷²⁴ See *Fashu yaolu*, *Siku quanshu*, 4.8b.

⁷²⁵ Based on trans. William Reynolds Beal Acker, *Some T’ang and pre-T’ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, Vol. One (Leiden: Brill, 1954), 121–23.

及景之平,所有畫皆載入江陵,爲西魏將于謹所陷.元帝將降,乃聚名畫法書及典籍二十四萬卷,遣後閣舍人高善寶焚之.帝欲投火俱焚,宮嬪牽衣得免.吳越寶劍,並將斫柱令折,乃歎曰:“蕭世誠遂至于此,儒雅之道,今夜窮矣!”于謹等於煨燼之中,收其書畫四千餘軸,歸于長安.⁷²⁶

The most detailed account of the book burning in 555 is the *Zizhi tongjian* completed in 1084. It includes some additional details about the incident that are not attested elsewhere. For example,

[Later] someone asked [Xiao Yi], why he burned the books. He said, “I have read some 10,000 *juan* of books, yet, still end up like this. Thus, I have burned them.

或問:何意焚書?帝曰:讀書萬卷,猶有今日,故焚之.⁷²⁷

This scenario produces a rather resounding theatrical effect, but as for whether it is a shocking revelation or a blatant fabrication, it is first necessary to establish whether or not Xiao Yi committed the atrocity of book burning.

There are two main reasons for reopening the case that has been closed for a thousand years. First, the book burning is not mentioned either in the *Liang shu* or the *Zhou shu*. Tian Xiaofei ascribes the absence of the account of the incident in the *Liang shu* to the compiler Yao Cha's 姚察 (533–606) personal sense of loyalty to the Liang dynasty, which he served in his youth.⁷²⁸ But this does not explain why the *Zhou shu* 周書 (completed in 636) is also silent about the event, while it recounts in detail the Western Wei's invasion of Jiangling in late 554 and early 555.⁷²⁹ The loyalty of the compiler, Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 (583–666), an eminent Tang

⁷²⁶ See *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記, *Jindai mishu*, 1.5a–b.

⁷²⁷ *Zizhi tongjian*, 165.18a–b.

⁷²⁸ Tian, *Beacon Fire and Shooting Star*, 95.

⁷²⁹ See *Zhou shu*, 2.35–36.

minister, whose grandfather and father both served the Northern Zhou, certainly did not lay with the Liang.

Second, among all the existing accounts of the book burning, namely Niu Hong's petition (cited in the *Sui shu*), the bibliographic treatise of the *Sui shu*, *Nan shi*, *Sanguo dianlüe*, *Er Wang deng shu lu*, *Lidai minghua ji*, *Fashu yaolu*, and *Zizhi tongjian*, the information given about the exact circumstances under which Xiao Yi set the books on fire is suspiciously fuzzy and sometimes even self-contradictory, which also casts doubt on the veracity of the entire event. In sum, there are three questions surrounding the event that cannot be satisfactorily addressed:

- 1) Where did the alleged book burning take place?
- 2) When did Xiao Yi order the books burned?
- 3) Was Xiao Yi captured or did he surrender?

Where?

Neither does the bibliographic treatise of the *Sui shu* nor the *Nan shi* give a specific site where Xiao Yi had his books burned. Niu Hong's petition mentions that the book burning took place in the outer city (*waicheng* 外城).

When the Zhou troops [the Western Wei army led by the founding ruler of Northern Zhou] entered Ying, [Xiao] Yi set fire to [all the books] in the outer city. Only one or two tenths of them were recovered.

及周師入郢, 繹悉焚之於外城, 所收十纔一二.⁷³⁰

⁷³⁰ See *Sui shu*, 49.1299.

The *Sanguo dianlüe* recounts that Xiao Yi entered the Bamboo Hall of the Eastern Gallery (Dongke zhudian 東閣竹殿),⁷³¹ gave the order to burn all the books, and was poised to throw himself into the flames, only to be stopped by his palace attendants. Accordingly, the book-burning took place inside the palace complex. The *Zizhi tongjian* also refers to the Bamboo Hall of the Eastern Palace as the site of the book burning.

When?

All the early accounts vaguely mention that the book-burning took place shortly before the Western Wei troops entered the Jiangling city walls but no specific date is given. The *Sanguo dianlüe* sets the scene at night. According to the account, as the flames died out, Xiao Yi hacked at a pillar with his sword, and reputedly said, “The way of literary cultivation (*wen*) and militancy (*wu*) has come to an end upon this night” 文武之道, 今夜窮矣.⁷³² Zhang Huaiguan’s *Er Wang deng shulu* retells the same story and further specifies that it was the night before Xiao Yi was about to surrender.⁷³³

Only the *Zizhi tongjian* assigns a specific date, that is, the *jiayin* day of the eleventh month of the third year of Chengsheng reign (January 10, 555), just when Jiangling started to crumble under Western Wei’s assault. This is at odds with other historical records. The *Liang shu*, *Zhou shu*, and *Nan shi* all agree that the *xinhai* day of the eleventh month (January 7, 555) was the date when the Western Wei launched its full-scale offensive against the besieged Jiangling. The *Zhou shu* specifically notes that the city fell the same day and Xiao Yi was

⁷³¹ Professor David R. Knechtges points out that the “Eastern” of the Eastern Gallery may refer to the fact it was the library of the Eastern Palace, i.e. the library of the heir designate.

⁷³² See *Sanguo dianlüe* cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 619.7a.

⁷³³ See *Er Wang deng shulu* cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 748.5a.

subsequently captured.⁷³⁴ It is inconceivable that Xiao Yi, after being captured, would have been able to obtain an opportunity to burn his books.

Was he captured?

The question now comes down to whether Xiao Yi was captured by or turned himself in to the Western Wei, for if he was captured, then before his capture he would not have had the motive to burn the books, and after his capture he would not be able to do so even if he wanted to. On the other hand, if, in utter despair, Xiao Yi decided to lay down his arms, he would have had both the time and motive to arrange to have his books burned before the Wei troops took him prisoner.

Historical records do not agree on what actually happened to Xiao Yi when the city fell. According to the *Liang shu*, Xiao Yi was taken captive (*jian zhi* 見執); the *Zizhi tongjian* reports he turned himself in and also offered his heir as hostage. The annals of Emperor Wen of Zhou, the posthumous title for Yuwen Tai 宇文泰 (507–556), the actual mastermind behind the invasion of Jiangling in 554–555, records that Xiao Yi was captured:

On the *xinhai* day, the troops launched an attack against the city, which was conquered the same day. Emperor Yuan of Liang was captured and then killed.

辛亥, 進攻城, 其日克之, 擒梁元帝. 殺之.⁷³⁵

⁷³⁴ See *Zhou shu*, 2.36.

⁷³⁵ See *Zhou shu*, 2.36. Also see *Sui shu*, 14.342: “[During Emperor Xuan’s reign (578–579)]... the Han [yue fu tune] “Yousuo si” (There is someone on my mind) was changed into “Ba Jiangling” (Cushing Jiangling) recounting the time when Emperor Taizu (viz. Yuwen Tai) was about to capture Xiao Yi and pacify the southern land” 宣帝時...改漢《有所思》為《拔江陵》, 言太祖命將擒蕭繹, 平南土也.

The biography of Wang Bao 王褒 (ca. 511–ca. 575, alt. 513–576), Xiao Yi's close confidant, in the *Zhou shu*, however, gives a different version of the story.

Our imperial troops launched an attack against the outer barricade; the city [Jiangling] subsequently fell. [Wang] Bao followed Emperor Yuan into the subordinate walled city. They still attempted to put up a fight. When the emperor abruptly came out and surrendered, [Wang] Bao was among the group that came out with him at the same time.

王師攻其外柵，城陷。褒從元帝入子城，猶欲固守。俄而元帝出降，褒遂與眾俱出。⁷³⁶

This account, though conflicting with the annals of Emperor Wen of Zhou, is compatible with the biography Yu Jin in the *Zhou Shu*.

On the sixteenth day of the siege, the outer city subsequently fell. The lord of Liang withdrew into the subordinate walled city. The next day, followed by the heir apparent and others, with his hands tied behind his back, he came out to surrender. He was killed soon after.

旬有六日，外城遂陷。梁主退保子城。翌日，率其太子以下，面縛出降，尋殺之。⁷³⁷

The oddest account of all, recorded in the *Nan shi*, reports after being captured Xiao Yi was taken to the camp of Xiao Cha, the son of his brother Xiao Tong, where he was subjected to humiliating interrogation:

On the *xinhai* day, the Wei army launched a full-scale offense. The emperor emerged from the Pipa Gate [the eastern gate] and personally oversaw the battle. [Hu] Sengyou (491–555) was wounded by a stray arrow and died. The [Liang] army was defeated. Those who revolted [against the Liang] slew guards of the western gate and received the Wei army. The emperor was taken captive, and then preceded to the camp of the Prince of Liang, Xiao Cha, where he was harshly vilified and humiliated.

⁷³⁶ See *Zhou shu*, 41.730–31.

⁷³⁷ See *Zhou shu*, 15.248. Yu Jin laid siege to Jiangling on the *binshen* day of the eleventh month, viz. December 23, 554. The sixteenth day from that day was the *xinhai* day, January 7, 555.

辛亥, 魏軍大攻魏軍大攻, 帝出枇杷門親臨陣督戰. 僧佑中流矢薨,
軍敗, 反者斬西門守卒以納魏軍. 帝見執, 如梁王蕭察營, 甚見詰辱.⁷³⁸

This paragraph (excerpt for the part that Xiao Yi was humiliated in Xiao Cha's camp) is almost identical to the *Liang shu*'s account. The compilers of these accounts probably drew on the same historical source. Only a few lines down, the *Nan shi* recounts the same event as follows:

[Xiao Yi] subsequently sent the heir apparent and Wang Bao as hostages to negotiate surrender.... Riding a white horse and wearing plain-colored clothes, the emperor emerged from the eastern gate. He drew his sword and hacked it against the gate, saying, "I, Xiao Shicheng, how could you end up like this?"

遂使皇太子王褒出質請降...帝乘白馬素衣出東門, 抽劍擊闔曰: "蕭世誠一至此乎!"⁷³⁹

It is apparent that this paragraph was drawn from material different from the previous one. The scene of hacking the sword might have been the origin of the trope found in the *Sanguo dianlüe* and other late records.

If the accounts in the *Zhou shu* and *Nan shi* are not to be dismissed altogether as sensation-peddling, then one possibility is that Xiao Yi was first captured and then forced to put on a show of surrender, designed to humiliate him and elevate the Western Wei. In any case, once he was captured, he probably would not have had the freedom to set his books on fire.

The late Dutch Sinologist Erik Zürcher argues the fact that Xiao Yi's alleged atrocity is not mentioned in the *Liang shu* perhaps speaks of "a conflagration coinciding with a violent storm and not of any intentional destruction."⁷⁴⁰ During the turmoil of war, books, along with

⁷³⁸ See *Nan shi*, 8.242.

⁷³⁹ See *Nan shi*, 8.245.

⁷⁴⁰ Erik Zürcher, "Recent Studies on Chinese Painting," *T'oung Pao* 51 (1964): 415.

other cultural artifacts, are often ruined, whether intentionally or not. This is as common as looting and plundering. For example, the biography of Pei Ni 裴尼, the Northern Zhou general Pei Han's 裴漢 (514–572) younger brother, reports:

[Pei Ni] joined Yu Jin's successful expedition to Jiangling. The army seized an abundance of booty. [Yu] Jin gave license to his generals and officers to snatch whichever they wished. Everyone else competed for precious objects, but, only [Pei] Ni took an unadorned zither that used to belong to Emperor Yuan of Liang and nothing else. [Yu] Jin was deeply impressed and praised him.

從于謹平江陵，大獲軍實，謹恣諸將校取之。餘人皆競取珍玩，尼唯取梁元帝素琴一張而已。謹深歎美之。⁷⁴¹

There are other accounts to be taken into consideration as well. Yu Xin 庾信 (513–581) wrote in his “Ai Jiangnan fu” 哀江南賦 (The lament for the south):

Scrolls on jade rollers were scattered in ashes,
And the dragon-pattern sword hacked the pillar.⁷⁴²

乃使玉軸揚灰，龍文斫柱。

Although these two lines cannot be used as direct testimony against Xiao Yi, the reference to book-burning and the trope of sword hacking are unmistakable. The most damning testimony to Xiao Yi's involvement in the book-burning comes from Yan Zhitui. Unlike Yu Xin, who was away serving as Xiao Yi's envoy to the Western Wei when Jiangling fell, Yan Zhitui

⁷⁴¹ See *Zhou shu*, 34.598. Note that this is at odds with the biography of Yu Jin, *Zhou shu*, 15.248: “[The Western Wei army] captured and enslaved more than a hundred thousand of people, men and women, and confiscated all the precious objects and treasures stored in the imperial warehouse... no one in the army took anything as his own” 虜其男女十餘萬人，收其府庫珍寶... 軍無私焉。

⁷⁴² Translation based on Graham, *The Lament for the South*, 93.

actually lived through the invasion and witnessed the atrocities that occurred during the war. In his “Guan wo sheng fu” 觀我生賦 (*Fu* on observing my life), which he composed towards the end of his life, Yan Zhitui wrote:

Hundreds of thousands of people, taken prisoner, became slaves;
Thousands of cartloads of writings flew up in smoke.
All throughout the vast heaven,
Our cultural tradition was completely lost.

民百萬而囚虜，書千兩而煙燭。
溥天之下，斯文盡喪。

His commentary on these lines makes Xiao Yi's culpability unmistakable. He wrote:

It was the case that [Emperor] Xiaoyuan had collected and brought together [texts and written materials], including duplicates, amounting to more than 100,000 *juan*. Since the time of recorded history, there had never been anything comparable. When the troops were defeated, he had them all burned. Within the seas [this realm] there would never again be such a repository of writings.⁷⁴³

唯孝元鳩合，通重十餘萬，史籍以來，未之有也。兵敗悉焚之，海內無復書府。

In sum, the picture revealed is still a nebulous one. While Yan Zhitui's testimony seems to pin the blame for the destruction of books on Xiao Yi, the circumstances under which Xiao Yi carried out the atrocity were not clearly laid out as one would expect. Contradictory accounts about the event also undermine the credibility of some of the records. The fact that the event was not mentioned at all either in the *Liang shu* or the *Zhou shu* makes the case even more dubious.

⁷⁴³ My translation is based on trans. Albert E. Dien, *Pei Ch'i shu 45: Biography of Yen Chih-t'ui* (Bern: Herbert Lang, 1976), 58.

Did he do it? Probably, he did set his books on fire as the capital fell in 555 as Yan Zhitui and Yu Xin testified. But until we know more about the context, “bibliocaust” might be too strong a word to be used to describe it.

Appendix 5:

The Curriculum Vitae of an Emperor-to-be—Xiao Yi’s “Xuan lan fu” 玄覽賦

Xiao Yi’s “Xuan lan fu” 玄覽賦 (*Fu* on perception of profundity) is a poetic account of the course of Xiao Yi’s official career since he was granted the noble title Prince of Xiongdong in 514. As indicated in the preface, it was composed in winter 545 when Xiao Yi served as regional inspector of Jiangzhou 江州 (administrative seat Nanchang 南昌, modern Nanchang, Jiangxi). Xiao Yi’s retrospective recount of his curriculum vitae is signposted by his moving from place to place to take up official posts over a span of over thirty years; each leg of his travel is intertwined with reflections on various historical events as well as his changing states of mind and overall aspirations. As vivid descriptions of the itinerary often alternate with sober reflection on historical events, the flow of physical movements is regularly juxtaposed with rich textual references. Qian Zhongshu 錢鐘書 describes it as a composition “profusely and voluminously written in four thousand words, tracing past events while recounting the steps of his journey” 洋洋四千言, 追往事而述游蹤.⁷⁴⁴

Literary Traditions: “Yan zhi” and “Ji xing”

This composition is cross listed under “Yan zhi” 言志 (Expressing [aspirational] intent)

⁷⁴⁴ See Qian Zhongshu, *Guanzhui bian*, 1181.

and “Ji xing” 紀行 (Recounting travel) thematic categories in traditional anthologies.⁷⁴⁵

The “Yan zhi” as a thematic tradition can be identified with the “Zhi” 志 ([Personal] intent and feeling) category of the *fu* section of the *Wen xuan*. Individual inspirations and specific circumstances may vary from piece to piece, the poetic persona of this category invariably embarks on an introspective and contemplative journey to the mystical world to explore the underlying principles of the world and eventually comes to terms with his aspirations in this world.

One of the earliest known pieces of this kind is Ban Gu’s “You tong fu” 幽通賦 (*Fu* on communicating with the hidden) in which Ban Gu mentions his encounter with “the hidden men (*you ren* 幽人)” who offer him instruction on what course he should follow on his meditative internal journey.⁷⁴⁶

When the term *xuan* 玄 began to allude to the totality of material things as well as their metaphysical perception, it soon became a recurring key term in the titles of *fu* compositions belonging to the “Yan zhi” tradition.⁷⁴⁷ Zhang Heng’s 張衡 (78–139) “Si xuan fu” 思玄賦 (*Fu* on Contemplating the Mystery), for example, is often mentioned on together with the “You tong

⁷⁴⁵ An abridged version of the “Xuan lan fu” is first cited in the *Yiwen leiju* under the category of “Yan zhi.” The “Ji xing” 紀行 (Recounting travel) category of the *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華, cites the piece in its entirety, along with one other piece, “Dongzheng fu” 東征賦 by Gao Shi 高適 (706–765).

⁷⁴⁶ The “You tong fu” is also cited in the *Wen xuan* under the “Zhi” 志 ([Personal] intent and feeling) category. See *Wen xuan*, 14.635–50.

⁷⁴⁷ For an insightful discussion of the connotation of the term *xuan*, refer to Paul W. Kroll, “Between Something and Nothing,” *JAOS* 127 (2007): 403–13.

fu.” The *xuan* of the title is a substantive reference to the underlying principles of the world, with which the poet’s persona finally comes to terms.⁷⁴⁸ The preface reads:

I, [Zhang] Heng, often reflect on the prospects of my status and conclude that good and ill fortunes were intertwined; and they, being hidden and subtle, were difficult to comprehend. I then wrote “Fu on Contemplating the Mystery” to express my feelings and aspirations, and lodge them in words.

衡常思圖身之事，以為吉凶倚伏，幽微難明，乃作思玄賦，以宣寄情志。

In Cao Zhi’s 曹植 (192–232) “Xuan chang fu” 玄暢賦 (*Fu* on the traverse of profundity), the connotation of the term *xuan* is shifted from a substantive embodiment of principles of the world to a metaphysical and contemplative reflection of unchanging nature, the “all there is.”⁷⁴⁹ In his preface to the *fu*, which is only partially extant, Cao Zhi explains his intention as such:

I have tentatively written this *fu*, calling it “*Fu* on the thoroughgoing of the profundity.” I hope along the model of the “*Fu* on the Imperial Park” composed by Sima Xiangru, to draw in heaven and earth and thread together the ancient and modern, to cultivate spirit and comprehend the contrivance, to set forth the principles of things and make known the imperceptible.⁷⁵⁰

聊作斯賦，名曰玄暢。庶以司馬相如為《上林賦》，控引天地古今，陶神知機，擒理表微。

“Xuan lan fu” bears a clear affination with the “Yan zhi” tradition. Xiao Yi, like his literary predecessors, is in search of a way to come to terms with his aspirations in this world.

⁷⁴⁸ Yeong-Chung E. Lien, “Zhang Heng, Eastern Han Polymath, His Life and Works,” Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 2011, 206–07.

⁷⁴⁹ Cf. Cai Yong’s 蔡邕 (132 or 133–192) “Xuan biao fu” 玄表賦 (*Fu* on the manifestation of the profundity), an imitation of the “You tong fu” and “Si xuan fu.” See Chen and Xiong, *Jinlouzi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 4.733–34. But the *fu* only has one line extant.

⁷⁵⁰ The translation is adapted from Cutter, *The Poetry of Cao Zhi*, 9.

The “Ji xing” tradition

“Ji xing” is also an established thematic category of the *fu* section in the *Wen xuan*, which includes three *fu* pieces, “Bei zheng fu” 北征賦 by Ban Biao 班彪 (3–54), “Dong zheng fu” 東征賦 by Cao Dagu 曹大家 (Ban Zhao 班昭, d. ca. 120), and “Xi zheng fu” 西征賦 by Pan Yue 潘岳 (247–300).⁷⁵¹ In its common form, a *fu* on “Ji xing” relates an actual journey, as opposed to a magical or supernatural one, from one place to a destination, as opposed to aimless roaming. The author typically depicts himself/herself as a contemplative traveler, who visits sites associated with historical figures or events along the way and often reflects on the cultural memories of the past that are evoked by his/her visits.⁷⁵²

Among all the *fu* pieces of “Ji xing,” the similarity between “Xuan lan fu” and Pan Yue’s “Xi zheng fu” is most noticeable.

	西征賦	“Xi zheng fu”	玄覽賦	“Xuan lan fu”
L.1	歲次玄枵，	Jupiter is stationed in the Dark Void,	歲次旃蒙，	Jupiter is stationed in Zhanmeng,
	月旅蕤賓。	The moon lodges in the Festooned Guest,	月建司空。	The moon lodges in the position of Minister of Works.
	丙丁統日，	<i>Bing</i> and <i>ding</i> govern the days,	變凌陰之呂，	[The seasonal cycle] shifts to the pitch-pipe of Icy Chill,
	乙未御辰。	<i>Yiwei</i> controls the junction of the sun and moon:	扇廣莫之風。	And stirs the wind of the Vast Void.
L.5	潘子憑軾西征，	And I, Panzi, leaning on my crossbar, journey west:	蕭子褰帷九水，	Master Xiao, who governs the nine waters with curtains of the chariot unfurled,

⁷⁵¹ For “Ji xing” as a thematic category in the *fu* section of the *Wen xuan*, see David R. Knechtges, “Culling the Weeds and Selecting the Prime Blossoms: The Anthology in Early Medieval China,” 219.

⁷⁵² For poetic travelogues in the *Han fu* tradition, refer to David R. Knechtges, “Poetic Travelogue in the Han *Fu*,” in *Transactions of Second International Conference on Sinology* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1989), 1–23.

	自京徂秦。	From the Capital, I go forth to Qin.	作牧三宮。	Assumes the role of governor for the <i>Sangong</i> .
	迺喟然歎曰：	Sighing and sobbing, I say: ⁷⁵³	乃盱衡而言曰：	Knitting his eyebrows, he says:

Xie Lingyu's 謝靈運 "Zhuan zheng fu" 撰征賦 (*Fu* on My Journey) in which he recounts his trip from the capital Jiankang to visit General Liu Yu at Pengcheng (in modern Jiangsu) in 416, is seen as an example of "Ji xing" *fu* with a covert purpose of self-promotion.⁷⁵⁴ Xiaofei Tian observes that Xie's reflection on dynastic history, intertwined with accounts of his prominent family history, affirms his status as the heir to the ducal title earned through defending the state.⁷⁵⁵

A similar authorial intention can be inferred from the "Xuan lan fu." Apart from directly referring to his father, the emperor, and his brother, the heir to the throne, Xiao Yi portrayed himself as a competent and devoted official, who is always on the move, working, becoming versed in geographic typology, flora fauna, legend and history, and cultural relics of the place where he serves and become emotionally attached to the local common folk. Throughout the *fu*, he more than once declares that by nature he never cares for entertainment and his steps rarely slow down for a moment of leisure.

A more immediate model and a contemporary source of inspiration for the "Xuan lan fu" might be Zhang Zuan's 張纘 (499–549) "Nan zheng fu" 南征賦 (*Fu* on a southward journey), which he wrote in 543 on his way to assume his new post as regional inspector of

⁷⁵³ See Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 181.

⁷⁵⁴ See Xiaofei Tian, *Visionary Journeys, Travel Writings from Early Medieval and Nineteenth-Century China* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2011), 77.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid*

Xiangzhou 湘州 (administrative seat, Linxiang 臨湘, modern Changsha).⁷⁵⁶ Zhang Zuan made various detours on his way and inspected ten commanderies, visited soldiers and guardsmen in recognition of the service, and exempted corvee laborers of the area.⁷⁵⁷ According to the *Liang shu*, Xiangzhou enjoyed stability and prosperity during his tenure as regional inspector.⁷⁵⁸ Therefore, the “Nan zheng fu” both bears witness to Zhang Zuan’s commitment to his official responsibilities and celebrates his undertaking in Xiangzhou.

The title: *xuan lan*

The *locus classicus* of the term *xuanlan* 玄覽 is the *Laozi*. Taking 覽 as a loan graph for the word *jiàn* (mirror), conventionally written as 鑑/鑒, Gao Heng explains the term as “an enlightened mind, serves as a metaphysical mirror, which reflects and projects matters and things” 玄鑒者, 內心之光明, 為形而上之鏡, 能照察事物, 故謂之玄鑒.⁷⁵⁹ Following the same reading, D.C. Lau translates the line in question as “Can you polish your dark mirror/ And leave no blemish?” 滌除玄覽, 能無疵乎.⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁶ See *Liang shu*, 34.494–502.

⁷⁵⁷ See *Liang shu* 34.502.

⁷⁵⁸ See *Liang shu* 34.502.

⁷⁵⁹ See Gao Heng 高亨, *Laozi zheng gu* 老子正詁 (1956; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 24. To explain the “metaphysical mirror,” Gao Heng also cites a line the *Zhuang zi*: “[the heart of mind] is the reflector of heaven and earth, the mirror of the myriad things” 天地之鑑也, 萬物之鏡也. Trans. Graham, *Chuang-Tzŭ*, 259. This rendering is corroborated by the excavation of the Mangwangtui *Laozi* A/B 馬王堆帛書老子 (甲/乙). In the corresponding place, Mawangtui *Laozi* A/B 馬王堆帛書老子 (甲/乙) has 藍 and 監 respectively for the 覽 in the transmitted text. See Gao Ming, *Boshu Laozi jiaozhu*, 265. Trans. Robert G. Henricks, *Lao-Tzu Te-Tao Ching, A New Translation Based on the Recently Discovered Ma-Wang-Tui Texts* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 206. Also see Jean Levi, *The Complete Tao Te Ching with The Four Canons of the Yellow Emperor*, trans. Jody Gladding (Rochester and Toronto: Inner Traditions, 2011), 75.

⁷⁶⁰ See D.C. Lau, *Tao Te Ching* (Hong Kong: Chinese University press, 1982), 279.

On the other hand, Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249) explains the term *xuanlan* as *jilan* 極覽 (the ultimate view), which according to his understanding refers to one’s ability to “not let other [irrelevant] things interfere with his insight” 不以物介其明.⁷⁶¹ Heshang Gong 河上公 glosses *lǎn* 覽 as viewing the underlying pattern that governs all existences and paraphrases the term as “The mind dwells in a place of darkness and murkiness, and there perceives and comprehends the myriad things” 心居玄冥之處覽知萬事.⁷⁶²

Wang Bi’s and Heshang Gong’s interpretations imply a reflective viewing as a gesture or metaphor for a profound and unimpeded intellect. According to Chen Jun, it is within this semantic range into which the term *xuanlan* in the opening line of Lu Ji 陸機 “Wen fu” 文賦 (*Fu* on literature) falls in.⁷⁶³

The writer stands at the center of things, darkly observes,
Nurturing his feelings and his mind in canons and scriptures.⁷⁶⁴

伫中區以玄覽，頤情志於典墳。

By the same token, Xiao Yi’s use of *xuanlan* in the “Xuan lan fu” boils down to Wang Bi’s and Heshang Gong’s renderings of the term filtered through Lu Ji’s literary sensibility.

The term *lan* by itself belongs to a set of various culturally determined modes of looking, perusing, or observing in the Chinese tradition.⁷⁶⁵ The *locus classicus* of the term *lan* can be

⁷⁶¹ *Laozi Daode jing, Sibü beiyao*, A.5b.

⁷⁶² Zheng Chenghai 鄭成海, ed. and comm., *Laozi Heshang Gong zhu jiaoli* 老子河上公注輯理 (Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju, 1971), 1.59.

⁷⁶³ See Chen Jun 陳君, “Shi ‘Zhu zhongqu yi xuanlan’” 釋伫中區以玄覽, *Wenxue yichan* (2004/5), 118–21.

⁷⁶⁴ Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Three, 213.

⁷⁶⁵ See Harrison Tse-Chang Huang’s discussion on *lan* in his “Excursion, Estates, and the Kingly Gaze: The Landscape Poetry of Xie Lingyun,” Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2010.

found in the “Jiu ge” 九歌 of the *Chu ci*, in which the word *lan* embodies the sense of an all-encompassing gaze that can range over the world. The line reads: “He looks down on Jizhou and the lands beyond it/ There is no place in the world that he does not pass over” 覽冀州兮有餘/ 橫四海兮焉窮.⁷⁶⁶ This mode of viewing also appears in *Shi ji*’s account of the First Emperor of Qin’s inspection tour. The line reads: “[His Majesty] ascended Mt. Tai, and commanded an all-encompassing view of the extremity in the east” 登茲泰山, 周覽東極.⁷⁶⁷ It thus seems that the term *lan* refers to a particular kind of viewing that one takes from a commanding height, either literally or figuratively.⁷⁶⁸ On account of the connotation of the terms *xuanlan* and *lan* as a culturally determined mode of looking, I propose to translate the title as “*Fu* on perspection of profundity.”

Textual Sources

Xiao Yi’s annals in both the *Liang shu* and *Nan shi* report that Xiao Yi’s literary collection mounted to fifty *juan*.⁷⁶⁹ The bibliographic treatise of the *Sui shu* lists Xiao Yi’s collection by his posthumous name Emperor Yuan of Liang 梁元帝 in fifty-two *juan*.⁷⁷⁰ In

⁷⁶⁶ See Hong Xingzu 洪興祖, ed. and comm., *Chu ci buzhu* 楚辭補注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 59. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 113.

⁷⁶⁷ See *Shi ji*, 6.243.

⁷⁶⁸ For a detailed discussion of the cultural implication of *lan*, see Huang, “Excursion, Estates, and the Kingly Gaze: The Landscape Poetry of Xie Lingyun,” 8–9.

⁷⁶⁹ See *Liang shu*, 5.136; *Nan shi*, 8.246.

⁷⁷⁰ See *Sui shu*, 35.1076.

addition to this complete collection of Xiao Yi's literary work, there is Xiao Yi's selected literary writings, titled *Liang Yuandi xiaoji* 梁元帝小集 of ten *juan* also recorded in the monograph.⁷⁷¹

The bibliographic treatises of the *Jiu Tang shu* and *Xin Tang shu*, both of which were based on an annotated Tang imperial catalog, *Gujin shulu* 古今書錄 compiled by Wu Jiong 毋甕 shortly after 745, list Xiao Yi's complete literary collection and selected literary writings (*xiaoji* 小集) in fifty *juan* and ten *juan* respectively.⁷⁷²

In the late ninth century catalog of Chinese books in Japan, *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本國見在書目錄, compiled by Fujiwara Sukeyo 藤原佐世 (847–897) in 891, only a certain *Xiangdong wang ji* 湘東王集 in one *juan* of unknown origin is mentioned.⁷⁷³

During the next two centuries or so, no library catalog, imperial or private, mentioned Xiao Yi's literary collection. By the thirteenth century, a collection of Xiao Yi's poems of one *juan*, titled *Liang Yuandi shi* 梁元帝詩 was mentioned by Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (1179–1262) in the catalog of his private library *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題.⁷⁷⁴ This collection was most likely a reconstruction of Xiao Yi's poems excerpted from other anthologies and *leishu* compilations. It thus seems that none of Xiao Yi's literary collections survived into the thirteenth century.

⁷⁷¹ *Xiaoji* 小集 is sometimes termed as an anthology of a single writer's work. See Stephen Owen, "The Manuscript Legacy of the Tang: The Case of Literature," *HJAS* 67 (2007): 304.

⁷⁷² The *Gujin shulu* 古今書錄, which is no longer extant, was an abridgement of the *Qunshu sibulu* 群書四部錄, a catalog of the imperial library presented to the court in 721. See the preface of the "Jingji zhi" of the *Jiu Tang shu*, 46.1962–63. See *Jiu Tang shu*, 47.2052; *Xin Tang shu*, 60.1593.

⁷⁷³ See *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本國見在書目錄 (Tōkyō: Koten Hozonkai Jimusho, 1925), n/a.

⁷⁷⁴ See Xu Xiaoman and Gu Meihua, *Zhizhai shulu jieti*, 19.556.

It is to the compilation of the *Wenyuan yinghua* (986) that we must credit the preservation of the complete version of the “Xuanlan fu.” In the “Ji xing” category of the anthology, the “Xuan lan fu” is cited in its entirety with collation notes.⁷⁷⁵ There are three types of collation notes that can be found in the *Wenyuan yinghua* version of the text.

- 1) “yizuo 一作 x” “one edition reads x” appears 15 times.
- 2) “huozuo 或作 x” “certain [other] edition reads x” occurs 10 times.⁷⁷⁶
- 3) In places where they propose a reading without textual evidence, the *Wenyuan yinghua* editors write “yizuo 疑作 x”, “[we] suspect that it reads x.” This label is used 8 times throughout the entire text.
- 4) The editors use “yi 疑” to indicate that they have some doubt about the original reading, nevertheless are hesitant to propose any alternatives. This occurs 3 times.

Xiao Yi’s literary compositions are well represented in the *Wenyuan yinghua*. In addition to the “Xuanlan fu,” the anthology cites 48 of Xiao Yi’s poems. About half of these 48 poems are attributed to Xiao Yi under the name Emperor Yuan of Liang (Liang Yuandi 梁元帝), a posthumous title by which he is usually known. The other half are given under Xiao Yi’s full posthumous title, Emperor Xiaoyuan of Liang (Liang Xiaoyandi 梁孝元帝). This inconsistency may be evidence that at least two collections of Xiao Yi (perhaps one titled *Liang Yuandi ji*, and the other *Liang Xiao yuandi ji*) were available for the *Wenyuan yinghua* compilers.

⁷⁷⁵ See *Yiwen leiju*, 26.10a–b; *Wenyuan yinghua*, 126.1a–8b.

⁷⁷⁶ The *Wenyuan yinghua* editors do not give any source information. The difference between the formula “yizuo 一作 x” and “huozuo 或作 x,” is not clear. We note seventeen lexical variants between the received *Yiwen leiju* version and the aligned passages of the *Wenyuan yinghua* text. The *Wenyuan yinghua* editors marked eleven of them, using the formula “yizuo” in nine cases “huozuo” in one case.

Another collated version of the piece was prepared by Yan Kejun 嚴可鈞 (1762–1843) for his *Quan Liang wen* 全梁文 in *Quan shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文.⁷⁷⁷ Yan Kejun reported that he consulted the *Wenyuan yinghua* and the abridged *Yiwen leiju* edition. He cited the *Wenyuan yinghua* edition as his base text and noted where the *Yiwen leiju* edition gives a reading different from the base text on his own. He managed to identify eleven out of seventeen textual variants; only 7 of them match with discrepancies mentioned in collation notes prepared by the *Wenyuan yinghua* editors.

The “Xuan lan fu” is also cited in four Ming and early Qing literary collections. None of these collections provides the textual source. No evidence suggests the existence of a version of the “Xuan lan fu” independent of the *Wenyuan yinghua* version of the composition.

- 1) Li Hong’s 李鴻 (1558–1607) *Fu yuan* 賦苑 in 8 *juan*.
- 2) *Liang Yuandi yuzhiji* 梁元帝御製集 in Zhang Xie’s 張燮 (1574–1640) *Qishier jia ji* 七十二家集.
- 3) *Liang Yuandi ji* 梁元帝集 in Zhang Pu’s 張溥 (1602–1641) *Han Wei Liuchao baisan jia ji* 漢魏六朝百三家集.⁷⁷⁸
- 4) Chen Yuanlong’s 陳元龍 (1652–1736) *Yuding lidai fuhui* 御定歷代賦彙.⁷⁷⁹

Fu yuan 賦苑 contains 875 pieces of *fu* from pre-Qin to Sui, gathered from standard histories, literary collections, anthologies, *leishu* compilations, and other miscellaneous

⁷⁷⁷ See *Quan Liang wen*, 15.1a–7a.

⁷⁷⁸ For Zhang Pu’s biography refer to Arthur Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period* (Washington: United States Government Printing office, 1943), 52–53.

⁷⁷⁹ See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period*, 97.

sources.⁷⁸⁰ Zhang Xie's 張燮 (1574–1640) *Qishier jia ji* 七十二家集 contains reconstructed literary collections for 72 pre-Tang writers. Expanded on the basis of Zhang Xie's work and other collections compiled during the Ming, Zhang Pu 張溥 (1602–1641) put together *Han Wei Liuchao baisan mingjia ji* 漢魏六朝百三名家集 including collections for 103 pre-Tang writers.⁷⁸¹ Chen Yuanlong's 陳元龍 (*jinshi* 1685) *Yuding lidai fuhui* 御定歷代賦彙 is a *fu* anthology compiled under the auspices of the Kangxi Emperor. It contains 3832 pieces of *fu* from pre-Qin to Ming.

Texts:

Yiwen leiju (abridged): 26.9b–10a.

Wenyuan yinghua: 126.1a–8b.

Liang Yuandi ji [Sanye shanfang edition], 1.1a–5a.

Liang Yuandi ji [Siku quanshu edition], 1.1a–12a.

Liang Yuandi yuzhi ji, 1.1a–12b.

Lidai fuhui, 4.1a–112a.

Quan Liang wen: 15.1b–7a.

Chen Yuanlong 陳元龍, *et al.* comp. *Yuding lidai fuhui* 御定歷代賦彙. Yangzhou shiju 揚州詩局, 1706. Rpt. Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1974; *Siku quanshu zhenben* (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979); Jiangsu guji chubanshe and Shanghai shudian, 1987.

⁷⁸⁰ The last author included is Empress Xiao of Sui (567–647). See Rao Futing 饒福婷, “Mingdai *Fu yuan jiqi bainzhe kao* 明代《賦苑》及其編者考,” *Yuwen jianshe* (2015/2): 79–80. Zong Fan 踪凡, “Mingdai Han fu jilu de wenxian kaocha 明代漢賦輯錄的文獻考察,” *Shoudu shifan daxue xuebao* (2007/5): 91–99.

⁷⁸¹ There are two editions for collection. *Saoye shan fang*, *Siku quanshu*. The *Siku* edition is collated with *Yilidai fuhui*,

Zhang Xie 張燮 (1574–1640), ed. *Liang Yuandi yuzhiji* 梁元帝御製集. *Qishier jia ji* 七十二家集. Rpt. *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*.

Zhang Pu 張溥 (1602–1641), ed. *Han Wei Liuchao baisan jia ji* 漢魏六朝百三家集. 118 *juan*. (Saoye shanfang 漢魏六朝百三家名集); (*Siku quanshu* 漢魏六朝百三家集)

Modern Annotated Edition:

Chen Zhiping 陳志平 and Xiong Qingyuan 熊清元, eds. and comm., *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu* 蕭繹集校注. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2018. 20–183.

The “Xuan lan fu” probably enjoyed renown and acclaim as soon as it was composed. Yu Zhi 庾質 (d. 614), son of Xiao Yi’s assistant Yu Jicai 庾季才 (515–603), for example, made a name for himself as a precocious child by committing the entire “Xuan lan fu” to memory when he was only eight *sui*.⁷⁸²

Even for Xiao Yi’s contemporaries, a commentary was called for to read the “Xuan lan fu.” In 549, Cai Dabao 蔡大寶 (d. 564), a confidant of Xiao Yi’s nephew Xiao Cha, came to visit Xiao Yi in Jiangling, where Xiao Yi served as regional inspector of Jingzhou the second time since 547. Xiao Yi commissioned him to write a commentary on the *fu*; the assignment took Cai three days to finish.

When Emperor Yuan of Liang fell out with the Prince of Hedong [Xiao] Yu, [Xiao] Cha sent [Cai] Dabao to Jiangling as an envoy to assess the state of affairs. Emperor Yuan of Liang, who had been on close terms with Daobao, was delighted upon seeing him. He then showed his “Xuan lan fu” to him and commissioned him to write a commentary on it. Cai finished it in three days. Emperor Yuan was deeply impressed with it and rewarded him generously. Cai Dabao returned and reported to Xiao Cha, saying: “[The prince of] Xiangdong must have some ulterior plot, calamities and chaos are about to occur. You must not go downstream [along the

⁷⁸² See *Bei shi*, 89.2949.

Yangtze River] to render assistance to the walled city [the imperial palace].” [Xiao] Cha heeded his advice.

及梁元帝與河東王譽結隙，督令大寶使江陵以觀之。梁元帝素知大寶，見之甚悅。乃示所制玄覽賦，令注解焉，三日而畢。元帝大嗟賞之，贈遺甚厚。大寶還，白督云：“湘東必有異圖，禍亂將作，不可下援臺城。”督納之。⁷⁸³

Cai Dabao’s visit took place after Hou Jing and his rebellious troops occupied the capital Jiankang and held Emperor Wu and the heir apparent in captivity. Soon after that, the hostility between Xiao Yi and Xiao Yu turned into a blood feud when Xiao Yi ordered his execution in 550. This eventually led to Xiao Yi’s own death five years later at the hand of Xiao Yu’s vengeful brother Xiao Cha. This anecdote, found in both the *Zhou shu* and *Bei shi*, implies that the *fu* attests to Xiao Yi’s allegedly treacherous political ambition. This is an apparent ex post facto effort to justify Xiao Cha’s decision not to come to the rescue of the besieged capital.

Structure

The “Xuan lan fu” consists of multiple journeys that Xiao Yi traveled to various official posts over a course of thirty years. To the “Xuan lan fu” cited in the *Liang Yuandi yuzhiji*, Zhang Xie attaches a synopsis of Xiao Yi’s “course of life”:

It starts with the emperor being granted the noble title Prince of Xiangdong, followed by being appointed governor of Kuiji, then transferred back to the capital to serve as governor of the metropolitan area of Danyang, after which he was appointed to

⁷⁸³ See *Zhou shu*, 48.868. Also see *Bei shi*, 93.3096. See Xu Song 許嵩, ed., *Jiankang shilu* 建康實錄 (1986; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), 18.741.

govern Jingzhou, then summoned back and put in charge of military affairs at the Shitou fortress. From there he went to Jiangzhou with curtains of the chariot unfurled [to serve as a regional official]. In retrospectively giving accounts of his curriculum vitae as an official, he put together this piece.⁷⁸⁴

帝始封湘東王為會稽太守入尹丹陽出牧荊州後召為護軍領石頭戍至是復褰帷江州追敘宦跡綜為茲篇。

0. LL.1–7: Preface

I. LL.8–45: Introduction

II. LL.45–77:

- In 514, Xiao Yi was granted the noble title Prince of Xiangdong 湘東.⁷⁸⁵
- From 517 to 519, Xiao Yi served as governor of the [Nan] Langya 南琅邪 and [Nan] Pengcheng 南彭城郡 commanderies.⁷⁸⁶

⁷⁸⁴ Zhang Xie 張燮 (1574–1640), ed. *Liang Yuandi yuzhiji* 梁元帝御製集, *Qishier jia ji* 七十二家集. Rpt. *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, 12b.

⁷⁸⁵ Xiangdong commandery 湘東郡 (administrative seats east of modern Hengyang 衡陽 *shi*, Hunan).

⁷⁸⁶ This appointed is not mentioned in *Liang shu* or *Nan shi*. Xiao Yi himself also mentioned this appointment in his preface to the *Huaijiu zhi* 懷舊志, cited in the *Yiwen leiju*, 34.3a; 919: “From the time I began governing the Lang Terrace in the north, I explored the cave of Yu” 吾自北守琅臺, 東探禹穴. For a detailed discussion on Xiao Yi’s appointment as governor of Nan Langya and Pengcheng commenderies, see Xu Yimin, *Jinlouzi jiaojian*, 1419. Both commanderies were “émigré commanderies” (*qiaojun* 僑郡) established in the Southern Dynasties. During the Liang administrative seat of Nan Langya commandery was located north of modern Nanjing, Jiangsu.

III. LL.78–147:

- 519–522, served as governor of Guiji 會稽 (modern Shaoxing 紹興 *shi*, Zhejiang)

IV. LL.148–207:

- 522–526, served as governor of the metropolitan area of Danyang 丹陽 (modern Zhenjiang 鎮江 *shi*, Jiangsu)

V. LL.208–476:

- 526–539, served as regional inspector of Jingzhou 荊州 (administrative seat in Jiangling 江陵, modern Jingzhou *shi*, Hubei)

VI. LL.477–540:

- 539, put in charge of military affairs at the Shitou 石頭 fortress near the capital

VII. LL.542–611

- 540–545, served as regional inspector of Jiangzhou 江州 (administrative seat in Nanchang 南昌, modern Nanchang, Jiangxi)

VIII. LL.612–651: Summary

Nan Pengcheng commandery did not have independent administrative territory. Its administrative seat was attached to that of the Nan Langya commandery. See Wu Guangxing 吳光興, *Xiao Gang Xiao Yi nianpu* 蕭綱蕭繹年譜 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2006), 69–70. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 1815.

“Fu on persepection of profundity” 玄覽賦 (Xuan lan fu)

- Jupiter is stationed in *Zhanmeng*,
The moon lodges in the position of Minister of Works.
[The seasonal cycle] shifts to the pitch-pipe of Icy Chill,
And stirs the wind of the Vast Void.
- 5 Master Xiao, who governs the nine waters with curtains of the chariot unfurled,
Assumes the role of governor for the *Sangong*.
Knitting his eyebrows, he says:
- I
- It is heaven that is particularly grand;
It was Yao who modeled himself upon it.
- 10 It is earth that is particularly bountiful;
It is our king who establishes it as his domain.
As for our Sovereign's grasping the mirror,
Truly he is indeed divine, indeed sagacious.
His Majesty sets forth the Six Collaborations under [the guidance of] the Eight Principles,
- 15 And promulgates the Nine Official Positions under [the direction of] the Three Directors.
Wielding the Jade Pivot apparatus (*Xuan ji*) he controls his domain;
Holding the Jade Transverse (*Yu heng*) he regularizes governance.
How grand and vast [is his virtue],
That it cannot be acclaimed.
- 20 He makes Xuanyuan and Fuxi seem “rugged,”
And renders the Zi and Si clans “bushel-and-peck.”
[His administration] encompasses the [Yellow] River Diagram and Luo [River] Document,
And embraces “dragon officials” and “phoenix calendar.”
With his grand virtue, he prevails over hundreds of monarchs,
- 25 In his glorious name, he transcends tens of thousands of generations.
It is heaven that gives free sway to the heir designate;
He surpasses Qi and Song, and we follow only his lead.
He discussed scholarship within Sucheng Gate,
And decided court cases in the Changshou Palace.
- 30 Not only do [Cao] Pi and [Liu] Zhuang bend their knees and make obeisance to him;
Ban [Gu] and Zheng [Xuan] are compelled to hold bamboo whisks and wait
- 歲次旃蒙，
月建司空。平東
變凌陰之呂，
扇廣莫之風。
蕭子褰帷九水，
作牧三宮。
乃盱衡而言曰：
- 惟天惟大，
惟堯則之。入德
惟地惟厚，
惟王國之。
粵我皇之握鏡，
實乃神而乃聖。去勤
陳六聯於八則，
弘九職於三令。
運璿樞而禦宇，
執玉衡而齊政。
大矣廣矣，
無德而稱。平蒸
俯齟齬於軒羲，
諒斗筭於子姒。上止
包河圖與洛書，
括龍官乎鳳紀。
超大德於百王，
高鴻名於萬祀。
惟天縱於副后，
踰啓誦而惟首。上有/厚
既倫儒於肅成，
復斷獄於長壽。
豈止丕莊屈膝，
將令班鄭捧帚。

- upon him.
 [His virtue] can be compared to a wine jar placed in the middle of the thoroughfare, waiting to be poured;
 He is likened to a suspended bell that must be struck.
 Moving forward, it surpasses the “appended images;”
 35 His repute was raised aloft on the west bank of the Zhu and the Si rivers.
 Condescending to give regard to my benighted stupidity,
 He has mistaken me for the “connected calyx” at the Celestial Thoroughfare.
 Having performed divination at the East Gate, he demarcated the territory;
 Having established the southern kingdom, he then arrayed the fields [according to the position of the constellation].
 40 He decrees that the senior ceremonialists serve as ushers who greet the guests;
 And proclaims that palace scribes shall compile patents of enfeoffment.
 And thus he allocated this person to a cogon-grass soil-altar,
 In compliance with the vassal lord zone, he employed me;
 It is an analogue of using the bronze beast tally as a token to bestow a feudal title and appanage,
 45 Yet it is nothing like taking a parasol tree leaf shaped like a jade tablet as the emblem to grant an abode.

譬衢樽而待酌，
 若懸鍾之須扣。
 前踰繫象之外，
 聲高洙泗之右。
 伊俯己之顛愚，
 謬聯萼於天衢。
 平虞/魚
 筮東門而畫野，
 創南國而分墟。
 詔伯宗以為儋，
 誥內史而策書。
 用分茲於茅社，
 從侯服而俾予。
 上語
 類金獸以封建，
 非桐珪以錫處。

II

- As for:
 The territory east of the Xiang River,
 It is my Mount Gui and Mount Meng.
 In the Ganlu (256–260) era of Wei, it was demarcated as a fiefdom;
 And in the Taiping (256–258) era of Wu, it was stipulated as the administrative center.
 50 It protects the steep and rugged contours of the unicorn-shaped mountain;
 And it is next to the river, long and arched, where a dragon left its tracks.
 The metal fortresses are lofty and joined one to another;
 The stone swallows rise up and lean into the wind.
 Yet how would I dare equate my fief with the division of the Shan Region?
 55 In admiration I pursue and follow the track of the two Zhou dukes.
 When I served as governor of Langya commandery,
 I possessed a fine reputation in the area between Pengcheng and the Si River.
 It differs from every other fief along the coast;
 And it also distinguishes itself from the city that Yu Shi defended.
 60 I traveled pass Master Chen [Cen]’s loft wall,
 Which is undoubtedly the embankment of the water channel.
 I declined the “shields and sheathing” of the rites and the music;

爾其
 湘水之東，
 即我龜蒙。
 平東
 魏甘露而分邑，
 吳太平而定中。
 鎮麟[鱗]山之崔嵬，
 傍龍跡其穹隆。
 金城高而相屬，
 石燕起而依風。
 豈連鑣於分陝，
 羨追蹤於二公。
 彼琅臺之作守，
 有彭泗之嘉名。
 平清
 殊竝海之分地，
 異魚石之所城。
 經沈子之高墉，
 蓋水運之堤封。
 平鐘
 謝禮樂之干櫓，

- Instead I inspect the towering chariots and charging chariots in the military cavalry. 閱武騎之輶衛。
- Presiding at the front of the ornate carriage, I dash onwards; 軾錦車而前驚，
- 65 Riding forward in the swift coach, I wish to continue in the footsteps [of the previous worthies]. 驅魚軒而繼蹤。
- There will be no more singing simurghs or dancing phoenixes; 無復鸞歌鳳舞，
- It only faces the green willows and blue pines. 唯對綠柳青松。
- There remain perched birds from the palaces of Wu; 留吳宮之宿鸞，
- And here resounds the night bell from the Ping Mausoleum. 響平陵之夜鍾。
- 70 Giving flight to my reins, I go on a westward expedition; 飛余轡而西征，
- And garrison our troops at the former encampment of Taizhen [Wen Qiao]. 戍太真之舊營。平清/庚
- To the sound of striking the metal drumsticks of the clapper drum, 鳴節鼓之金鐺，
- He [Wen Qiao] assembled military chariots within the “Stone Citadel.” 屯戎車於石城。
- And slaughtered the giant boars, who committed heinous offenses; 戮滔天之封豕，
- 75 And decapitated the gigantic leviathans, who were on a rampage in the sea. 斬橫海之長鯨。
- Whenever [I read this] I would put down my book, and heave a sigh; 每輟書而歎息，
- And admire the pervading influence of the established moral virtue. 景樹德之風聲。

III

- I embark on the imperial service from the mirror-smooth water; 從王役於鏡中，
- I drift on figured heron prows displaying wild geese banners. 浮文鷁而載鴻。平東
- 80 Passing by Xie post station, I imbibe at the farewell banquet in a tent; 經謝亭而帳飲，
- And reflect upon Yanbo's [Yuan Hong] “lofty wind.” 想彥伯之高風。
- Passing the Five Cities, I gaze out wildly; 度五城而騁望，
- I see the boundlessness of the Three Ji. 見三冀之無窮。
- Therefore 故以
- With Flying Cloud and Gray Falcon, 飛雲蒼隼，
- 85 Silver Serpent-head and Green Parasol Tree, 白鱧青桐；
- Jinwu and Sheli, 金吾舍利，
- Crying Crane and Purple Palace: 鳴鶴紫宮。
- I gaze afar at the Fang Mountain among the clouds, 眺方嶽乎雲間，
- And look off at the deep vermilion hues of Red Slope. 望赤坂之珠殷。平欣
- 90 I think of Changzhen [Liu Tan], bidding farewell to the deceased; 想真長之送別，
- And muse over Sikuang [Ruan Yu], returning to the mountains. 懷思曠之還山。平山
- On this side, the juniper wood boat is now drifting afar; 此檜楫而方遠，
- While on the other side, the pinewood raft has not yet slowed down. 彼松舟而未閑。
- Weary of travel, I temporarily moor my boat at the new mounds; 倦旅泊於新丘，
- 95 And block the river just as the Wei River was in times past. 同渭水之不流。平尤/侯
- At times a thousand people take the lead; 或千人而竝唱，
- And all of a sudden, ten thousand people are hooked one to another. 乍萬人而相鉤。
- Here is the bridge destroyed by Yuandu; 毀橋由於瑗度，
- And the channel bored by Zhongmou. 鑿空資於仲謀。
- I glanced at the esoteric document of the “Three Maos,” 睇三茅之靈秘，

100	And embraced the notes on transcendency of the “Nine-Times Transmuted [cinnabar].”	懷九轉之仙記。上止
	I read the writing in the stone coffer of the Purple Terrace, As well as the scripts with green headings stored in a silver case. I alone have possessed a mind that may disperse fog, And am even more pained by my resolution of rolling away the clouds.	紫台石室之文， 青首銀函之字。去志 獨有披霧之心， 彌軫凌雲之志。
105	I stroked Yin’s stele, which sadly gazes into the distance, And bowed to the lofty deference of [Master Ji of] Yanzhou. The well gushes and spurts, sinuously snaking; The layout of the landscape, rugged and rough, rises and falls. I viewed the musical suite on the passing of <i>ba</i> ,	捫殷碑之愴望， 挹延州之高讓。去漾 井甍沸而蜚螭， 勢崎嶇而低昂。平唐 見傳巴之度曲，
110	And listened to the gentle song being sung with surging force. I contemplated observing a musical performance at the mountain’s east slope, And recalled the trailing robe as the evening unfolded. I turned about my craft with the help of the “fair wind,” And lifted my oars upon approaching Yunyang.	開[聞]安歌之浩唱。去漾 想觀樂乎朝陽， 憶紆衣乎夕張。平陽 迴余舲之美風， 聳余棹乎雲陽。
115	That is my mulberry and catalpa of home, which I naturally regard with reverence; Even more it is so that [I hold respect] to the native place of my lofty ancestors. When I was about to roam my gaze over the Five Lakes, Then again I [found myself] vastly looking out from the Gusu Terrace. I looked downward at Chang Gate, straddling the river,	彼桑梓之必敬 況松楸之舊鄉。 將遊目於五湖， 乃浩覽於姑蘇。平模 臨閶門之跨水， 聳重闕而開都。
120	And upward looked at the double-watchtowers, which laid the foundation of the principal city. I cast glances at the place of sacrifice that Taibo [of Wu] determined by divination; For this was then when he removed himself from the capital and settled in Juwu. He departed from the music regulations of the West River’s margin, And venerated the patterns and norms of the Eastern tribes.	睇太伯之卜祀， 爰避國於勾吳。 去西滸之樂政， 尊東夷之楷模。
125	As I crossed over to the north side of the Gu River, I still recalled the region of Auspicious Grain. Qingting was made strong owing to the Wu sovereign; Zuili was made mighty by virtue of the king of Yue. I observed the surging waves of Quanting;	時渡谷水之陽， 尚想嘉禾之方。平陽 壯慶亭於吳后， 雄構李於越王。 觀泉亭之涌波，
130	The embankments of [the Qiantang River] are tall and towering, steep and spiring. Unfurling the plain-silk canopies, he [Wu Zixu] wound around the islands and islets; Swiftly galloping his white horses, he then strode over rivers and ponds. He stirred up vast torrents extending ten thousand leagues; Yet, not even the tenderest vines quivered.	崖巍巍而峩峩。平歌 張素蓋而縈州嶼， 馳白馬而越江沓。 鼓洪濤於萬里， 曾未動於纖羅。
135	As I arrived in the Dong’ou area, I ascended Mt. Yusi and Mt. Dongniu.	及戾止乎東歐， 登玉笥與銅牛。平尤/侯

- The mountains of Dongwu district have gathered here from afar;
 Wild geese of the Southern Sea are now soaring and now drifting along.
 Spiring upward, the form of the cliffs resembles that of a canopy;
 140 Rising far into the distance, their aura is like that of a tower.
 Having ascended the Bridge of Shun, I stretched my head;
 Taking a glimpse at Yu's Well, I tarried awhile.
 The Couch of the Censor still exists;
 Yet the Gate of the Protector-General has not been maintained.
 145 Although [my governance] might be wrongly compared with that of Kou
 [Xun], who was beseeched to stay,
 I feel all the same ashamed that I do not know what means to seek in order
 to relieve the people's afflictions.

山東武而遙集，
 鴈南海而飛浮。
 巖亭亭其似蓋，
 氣苕苕其若樓。
 登舜橋而延首，
 瞰禹井而淹留。
 御史之狀[牀]猶在，
 督護之門不脩。
 雖濫同於借寇，
 愧人瘼之何求。

IV

- His August Majesty inspected and gauged my loyal devotion,
 He summoned me to have an audience with him in the Hall of Received
 Brilliance.
 150 I assumed the duties of [administering] the Region of the Huai River and
 the Sea;
 At the same time, I served as governor of the metropolitan area of the
 capital.
 I admired scholar Zhang for banishing the underhanded ones,
 As well as Bian [Feng] and Yan [Du] for their ardent spirit.
 Donning the golden marten cap, I awaited to be questioned;
 155 Girded with jade pendants, tinkling, I hurried through the court.
 I concurrently served in the "Three Rivers" and the "Three Guardians;"
 We had command of the nine vertical lanes and nine transverse pathways.
 I recommended outstanding appointees to the royal court;
 And made known the most outstanding among past exemplars.
 160 At that time I, without any merit, filled a post at the Central Pavilion;
 Being in charge of teachings of the domain, I participated in state affairs.
 Briefly, in the Southern Palace, I recommended scholar-officials;
 Moreover, at the "right-wing of the village school," I was presented as an
 exemplary of virtue.
 I passed judgment on the discussions of ceremonial music at the Circular
 Moat;
 165 And presented arguments on the distinction between the Ruist and the
 Mohist teachings at the Bronze Horse Gate.
 Driving forward, leaving my tranquil dwelling place behind, I gaze out
 widely;
 I am invigorated by the utmost resplendence of the heavenly abode.
 Upon close examination one finds:
 When the august kings settled in a place,

皇覽揆余之忠誠，
 詔入謁於承明。平夷/清/青
 既攝州於淮海，
 且作尹乎中京。
 慕張生之謫伏，
 挹邊延之勵精。
 珥金貂而待問，
 鳴玉佩而趨庭。
 兼三河及三輔，
 惣九緯乎九經。
 揚王庭之俊選，
 聞褒然於前則。人德
 時濫假於中台，
 掌邦教之觀國。
 乍南宮而薦士，
 且右鄉而表德。
 判辟雍之樂語，
 辯金馬之儒墨。
 驅安居以騁望，
 壯天居之麗極。人職
 詳夫：
 皇王爰處，

- They did not have a fixed abode.
170 Yao had his capital in Pingyang;
Shun took up residence in the region of Ji.
The Dark King dwelled in Bo;
The Accomplished Zhou divined Luo [to be their residence].
Therefore,
As for the aura of yellow banners and purple canopies,
175 It is the most magnificent in the “realm-within.”
It is a place where heaven and earth converge;
It is a place where winds and rains meet.
It is shaded by the lush luxuriance of auspicious auras;
Here drifts the dense thickness of felicitous clouds.
180 What thrust upwards are [the West and East) Liang Mountains, forming
gatetowers,
What is winding is the lengthy [Qin] Huai River, resembling a belt.
In times past,
At Sweet Springs and Luminous Splendor,
Peaceful Joy and Everlasting,
Ascending the Empyrean and Soaring Rain,
185 Unicorn and Phoenix,
Nine Splendors and Humanity and Longevity,
Hundred Blessings and Shining Brightness:
[There were] jade stairs and purple palace-gates,
Embellished pillars and richly patterned walls.
190 Magnolia served for the beams;
And ginko wood for the rafters.
In Warm Terrace the winter was balmy;
At Autumn Window the summer was cool.
Jia-rank and yi-rank tents,
195 Were in the quadrant of *Gengxin*.
What they did not have are:
From the east of Jetavana Garden,
I embark for the domain of humanity and longevity.
I availed myself of the boat-bridge,
which for long people have acclaimed as pre-eminent.
200 The Hall of the Sun and Palace of the Moon;
The golden pond, and clusters of pearls.
Seven avenues of gem trees stretch far and long;
A thousand pillars embellished are with gems.
The bow-arched bridge straddles crosswise;
205 The goose park runs across southward.
The Hall of Purple Magenta overlooks the water;
The Blue Lotus Terrace brings forth wind.
- 本無定所。^{上語}
堯都平陽，
舜在冀方。^{平陽}
玄王居亳，
成周卜洛。^{人鐸}
故知
黃旗紫蓋，
域中為大。^{去泰}
天地之所合，
風雨之所會。
蔭美氣之蔥蔥，
浮卿雲之靄靄。
聳梁山而成關，
縈長淮而似帶。
昔者
甘泉暉章，
平樂未央。^{平陽/唐}
凌霄飛雨，
麒麟鳳凰。
九華仁壽，
百福明光。
玉階紫闥，
雕柱錦牆。
木蘭為棟，
文杏為梁。
溫臺冬燠，
秋窗夏涼。
甲乙之帳，
庚辛之方。
未有
祇園之右，
齊之仁壽。^{上有}
用擬舟航，
長為稱首。
日殿月宮，
金池珠叢。^{平東}
七重迢遞，
千柱玲瓏。
虹橋左跨，
鴈苑南通。
紫紺之堂臨水，
青蓮之台帶風。

- When,
The glowing light had not yet reached daybreak;
The counters of the water-clock were hastened by the dawn glow:
210 Still burning were the fires of the solar fire-kindler;
And the torches of the Black Dragon were still tightly held.
Some wore the silk bands embroidered with peach blossoms;
And suddenly there resounded the Jades of Mt. Xuan.
And then [the emperor] conferred [upon me] the rank of "Eighth Honor"
and raised the falcon-banners;
- 215 Truly, such a post only imperial clansmen can occupy.
Responding to the war-drums with the dragon horn,
I placed a tangerine-colored silk curtain over my Bear Carriage.
I set up the Gate of Thills on an islet of the River Huai,
And sailed off on Yuhuang, feeling content and at ease.
- 220 We intoned the long ballad of "Ziliu [ma];"
And performed "Xuanyun" while doing a drum roll.
Laying out the "right-hand vessel," I received men of letters,
Setting up the "left-hand war-chariots company," I recruited men of martial
cultivation.
- As the great wind rises, clouds soar on high;
- 225 Then again while breaking apart its striped hide we drag out a tiger.
Sailing the storied boat, I was knotted with deep cares,
I reflected upon the valiant plan of the Hegemon of Chu.
While I was saddened the "Dappled Horse" could no longer run far,
I put the thought of making a long gallop in chasing the deer out of my
mind.
- 230 Could it be that it because the Wu River was a natural stronghold,
That contributed to the Fire-Red Emperor's divine token of sovereignty?
Thereupon,
Our route took us through the Guan Rampart,
Where the waterway ramifies in Dangli.
There was one time when our king was allied [with the Wei];
- 235 Yet he held the Wei sovereign's request of exchanging hostages
in abeyance.
- General Zhao was credentialed with an official insignia;
Palace Attendant Xin was entrusted with a commission.
Truly, what else could the expression "legs of a tripod" mean?
Demarcated by the lengthy Yangtze River, it [the territory under heaven] is
divided into two domains.
- 240 Moored near the "nine wells," I asked where the ford was;
Undoubtedly it is the metropolis of the Six Dependencies.
It is comparable to the strategic position of the Han Valley;
And is analogous to the "lapels and girdles" of the Luyang Pass.
I observed the discarded travel pass made of shredded silk,
- 及夫
鰲光未旭，
更籌曙促。入燭
猶然陽燧之火，
尚執驪龍之燭。
或帶桃花之綬，
乍響玄山之玉。
爰八命而建旗，

誠非親而勿居。平魚
應鳴鞞於龍角，
覆緹幕於熊車。
開轅門於淮渚，
泛舩皇之容與。上語/虞
吟紫騮之長歌，
奏玄雲之疊鼓。
開右座而納文，
設左廣而投[招]武。

既風起而雲飛，
復摧班而拉虎。
泛樓船而鬱紆，
憶霸楚之雄圖。平模/虞
悲騅馬之不逝，
忘鹿逐之長驅。

豈烏江之天險，
資赤帝之神符。
於是
途經灌壘，
水分當利。去至
彼吾王之連和，
延魏后之交質。

趙將軍之建節，
辛侍中之奉使。上止
亮鼎足其何言，
限修江而為二。去至

泊九井而問津，
蓋六服之都會。去泰
方函谷之設險，
譬魯陽之襟帶。
觀棄繻之裂帛，

- 245 And saw the axle and axle-cap of the towering chariot.
Looking back at the former hilltops of Ruxu,
When it was mealtime, I forgot to eat.
Here a pair of tigers battled along the riverbank;
And two dragons contended on the long slope.
- 250 With military triumph having been gained, only one turned back here;
As for the other, at the sound of a shank-mounted bell, it returned alone to
the place from which it came.
The copper mountains are to be lamented;
For how immoderate was his haughty bearing!
He had already built the Long Isle Park,
- 255 And then he filled up the Hailing Grandary.
Thereupon, he mobilized an army while inwardly harboring contempt [for
the emperor];
It is only proper that he rose in the morning and fell in the evening.
It all started in Xiling where the initial foundation was established,
When the first scaling ladders were raised by [Wang] Shizhi.
- 260 He was upheld as the head of the vanguard troops;
Truly he led an army fully devoted to their king.
This resembles the example of the Job's tears that evoked slander;
Thus creating a story of the "shell-embroidery" that elicited serious doubt.
A fine bow ought to be hidden as soon as the soaring bird has disappeared;
- 265 Entering the court he was not diffident, leaving he did not excuse himself.
Havering and wavering, I roam around the site of Fort [Da]lei;
I encounter an auspicious day with a propitious time.
I offer [Zhou] Gongjin libations of cinnamon wine,
And present Zhongsu [i.e. He Wuji] sacrifices of fagara syrup.
- 270 This indeed was where a noble stratagem to assail Cao [Cao] was realized;
It presumably was where a secret means of plotting against Huan [Xuan]
was carried out.
My coat billows in the wind as I caper about time and again;
My spirit is content and filled with bliss.
I lamented Liu An in Xiazhi,
- 275 And temporarily brought the faithful office to my mind.
Some say that when one mounts a staff, a dragon soars into the air;
Others say that as one shouts at rocks, sheep arise.
Could it be that his chickens are clucking in the heavens,
While subsequently his *hun*-soul is buried in wormwood village?
- 280 It is not that the way of transcendence is a fabrication,
Yet perhaps being humane, in all likelihood, is due to one's individual
action.
I passed by the Fishing Terrace and proceeded on high;
Having passed the Islet of E, I drifted westwards.
Changed is the triple-layered Blue Gate;
- 285 It has become a single mound of yellow dust.
- 見高車之輔軼。
顧濡須之故巘，
每當食而忘飯。^{上阮}
鬪二虎於江干，
爭兩龍於修坂。
既凱捷而來旋，
遂鳴鑼而獨返。
彼銅山之可傷，
何驕容之無方。
已築長洲之苑，
復實海陵之倉。^{平唐/陽}
遂稱兵而內侮，
宜朝起而夕亡。
原西陵以肇基，
始衝梯於士治。^{平之/脂}
載為前茅之首，
實表勤王之師。
同薏苡之興謗，
成貝錦之深疑。
良弓藏而高鳥盡，
人不謙而出不辭。
遊雷中而徜徉，
遇日吉而辰良。^{平陽}
祀公瑾以桂酒，
薦忠肅以椒漿。
賓[實]討曹之英策，
蓋謀桓之秘方。^{上阮}
衣披披而屢舞，
神欣欣而樂康。^{平唐}
吊劉安於下雉，
聊載懷於惇吏[史]。^{上止}
或策杖而龍飛，
或叱石而羊起。
將雞鳴於天上，
遂埋魂於蒿里。
匪仙道之云偽，
蓋為仁其由己。
經釣台而高邁，
過鄂渚而西浮。^{平尤}
變青門之三襲，
為黃塵之一丘。

- The walled cities wind and writhe their way through, yet break off in the middle;
Sloping and slanting, the stairs are only half preserved.
With Shayi as the demarcation point of the border, I instituted the administrative seat;
Immediately right there, I set up the stronghold in Xiazhou.
- 290 The stars are still aligned with the astrological region of the Wing and Axletree;
The astral lodgings share the astral fields of the Dipper and Ox.
Impressed by the shimmering clear water of the Canglang,
I was convinced that it would be truly fine to rinse my cap-strings.
With admiration I sighed in thinking of the kind of fishing that is not really fishing;
- 295 Then again what is there to worry and fret about?
Wishing for something that had not come to my possession,
I stroked the lily magnolia oar and set out on my cruise upstream.
Winter had already withdrawn and spring was taking leave;
- 300 With two boats lashed together, we sported in the water.
I saw the white sand that resembled the appearance of snow,
And gazed afar at the Reclining Crescent, forming an eyebrow.
I looked down on a rocky islet, gazing at the mirror-like water,
And played with the willow branches as tender as silk thread.
Halting at Red Cliff, I long lingered there;
- 305 Gazing pensively for a while, I started to contemplate [the past].
There was an armada from the rivers and lakes of Wu;
And leopards and tigers from the inland production of Wei.
Basically Wu was superior and Wei inferior;
Even more so did Wu have advantageous geographical position and favorable heavenly timing.
- 310 They created a furious wind that flamed upward;
They lit a prairie fire into the startling gusts.
Ashes flurried like mist, striking the horses;
Arrows flew helter-skelter, hitting enemy forces smack in their backbone.
They achieved an exultant spirit in returning the war chariots,
- 315 Yet the prophecy of “that which stands in the way” [i.e. Wei] was shattered where deer and elaphures flourished.
They demarcated Lake Dongting within the Wu territory,
And kept reinforcements in the east at Baqiu.
Similar to Zi and Sheng that were distinguished from each other,
Here too, rivers parted ways just as the Jing and Wei flowed separately.
- 320 Though for a while it [our boat] steadily rushed forward,
In the end, rocking and swaying, it idly drifted.
I fantasized about Lanxiang offering me her pillow,
And embraced the thought of a night roaming with Huang’e.
- 城逶迤而中斷，
階坡陀而半留。
分沙羨而啟鎮，
即開蕃於夏州。
星尚連於翼軫，
舍兼分於斗牛。
麗滄浪之水清，
良信美乎濯纓。
嗟其釣而非釣，
復何慮而何營。
羌有願而不護[獲]，
拂蘭橈而上征。
冬已謝而春辭，
聊方舟而水嬉。
看白沙而似雪，
望卻月而成眉。
臨石渚其如鏡，
玩弱柳其猶絲。
停赤壁而延佇，
聊愴望而方思。
吳水鄉之舟楫，
魏陸產之皋獮。
本吳長而魏短，
況地利與天時。
結憤風而炎上，
燎原火於驚颶。
灰霧霏而擊馬，
箭參差而麗龜。
成班車之逸氣，
碎當途於麋麋。
分洞庭於吳上，
限東益於巴丘。
如涇渭之相別，
似涇渭之分流。
雖滔滔而直瀉，
終耿耿而橫浮。
想蘭香之薦枕，
懷娥皇之夜遊。

As for, The recorded site where [Zhuge] Ziyu devised a strategic stronghold, 325 And the place where Yan Ao swam through the Yong River: Having dismounted my chariot [arriving at my official post], I set foot on the territory; I had long before investigated these places in local gazetteers. In the morning I moored my boat at the ford of Yu Quan; In the evening, I gazed at the temple of the Huang Valley. 330 Residing underneath the willow tree [Liuxia], I bestowed my kindness; Sitting in the shade of a sweet-pear tree, I looked on high. I distributed the “six articles” to those who were in charge of towns and settlements; My instruction was deemed worthier than the ten regional retainers combined. Every time I “write on a chariot” [recommending a worthy gentlemen to office] with people like [Chen] Zhongju in mind, 335 How could I care about empty reputation, such as that of [Wang] Shuzhi. Taking advantage of a break from official duties to climb hills and look down on the water, This [the official duty] has confounded my original intent. At this time then, I raised the feathered canopy, And hoisted banners and streamers. 340 I rode a chariot of carved jade, And was followed by a company of shell-studded belts. As the floating clouds rose, I ascended the Gaotang shrine. Sailing towards winding islets, 345 I gazed at Cenyang bay. Thorny bushes grow beneath the Dragon Gate; Foxes and hares burrow beside the walled city of Mamu. As we approached the Terrace of Manifest Splendor, I cast darting glances; I observed the bleak and dreary scene of the former domain of Chu. 350 I sought to extend my gaze as far as a thousand leagues; Yet for someone who is grieving over spring, what is there left to grieve over? The site of the old Zhu Palace— Encircles the river, and girdles cross-paths, Spreads and sprawls over the well fields. 355 Thoroughfares and throughways intertwine and separate; Lofty gates connect and join with each other. Everyone is girded with a Water Heart sword; Every household is supplied with fields cultivated by burning. Having engaged in pursuit and chase, they fulfill their natures; 360 Truly they rest peacefully and have transcended their worries.	若夫 子瑜設險之記， 閭遨游湧之地。去至/志 既下車而踐境， 早詢求於方志。 曉泊鬻拳之津， 夕瞻荒谷之寺。 居柳下而布德， 坐棠陰而高視。 班六條於宰邑， 賢十部於從事。 每題輿於仲舉， 豈虛名乎叔治。 藉務隙於登臨， 乃紛吾之本志。 時復 設羽蓋， 揚旌旆。去泰 乘雕玉， 從貝帶。 浮雲起， 登高唐。平唐/陽 泛枉渚， 望沔陽。 荊棘生於龍門之下， 狐兔穴於馬牧之旁。 臨章華而流眄， 見舊楚之淒涼。 試極目乎千里， 何春心之可傷。 其舊渚宮也 夾江帶阡， 布護[濩]井田。平先/仙 通達[達]交迸， 高門接連。 人要水心之劍， 家有給[火]耕之田。 既追隨而得性， 實燕處而超然。
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- As for standing in the middle of Level Terrace,
Viewing towers and raised passageways seem joined together:
Majestic bridges straddle the moat;
Mighty upturned eaves soar into the air.
- 365 There is the path to the metal-strong dike;
As well as the palace of Tongti.
Pavilions replicate “welkin-soaring” galleries;
Storied buildings overspread “ornate watchtowers.”
Athwart Race Horse they made a viewing tower;
- 370 In imitation of Oxherd a bridge was built.
And then
There are trees including hazel and chestnut,
Idesia, paulownia, catalpa, and lacquer tree.
Yellow mandarin orange from the three Ba commandaries,
Vermillion sweet orange comparable to a marquis with fief of a thousand households.
- 375 As the peach tree casts shade over the well, a footpath is taking shape;
Amidst the duckweed drifting along the river, fruit is floating on the water.
Chirring on branches, cicadas are anticipating the [ripening] of the rice;
Wearing soaring caps, honeybees spit out honey.
Then,
Under the water there are the rock’s hair,
- 380 The mountain’s tendon and the earth’s skeleton.
The book band is extruding new sprouts,
The wind shielding is sending forth buds.
The soul restorer and the life lengthener,
The divine longevity and female perseverance.
- 385 The golden salt and jade soy,
The chive of Yao and blossom of Shun.
The alternately yielding is its characterization,
The successively succeeding is its name.
The “sorrow forgetting” and “long-lasting joy,”
- 390 The “lute strumming” and “zither thrumming.”
As for the bamboos there are:
The *yundang* and *lülü*,
The *jiaozhan* and *cipi*.
That which was stained with the tears of Shun’s consorts,
And that which transformed into a dragon returning to Gebei.
- 395 Gracefully supple, they keep off the dew:
Slimly tapering, they occupy both sides of the pond.
I shall have a book to my right and a zither to my left,
And have followers come one after another to the north of Mt. Hua.
For those disciples coming in quest of the Way,
- 400 Each individual in seeking has a certain purpose in mind.
- 若平臺之中，
觀閣相通。平東
雄梁渡水，
壯翼臨空。
金堤之路，
銅鞮之宮。平宵
閣寫陵霄，
樓布麗譙。
橫走馬而為觀，
擬牽牛而作橋。
爾乃
樹之榛栗，
椅桐梓漆。入質/衛
三色[巴]黃甘，
千戶朱橘。
- 桃蔭井而成蹊，
萍浮江而泛實。
蟬鳴枝而候稻，
范飛冠而吐蜜。
復有
水底石髮，
山筋地骨。入沒/月
書帶新抽，
屏風牙發。
反魂長生，
靈壽女貞。平清/庚/耕
金鹽玉歧，
堯韭舜榮。
交讓之目，
代謝之名。
忘憂長樂，
桃杷鼓箏。
竹則：
簣簣綠箬，
交戰策皮。平支
淚沾虞后，
龍還葛陂。
便娟防露，
檀欒夾池。
聊右書而左琴，
且繼踵於華陰。平侵
彼門人之問道，
各家求而有心。

- Picking up a lead brush, I first identify places where “oafish” (魯) is read as “fish” (魚),
 I then determine in detail on a reading between “pot” (陶) and “shade” (陰).
 I become aware of [the places where] the “Three Schools” are reputedly wrong,
 And recognize [the way in which] the “Five Gates” can be tracked down.
- 405 At this time, respectfully complying with the august imperial stratagem,
 We chastised the Ba and Pu people in the territories of Pi and Tiao.
 We then asserted our imposing might on Huamo [Gumo],
 And brought out transportable cages from Yunxiu [Yixiu].
 We observed the people from as remote as “lunar grotto” submitting to the authority of His Majesty,
- 410 And witnessed the travelers from “solar bridle” [Rile] coming to pay a visit.
 Among them, there was the general with the appellation of “Tiger’s teeth,”
 And one who bore “Dragon’s forehead” as his noble epithet.
 Respecting the breadth and depth of His August Majesty’s grace.
 We cast doubt on the music of Zhuli, as well as that of Mai and Ren.
- 415 We put Baiti’s (Betik) striking the drum under scrutiny;
 And he saw to it that a Wusun come and learn how to play the zither.
 They presented “osmanthus twig” steeds as handsome tributary gifts,
 And offered outlandish treasures of “peach branch.”
 One ought to sneer at Ma Yuan’s gathering of grain,
- 420 And laugh at Zang Min’s hand-drawing of the terrain.
 Foolish were they to present themselves as throat-lodged fish-bones;
 They encroached on our lands and had yet to be quelled.
 They were different from the Yellow Turbans and Black Mountains;
 They were not the Green Grove or the Blue Ridges.
- 425 Heaving a sigh, I pointed out their tracks [i.e. issued an order to have them captured];
 I sustained leniency while upholding harshness.
 Carrying the ornate “Pacing on the glint” sword,
 I am overawed by the setting sun north of the Han River.
 When I command the “jade girdle-pendant” to turn left,
- 430 The right aide’s tortoise-shell hairpin gleams [in motion].
 As white clouds come forth, the opposing sides lay out their troops confronting each other,
 As red dust rises up, they engage in tumultuous battles.
 Thereupon,
 We spur on fleet Sushuang horses,
 And dispatch stout arbalests.
- 435 Turning around the golden talons of the halcyon-plume canopies,
 We now overlook the “Jade Hall” of the “Crimson Palace.”
- 先鉛撻於魚魯，
 乃紛定於陶陰。
 識三家之云謬，
 知五門之可尋。
- 時仰稟於皇猷，
 討巴濮於裨儵。
 乃稜威於華墨，
 出車檻之云脩。
 觀月窟之入附，
 睹日勒之來遊。
- 既虎牙而成號，
 又龍額而為侯。
 仰皇德之洪深，
 疑朱離於侏任。
 見白題之蹋鼓，
 看鳥孫之學瑟。
 獻挂[桂]條之良賁，
 奉桃[條]枝之怪琛。
 嗤聚米於馬援，
 哂畫地於臧旻。
 彼蠢爾之為鯁，
 伊憑凌而未靜。
 異黃金[巾]於黑山，
 非綠林於青嶺。
 余喟然以指蹤，
 實濟寬而持猛。
 負步光之文劍，
 驚漢陽之夕景。
 麾靈琚之左轉，
 光玳簪而右纂。
 日[白]雲生而陣合，
 紅塵起而軍暗。
 於是
 驅驪驪，
 命蹶張。
 迴翠蓋之金爪，
 臨絳宮之玉堂。

There was one who re-instituted the Protector-general of the Western Regions, and the Wu and Ji commandant; And one who modeled himself on Jing-style formations in laying out the armored garments. There was one who adapted the Qi troop's maneuver of reducing the cooking pits; 440 And one who adopted the stratagem of the Yan army's laying siege to city- walls. I observed the farm laborers among the preserved marshland, And ordered the attendant on the right to drive straight ahead. This one has just joined the army at the Tender Willow Garrison; That one was spurring on a horse to the Tall Elm Fortress. 445 I sorrow over the ape embracing the tree in desperate wailing, And lament the hare who dashed into the stump. Recalling these things, I often blanch and change expression, At the point of driving forward, I turn around my chariot. It strikes compassion in my heart when I read about the one who released the fawn, 450 And it stirs up tenderness when I face the struggling little fish. How much more it is to have a splendid [farewell] banquet on the side of the city wall? Halting my five-horse carriage, I go back and forth. And there are: Blue Zither and Emerald Jade, Scarlet Twig and Green Pearl. 455 Wang Bao from west of the Yellow River, And Mian Ju from east of the field. Lamps of eupatorium perfumed fat burning at dusk; Coupled jade-discs casting slanting reflections across the sky. They shine on the whirling snow amidst the streaming wind, 460 And glint on the newly emerged tender lotus. In this my heart takes no delight; Nor have I ever once wandered and drifted about there. Since I have been unworthily endowed with the honor of being enfeoffed in "the Shaan division," One synodic revolution of Jupiter has passed. 465 [At that time] my heir had just been born, now he is about to be given a courtesy name in his "capping ceremony;" Heaving a sigh I lingered and loitered, circling around. As I was about to give up the auspicious insignia that conveys authority for presiding over the frontier, I saw multitudes of Chu folk sprawling across the road. I looked out on the wide and vast autumn field, 470 And faced the cold river, softly gurgling. I saw the lush luxuriance of returning clouds dispersing, And heard the sighing sibillance of distant winds puffing out.	擬都護之戌己， 模荊尸之甲裳。 作齊軍之減竈， 數燕師之臥牆。 觀田峻於虞澤， 命車右而前驅。平虞 猶從戎於細柳， 若驅馬於長榆。 矜猿鳴之抱木， 傷兔走之依株。 每愀然而作色， 方載馳而轉軾。人職 閱放麕而興憫， 對亂鱗而動惻。 矧高宴於城隅， 駐五馬而踟躕。平虞 乃有 青琴碧玉， 絳樹綠珠。 西河王豹， 東野綿駒。 蘭缸夕然， 合璧斜天。平先/仙 照流風之迴雪， 映出水之初蓮。 非吾心之所悅， 曾未始而流連。 濫叨榮於分陝， 踰一紀之星躔。 子既生而冠字， 嗟留滯以迴還。 罷臨邊之瑞節， 觀楚黎之臥轍。人薛/周 向秋野之蒼茫， 對寒江之幽咽。 散歸雲之鬱蓊， 吐長風之颼颼。
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Upon hearing the mournful plaint of the Qiang flute,
I listened to the acute poignancy of the Tartar whistle.
475 As they clutched my sleeves, tears flowed in streams;
As they gripped my carriage shafts, I could not bear to depart.

聞羌笛之哀怨，
聽胡笳之淒切。
慘余袂兮淚成行，
攀余轅兮不忍別。

VI

Humbly receiving the tablet of credence, I set out to enter the court;
Spurring on the four-horse-team chariot, I then rode a swift cabriolet.
On the one hand I have wide-reaching authority over the troops;
480 On the other hand I donned a cap with a lavish marten's tail ornament.
I climbed where the fierce beast rests on its heels, and extended my gaze
afar;
My vista extended far beyond level plain.
[Our route] circled through straight throughways, each nine chariot-gauges
wide;
And joined the imperial speedways in the middle of the three-lane avenues.
485 Over there, watchmen's clappers struck within the double gates;
Wherever the rosy clouds arise, I established my guidepost:
Cinnabar-red pavilions are variegated with figured ceilings;
Green rockeries are interspersed with ornate latticed windows.
I caught sight of the Mountain of the "Falling Star" arching high,
490 And observed the scintillating fire, stretching far and meandering.
It loomed upward like Penglai looks down upon the halcyon sea,
Meandering afar as Mt. Kunlun emerges out of the scarlet ether.
This is how the imperial realm manifests itself;
And where the Yangtze and Han Rivers flow to pay allegiance [to the sea].
As for:
495 Heaven not holding back its way,
Earth not stinting on its treasures:
The *binlian* (continued succession tree) and the *zida* (purple prevailing),
The flower of peace and the vermillion herb;
Unicorns of five colors,
500 And soaring hares with dual-wings;
Are all gathered by our lord's orchard,
And ramble about beside our emperor's parasol trees.
At this time,
At the circular mound the Son of Heaven performs the grand suburban
sacrifice;
The jadestone tablet is exalted beyond that of the Eastern Han.
505 The copper tablet is rendered even more majestic than that of the Western
Zhou;
To proffer the cerulean jade-disc, he attires himself in the grand fur-
garment.

奉信珪而入朝，
驅駟馬而乘軺。平宵/蕭
既總司於戎旅，
亦兼飾於豐貂。
登贊踞而目極，
忽平原之已超。
帶方達之九軌，
接馳道之三條。
彼重門之擊柝，
馮霞起以建標。
雜丹樓以藻井，
閒青山於綺繚。
耆[瞰]落星之嵒巖，
覩燿火之迢遶。上小
鬱如蓬萊之臨滄海，
憬如崑崙之出絳霄。平宵
函夏之所覲，
江漢之所朝。
若夫
天不愛道，
地不愛寶。上皓
賓連紫達，
華平朱草。
麒麟五色，
飛兔雙翼。人職
集我君圃之旁，
遊我帝梧之側。
於斯時也，
天子郊禘於員丘，
高玉簡於東漢。去翰
邁金版於西周，
奏蒼璧而服大裘。平尤

	For music there is the dance of “Cloud Plumes”; Among sacrificial animals there is no ox with cocoon or chestnut-like horns.	樂有雲翹之舞， 牲非繭栗之牛。
510	He displays the yellow jade tube-scepter to pay tribute to Earth; And performs the <i>wang</i> sacrifice to the square marshland in the divine region. The jade pipe follows the rhythm of the “All-encompassing Pool;” The ceremonial cap lacks incrassate dew-like strung gems. He observes the “three farmers” among the “nine grains” [which they cultivate], And presents early and late ripening seeds of broomcorn and foxtail millet [to the earth deity].	設黃琮而禮地， 望方澤乎神州。 節會咸池之瑄， 冕無繁露之旒。 觀三農乎九穀， 薦黍稷之種稊。 人屋
515	He orders the master of the domain to clear the dust, And commands the director of mounds to come forth and sojourn overnight. Regarding the green altar with reverence, he summons the supervisor of forestry and hunting, He moves the halcyon plowshare and prays for grain. On the primal <i>si</i> day in the last month of spring,	命甸師而清塵， 詔封人而出宿。 敬青壇而致虞， 動翠耜而祈穀。 時季春之上巳，
520	We all arrive at the still-pool for the “purgation and lustration” rites. Apricot blossoms are emerging in the Dewy Chill; Jujube dates are floating by the Murky Shore. Then, we observe the imperial festival for prolonging life; He gathers the “essence of the sun” at the foot of the mountain.	臨祓禊乎沼沚。 上止/旨 杏花發於露寒， 棘實浮於濛汜。 爰長久之御節， 採日精於山趾。
525	The Heavenly Whip, when deployed at night, mobilizes other constellations; The Angular Array, when spread out in the morning, puts things firmly in their courses. At this time, I accompany the jade axle-cap. Embellished with a golden bridle, I ride the chariot driven by “Lu’er,”	天策夜而動星， 鉤陳朝而按軌。 予是時也， 陪玉軼， 飾金羈。 平支 驅騶駟，
530	And leap on to the “lustrous brown-bear.” We rode the “sui generis,” And drove the “extraordinaire.” The precious sword is clear and resplendent; The variegated fringe is brightly colored.	曜[躍]翠鬃。 乘倜儻， 控權奇。 寶劍昭晰， 綵鞵陸離。
535	Suddenly lowering my head, I shoot at the “horse hoof” target; And from time to time I raise my head and aim at the “Yuezhi” target. I see the divine bird prognosticating the “Xun” [Compliance] trigram, And observe the “south-pointer” indicating the direction of the “Li” [Brightness] trigram. Accustomed to holding a whip in one hand and a brush in the other,	乍俯馬足， 時仰月支。 見靈鳥之占巽， 觀司南之候離。
540	I am oblivious of fatigue, even as the sun sets.	習執鞭而珥筆， 雖日夕而忘疲。

VII

Recesses are layered within the Luminous Hall,
 As the sunlight reaches the middle [of the sky].
 With eight window panels it has access to each of the four directions;
 It opens up to a round top and a square bottom.
 545 I set out the luminous water collected in the moon mirror,
 And lay out the jade cruse and ladle to fill the goblets.
 In the Ministry of State I informed the minister of state [about my recent
 appointment];
 Attired in ceremonial robes, I identified the directional positions.
 I revere the clustered pondweed among the plants,
 550 Yet despise the oxen and goats about to be offered at the banquet of
 offerings.
 Relying on the great bounty [of imperial favor] I have the post carriage at
 my disposal;
 With the emperor having pushed my wheel-hubs forward, I placate the
 local area.
 I traced the source of Lamia Stream to Converged Marsh,
 And followed the course of the Swan Pass to Xunyang.
 555 How vast and wide are Like Peng[li] and Tong Stream,
 And how densely gray and lushly green is Kuang's Mountain Nook.
 And such is Kuang's Mountain Nook,
 Winding and turning, peaked and sharp,
 Jagged and rough, steeply scarped.
 560 Steeply it reaches to the heavens,
 It grazes the empyrean, prominently protruding.
 Peaked and pointed,
 It leaves the sun and moon covered and eclipsed.
 Cavernously yawning, it is gaping widely open,
 565 With its back to the plain, facing the open wilds.
 It spurts out flying flows to the ends of the sky,
 And shakes with thunder and thunderclaps under the cliffs.
 Soaring upward are lofty lodges amidst the clouds;
 It is connected to a shrine copse at the Constellation altar.
 570 Carved purlins and ornate galleries—
 One gasps in amazement, lest they fall.
 Clouds and mists gathering and darkening,
 Envelop myriads of mountain ridges, all glittering green.
 Gleaming and shimmering are the mountain villas,
 575 And rugged and tall are their stone bridges.
 The remains of Yanmen's pavilion.
 As well as the old couch from the Long'an era.
 The "mirror" overlooking the river distributes its reflections,
 The "censer" holding flowers in its mouth gives forth their fragrance.

奧重明堂，
 地景[丙]巳乎正陽。平陽/唐
 乃八牕而四達，
 開上員而下方。
 置陰鑒之明水，
 設珪瓚而盈觴。
 諱天官乎冢宰，
 服端委而辯方。
 虔植物之蘊藻，
 鄙將饗之牛羊。
 藉鴻私而置傳，
 復推轂而懷方。
 沂[沂]蛟川於匯澤，
 沿鵠塞於潯陽。
 何蠡川之浩浩，
 而匡岫之蒼蒼。
 其匡岫也，
 盤紆嵒峯，
 巖嶙鬱律。人術
 峻極于天，
 干霄秀出。
 岑嶽崎嶇，
 烏兔蔽虧。平支
 崕岈豁聞[聞]，
 背原面野。上馬
 噴飛流於天末，
 鼓雷霆於巖下。
 聳高館於雲中，
 聯繫祠於星社。
 雕甍綺閣，
 吁可畏其欲落。人鐸
 雲霧杳冥，
 縈萬嶺而俱青。平青
 照曜山莊，
 岿巍石梁。平陽
 鴈門餘帳，
 隆安故床。
 鏡臨江而分影，
 鑪銜花而共香。

- 580 The feathered species fly round and about,
Scrutinizing the wind and responding to thunder.
There are the mandarin ducks evoked in a dream,
And magpies who know the future;
The dew duck holding a hen shouting to companions,
- 585 With affection, the yellow-beaked sparrow holding jade rings in its mouth
or carrying earth.
Peacocks following closely on their shadows [in dancing], glide in the air,
Flying squirrels ruffle their feathers in crossing their necks [to show
affection].
- As for
Lake Pengli drawing near to the sky,
And thereby holding sway over the hundred streams:
- 590 Sputtering and spouting, flowing and flooding,
Tossing and tumbling, continuously stretching,
In its greatness it is vast and wide, immense and massive,
In its fineness it trickles and drizzles, ceaselessly flows.
Encountering it, I pray that the tempest would not go astray,
- 595 Let there be no transgression for which to make retribution.
When it is about to mount spiraling on the whirlwind ninety thousand
leagues high,
Abruptly with a swift gust, the wake is three thousand leagues long.
In its midst there are:
Fine fish, splashing and leaping,
Swallows feathered and dragons whiskered,
- 600 Star adorned and gem bearing.
And those with a cattail-shaped body and a pheasant physique:
Briefly they float like round mirrors;
Then at times they drift like bright pearls.
Through them a long letter of the wanderer was delivered,
- 605 And a short note of a transcendent being was sent.
There was one who was ashamed of the pleasures of admiring the fish,
And another who released a goose from the corded arrow.
I shall hope for a turtle the same as the Kong Yu encountered,
Or for a crane similar to the one that Kuai Can came across.
- 610 Indignantly my hair pushes up my hat as I vent my wrath;
Alas, how parsimonious are our folks in altruistic giving!
- 若乃羽族徘徊，
察風應雷。平仄/哈
鴛鴦感夢，
乾鵲知來。
露華挾鷗而嘯侶，
銜環帶壘而含猜[情]。

孔接影而飈颺，
鵲交頸而陪鯉。

爾其
彭蠡際天，
用長百川。平仙/先
沸渭淪溢，
漱淡連延。
大則浩汗滉漾，
細則澆灌潺湲。
遇祈飈之沸[弗]爽，
彼所報之無憊。
且搏搖以九萬，

乍高颺而三千。
其中則有
灩澦嘉魚，
鸞羽龍鬚。平語/魚
戴星含石，
蒲身雉軀。
乍浮圓鏡，
時泛明珠。
報蕩子之長信，
送仙人之短書。
恥觀魚而為樂，
解舒雁於高繳。入藥/鐸
必冀孔愉之龜，
當如噲參之鶴。
愾衝冠而發憤，
嗟吾人之施薄。

VIII

- Looking over the advances and retreats of my life;
In each case I have devoted myself to stillness and abided in
uprightness.
- 615 I would be embarrassed to become as wealthy as "Golden Valley,"
Yet I would not pretend to claim the purity of "Stone Wicket."
Being humble and yielding, I have always complied with the
accepted measures;
I rely on the Kingly Way that has become smooth.
Valuing tranquility is what most people do as a matter of
convenience;
I, however, embrace it as it comes to me naturally.
- 620 I disapprove of the presumptuous prospect of living for three
hundred years,
And instead, I cherish I am fifty *sui* in a bountiful year.
I take delight in the water ladled from the running wayside pool,
And rejoice over the timely rain falling on the field of stones.
I flick fresh plum blossoms to the "powder-faced" [palace ladies],
625 And brush away the light catkins from the cotton from Fang(zi).
The "moon mushroom" juts up and falls in the morning;
And the candlewick flower unfolds and nocturnally bursts into
flame.
Entrusting themselves to the wind, chrysanthemums scatter in golden
hues;
Girding themselves in tears of water, lotus leaves form beads of
pearl-like droplets.
- 630 I have sung in my sleep of "Breaking off a Willow-branch."
Again while ambling around I chant of "Plucking Lotus Blossoms."
I divine by Meng Xi's "seven allotments" and "six days;"
And extrapolate the number of Earth two and Heaven three.
In eventide I tally calendrical regulations and figure the two
segments [of a right triangle],
- 635 Also "the sloping tip" and "three arrows joined together."
From youth I have amused myself with hallowed documents and
texts;
I have done this unabated to this very day.
Bamboo strips with "cloudy vapor" and "mushroom bloom" script;
Writings in "suspended needle" and "inverted shallot" script:
- 640 They are bundled up in boxes of steamed chestnuts,
And decorated with beads like sour jujubes.
I imitate King Xian of Hejian in keeping the originals,
And hold pure Ruist scholars in such high esteem as if they are
treasures placed on the sitting mat.
I laughed at Peng Zu and Lao Dan for deeming themselves inferior
men,
- 觀進退於我生，
每篤靖而居貞。° 平清/庚
- 羞為金谷之富，
不矯石閭之清。
每鞠躬而遵節，
藉王道之既平。° 平仙/先
貴靜者人所便，
予得之於自然。
非三百之不足，
惜五十於豐年。
笑汙斜之行潦，
喜甘雨於石田。
飛新梅於倡粉，
拂輕絮於房綿。
月芝抽而曉落，
燈花開而夜燃。
- 菊從風而金散，
荷帶水而珠圓。
已寤歌於折柳，
復行吟而採蓮。
課七分與六日，
推兩地與參天。
夕章程而鉤股，
亦剡注而參連。
幼墳藉以自娛，
迄方今而不渝。° 平虞/魚
雲氣芝英之簡，
懸針倒薤之書。
緘乎蒸栗之帙，
飾乎酸棗之珠。
擬河獻之留真，
希淳儒之席珍。° 平真/欣
笑彭聃之下士，

645	And joined the practice of valuing propriety with self-contentment. Looking at the “Floods of Autumn” (“Qiushui”) [I achieve] the “Ultimate Joy” (“Zhile”); Ascending the Spring Terrace, I find myself satisfied. Cutting through doors and windows [to make a house with the empty space within], I cast a long gaze; Mingling among the “wooden geese,” I lay out this piece in full.	聯重義而自欣。 臨秋水之至樂， 登春台而自欣。 鑿戶牖而長望， 混木鴈而兼陳。
650	I heave a sigh for what is to come today and what has gone in the past; Just now, at the sight of capturing a unicorn, I lay down my brush.	嗟今來而古往， 方絕筆於獲麟。

Notes:

Title

The *locus classicus* of the term *xuanlan* 玄覽 is the *Laozi*. Taking 覽 as a loan graph for the word *jiàn* (mirror), conventionally written as 鑑/鑒, Gao Heng 高亨 explains the term as “an enlightened mind, serves as a metaphysical mirror, which reflects and projects matters and things” 玄鑒者, 內心之光明, 為形而上之鏡, 能照察事物, 故謂之玄鑒. See Gao Heng, *Laozi zheng gu*, 24. Following the same reading, D.C. Lau translates the line in question as “Can you polish your dark mirror/ And leave no blemish?” 滌除玄覽, 能無疵乎. Trans. Lau, *Tao Te Ching*, 279. This rendering is corroborated by the excavation of the Mangwangtui *Laozi* A/B 馬王堆帛書老子 (甲/乙). In the corresponding place, Mawangtui *Laozi* A/B 馬王堆帛書老子 (甲/乙) has 藍 and 監 respectively for the 覽 in the transmitted text. See Gao Ming, *Boshu Laozi jiaozhu*, 265. Trans. Robert G. Henricks, *Lao-Tzu Te-Tao Ching, A New Translation Based on the Recently Discovered Ma-Wang-Tui Texts* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 206. Also see Jean Levi, *The Complete Tao Te Ching with The Four Canons of the Yellow Emperor*, trans. Jody Gladding (Rochester and Toronto: Inner Traditions, 2011), 75.

Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249) explains the term *xuanlan* as *jilan* 極覽 (the ultimate view), which according to his understanding refers to one’s ability to “not let other [irrelevant] things interfere with his insight” 不以物介其明. Heshang Gong 河上公 glosses *lǎn* 覽 as viewing the underlying pattern that governs all existences and paraphrases the term as “The mind dwells in a place of darkness and murkiness, and there perceives and comprehends the myriad things” 心居玄冥之處覽知萬事. See *Laozi Daode jing, Sibü beiyao*, A.5b. Zheng Chenghai, *Laozi Heshang Gong zhu jiaoli*, 1.59. Wang Bi’s and Heshang Gong’s interpretations imply a reflective viewing as a gesture or metaphor for a profound and unimpeded intellect. According to Chen Jun, it is within this semantic range into which the term *xuanlan* in the opening line of Lu Ji 陸機 “Wen fu” 文賦 (*Fu* on literature) falls in: “The writer stands at the center of things, darkly observes, Nurturing his feelings and his mind in canons and scriptures 伫中區以玄覽, 頤情志於典墳. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Three, 213. See Chen Jun 陳君, “Shi ‘Zhu zhongqu yi xuanlan’” 釋伫中區以玄覽, *Wenxue yichan* (2004/5), 118–21.

The *locus classicus* of the term *lan* can be found in the “Jiu ge” 九歌 of the *Chu ci*, in which the word *lan* embodies the sense of an all-encompassing gaze that can range over the world. The line reads: “He looks down on Jizhou and the lands beyond it/ There is no place in the world that he does not pass over” 覽冀州兮有餘/ 橫四海兮焉窮. See Hong Xingzu, *Chu ci buzhu*, 59. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 113. This mode of viewing also appears in *Shi ji*’s account of the First Emperor of Qin’s inspection tour. The line reads: “[His Majesty] ascended Mt. Tai, and commanded an all-encompassing view of the extremity in the east” 登茲泰山, 周覽東極. See *Shi ji*, 6.243.

L. 1

Suici 歲次 refers to the counter-orbit Jupiter year, which is denoted by the position of Taisui 太歲 (counter-Jupiter). *Zhanmeng* 旃蒙 is the one of the counter-Jupiter positions which corresponds to the second of the ten celestial stems (*tiangan* 天干) *yi* 乙. See *Erya zhushu*, 6.42: “when the counter-Jupiter position corresponds to *jia* it is called *E’feng*, when it corresponds to *yi* it is called *Zhanmeng*” 太歲在甲曰闕逢，在乙曰旃蒙。 To enumerate Taisui with the ten *gan* 干 graphs in a set may be considered a proto form of *ganzhi* year date. Here Xiao Yi deliberately uses this ancient form to designate the year.

L. 2

Sikong 司空 refers to one of the twenty-eight lunar lodges named Wei 危 (Roof), which corresponds to *zi* 子, the first of the twelve earthly branches (*dizhi* 地支). The eleventh month of the lunar calendar, in which the winter solstice is located, is usually considered the beginning of a new year-cycle, thus it is designated as the *yuejian zai zi*. See *Shi ji*, 27.1309: “Wei in the east is comprised of six stars, they line up in pairs, named Sikong” 危東六星，兩兩相比，曰司空。 Also see Edward H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void, T’ang Approaches to the Stars* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1977), 76; Needham, *Science and civilization in China*, 4: part 1: 171–72; Pankenier, *Astrology and Cosmology in Early China*, 470

L. 3

Lü 呂 (pitch-pipe) refers to six of the notes in the twelve semitone scale. The “six pitch- pipes” were the so-called *yin* 陰 notes and in ascending order of pitch consisted of the *da lü* 大呂, *jia zhong* 夾鐘, *zhong lü* 仲呂, *lin zhong* 林鐘, *nan lü* 南呂, and *ying zhong* 應鐘. The other six *yang* 陽 notes were called *lü* 律 (pitch). Each of the twelve notes is assigned to one of the twelve months of the lunar year. “Pitch-pipe of *ling ying*” seems to refer to the *ying zhong* of the “six pipes,” which corresponds to the first month of winter, the tenth month of the year. See He Ning, *Huainanzi jishi*, 5.379–432. See Needham, *Science and civilization in China*, 4: part 1: 171–72; Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han*, 112–18. The *Yiwen leiju* reads *ling yin* 凌陰 in all other versions as *rui bin* 蕤賓, which refers to the fifth month of the year.

L. 4

Wind of the Vast Void (Guangmo feng 廣莫風) is the northern wind; it is one of the eight winds (Ba feng 八風) of the eight directions. See He Ning, *Huainanzi jishi*, 3.199. Also see Major, “Notes on the Nomenclature of Winds and Directions in the Early Han,” 67–68. Also refer to his *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought*, 77–80.

L. 5

Qianwei 褰帷, literally “to lift up the curtains [of a chariot],” alludes to an anecdote about Jia Cong 賈琮 (fl. 184). According to the biography of Jia Cong in the *Hou Han shu*, when Jia Cong arrived in Jizhou 冀州 where he served as the regional inspector, upon his arrival he had the

curtains of his chariot unfurled, saying, “being a regional inspector one ought to extend his vision and broaden his hearing, to supervise and examine good and bad. How could one lower the screen curtains and shut himself out instead? 刺史當遠視廣聽, 糾察美惡, 何反垂帷裳以自掩塞乎. See *Hou Han shu*, 80.1112. Thus, the term “*qianwei*” has been associated with the image of an amiable and conscientious local governor.

Jiu shui 九水 (nine waters) alludes to the fabled *Jiu jiang* 九江 (nine rivers) mentioned in the “Yu gong” 禹貢 of the *Shang shu* 尚書, *Shang shu zhengyi* 6.37: “Mount Jing and the area south of Mount Heng formed [the boundaries of] Jingzhou, where the Jiang and the Han rivers pursued their pilgrimage route to the sea, and the nine rivers were densely gathered” 荆及衡陽惟荊州, 江漢朝宗于海, 九江孔殷. The exact identification of these waterways was the subject of much controversy even during the Han period. According to some interpretations, the *Jiu shui* supposedly were nine rivers that all flowed into Lake Pengli. Cf. Li Daoyuan’s 酈道元 (cr. 470–527) *Shuijing zhu* 水經注, who quotes Liu Xin 劉歆 (cr. 50 BCE–23 CE) saying: “nine rivers such as Huhan river enter Lake Pengli, thus it is referred to as [the area of] ‘nine rivers’ *Jiujiang*” 湖漢等九水入彭蠡, 故言九江矣. See Chen Qiaoyi 陳橋驛, ed. and comm., *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi* 水經注校釋 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou daxue chubanshe, 1999), 39.683. Lake Pengli is the ancient name of Lake Dongting 洞庭湖 (in modern *Jiujiang* 九江 *shi*, Jiangxi), and has also been designated as the name of the location of the administrative seats of Jiangzhou 江州 during the Southern Dynasties. See Shi Weile 史為樂, Deng Zixin 鄧自欣, Zhu Lingling 朱玲玲, *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian* 中國歷史地名大辭典 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005), 39. In 540, Xiao Yi was appointed regional inspector of Jiangzhou 江州 (administrative seats in Nanchang 南昌, modern Nanchang, Jiangxi), where he remained for seven years until he was transferred to Jingzhou 荊州 the second time in 547. See Xu Yimin 許逸民, ed. and comm., *Jinlouzi jiaojian* 金樓子校箋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 1457. Therefore, we may further narrow down the year in which Xiao Yi composed “Xuan lan fu” to this seven-year-period. Given that 545 (an *yichou* 乙丑 year) is the only year with the celestial stem *yi* 乙 during the period from 540 to 547, if this *fu* was indeed written during his stay in Jiangzhou, 545 is most likely to be the year that he wrote (or at least started to write) this *fu*. See also Wu Guangxing, *Xiao Gang Xiao Yi nianpu*, 251–52; Chen Zhiping and Xiong Qingyuan, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 22.

L. 6

For the *locus classicus* of the phrase *zuo mu* 作牧, see *Zhou li zhushu*, 18.761.

The *san gong* 三宮 refer to three imperial abodes on Mt. Lu 廬山. See *Xunyang ji* 尋陽記 cited in Chen Shunyu’s 陳舜俞 *Lushan ji* 廬山記, *Siku quanshu*, 1.1b. See also *Junguo zhi* 郡國志 cited in the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 173.8b–9a. Here *san gong* is a synecdoche for Jiangzhou. Cf. Wang Bao 王褒 (ca. 511–ca. 575, alt. 513–576), “Ji Liang Wang Sengbian mu Zhenjing Wei taifuren wen” 祭梁王僧辯母貞敬魏太夫人文, *Liang shu* 45.631: “We traversed the lofty mountain with three imperial abodes/ And journeyed across tributaries of the Three Rivers” 越三宮之遐岳/ 經三江之派流.

LL. 1–7

Cf. Pan Yue 潘岳, “Xizheng fu” 西征賦, *Wen xuan*, 10.439–40: “Jupiter is stationed in the Dark Void/ The moon lodges in the Festooned Guest. *Bing* and *ding* govern the days, *Yiwei* controls the junction of the sun and moon: And I, Panzi, leaning on my crossbar, journey west: From the Capital, I go froth to Qin. Sighing and sobbing, I say” 歲次玄枵, 月旅蕤賓. 丙丁統日, 乙未御辰. 潘子憑軾西征, 自京徂秦. 迺喟然歎曰. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 181.

LL. 8–9

See *Lunyu* 8/19: “It is Heaven that is great and it was Yao who modeled himself upon it” 唯天為大, 唯堯則之. See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 16.549. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 94. Also see *Mengzi zhushu*, 5B.42: “Heaven alone is great, and it was Yao who modeled himself on Heave” 惟天為大, 惟堯則之. Trans. Lau, *Mencius*, 104.

Yiwen leiju reads this line as 惟天為大惟堯則之.

L. 10

The *Yiwen leiju* reads this line as 惟地為厚

The *Liang Yuandi ji* reads this line as 惟地蓋厚.

The *Fu yuan* reads LL. 8–11 as 惟天為大惟堯則之, 惟地為厚惟王國之

The *Lidai fuhui* reads LL. 8–11 as 惟天為大惟堯則之, 惟地蓋厚惟王國之.

L. 12

Wojing 握鏡 “grasping the mirror” means to receive the heavenly decree and implement sage governance. Cf. Liu Xiaobiao 劉孝標 (462–521), “Guang juejiao lun” 廣絕交論, *Wen xuan* 55.2369: “the sage holds the bronze mirror and expatiates on moral teaching and good deeds” 蓋聖人握金鏡闡風烈. In his commentary on this line, Li Shan quotes Zheng Xuan’s 鄭玄 (127–200) gloss of *jinjing* as an allusion to “the enlightened way” 明道也.

L. 14

Liu lian 六聯 “Six Collaborations” refers to the six administrative matters in which government bureaus collaborate with one and another. *Ba ze* 八則 “Eight Principles” refers to the eight stipulated principles that the government follows in managing state affairs. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 3.15.

L. 15

Jiu zhi 九職 “Nine Occupations” refers to the nine occupations for the multitudes that are mentioned in the *Zhou li* 周禮. *San ling* 三令 “Three Commands” refers to three directive orders that *zaifu* 宰夫 (assistant ministers of state) is in charge of. See *Zhouli zhushu*, 2.9; 3.17.

LL. 16–17

Xuan shu 璇樞 The Jade Axis (sometimes written as 璇樞 or 琬樞) is the first two stars of the Chinese Northern Dipper. *Yu heng* 玉衡 or Jade Balance is the fifth star of the Northern Dipper. See “Shun dian” 舜典 in the *Shu jing*, *Shang shu zhengyi* 3.14;: “He examined the *Xuan ji* apparatus and the jade traverse (*Yu heng*), in order to bring into accord the Seven Regulators” 在璿璣玉衡, 以齊七政. For the scholars of the Han the exact meaning of the term *xuanji* was already lost, and there was a division of opinion as to whether it referred to an astronomical instrument or to a constellation. Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan maintained the former meaning, while the Pseudo-Kong commentary maintained the latter, which reads “*Ji* and *Heng* are the instruments that the kingly one use to correct the celestial pattern 王者正天文之器. Needham reconstructed a prototypical mode of the *xuanji*, and proposes that it is an instrument that was primarily used for determining the position of the celestial pole and hence the solstitial colure and it also had served as a rudimentary kind of orienting instrument for the study of more equatorial constellations. See Needham, *Science and civilization in China*, 3: 333–39.

L. 18

See “Xici zhuan” 繫辭傳, *Zhou yi jianyi* 周易兼義 7.149: “Change is indeed broad, and it is great!” 夫易, 廣矣大矣. Trans. Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 55.

L. 19

See *Lun yu* 8/1: “Surely T’ai Po can be said to be of highest virtue. Three times he abdicated his right to rule over the Empire, and yet he left behind nothing the common people could acclaim” 泰伯, 其可謂至德也已矣. 三以天下讓, 民無得而稱焉. See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 15.507. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 92.

Edward Slingerland comments on this line, saying that Tai Po made no public display of his own virtue, and thus makes him virtuous in Confucius’ eyes. See Slingerland, *Confucius Analects with Selections from Traditional Commentaries*, 78. Here Xiao Yi claims that the virtue of Emperor Wu is comparable to that of Tai Po in its modesty and magnanimity.

LL. 20–21

Xuan and Xi refer to Xuanyuan 軒轅 and Fuxi 伏羲, two mythical sage-rulers of antiquity. Zi 子 and Si 姒, are surnames of the Yin 殷 and Xia 夏 dynasties’ respectively, namely Xie 契 and Yu 禹. Perhaps Xiao Yi relates his father Emperor Wu of Liang’s magnanimous treatment for the descendants of the previous dynasties.

Cf. Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531), “He Wudi you Zhongshan Dajingai shi” 和武帝游鍾山大愛敬寺, *Yiwen leiju*, 76.1297: “His magnificent name is above that of Zi and Si, / His virtue exceeds that of Xuanyuan and Fuxi” 鴻名冠子姒, / 德澤邁軒羲.

L. 21

See *Lunyu* 8/20: “Oh, they are of such limited capacity that they hardly count” 噫, 斗筭之人, 何足算也. See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 27.927. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 122. See also Pan Yue 潘岳, “Xianju fu” 閒居賦, in *Wen xuan*, 16.699: “How could I ignore my duty to remain by her side and care for her with cheerful expression merely for the sake of pursuing a petty bushel-and-peck office?” 尚何能違膝下色養, 而屑屑從斗筭之役乎. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Three, 147.

L. 22

Hetu 河圖, The (Yellow) River Diagram was a chart on which was written either the eight trigrams of the *Yi jing* 易經 or a series of black-and-white dots arranged in a pattern to symbolize numbers and the five agents. In Han times, the appearance of the *Hetu* was associated with a horse or a dragon, which reputedly brought the diagram out of the (Yellow) River. There was a great amount of interest in these texts since the Han, especially the Eastern Han period, when they were used as divination texts in the *chenwei* 讖緯 (prognostication) tradition to verify claim of dynastic legitimacy. See Michael Saso, “What is the Ho-t’u?” *History of Religions*, 17 (1978): 399–416. Also see Dull, “A Historical Instruction to the Apocryphal (Ch’an-wei) Texts of the Han Dynasty,” 166, 228–29; and Nielsen, *A Companion to Yi Jing Numerology and Cosmology*, 103–05.

Luoshu 洛書, The Luo (River) Document was associated with the tortoise that allegedly carried it out of the Luo River. See *Shang shu zhengyi*, 12.75. The transmitted text of the so-called *Luoshu* is a magic square of the third order in which three numbers added lengthwise, crosswise or diagonally result in 15. In the *chenwei* tradition, *Luoshu* is often mentioned in connection with the [Yellow] River Diagram and the Eight Trigrams of the *Yi jing*. See “Xi ci zhuan”, *Zhou yi zhengyi* 7.70: “The River give forth the diagram, and the Luo [River] the document, the sage modeled himself upon it” 河出圖洛出書, 聖人則之.

L. 23

Longguan 龍官 alludes to the legendary ruler with the clan name Dahao 大皞 (or Taihao 太皞), who gave his ministers official titles all of which contain the word *long* 龍 based on an account of the propitious omen of a dragon appearing before he took the throne. *Fengji* 鳳紀 alludes to another legendary ruler known as Shaohao 少皞. According to tradition, a phoenix appeared when he first established his governance, thus he started his reign period by promulgating the “phoenix calendar.” See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 48.381.

L. 26

The *locus classicus* of *tianzong* 天縱 is *Lun yu* 9/6: “it is true, Heaven set him on the path to sage-hood. However, he is skilled in many things besides” 固天縱之將聖,又多能也. See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 17.581. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 97. Here it refers to the heir designate was Xiao Gang 蕭綱 (503–551).

L. 27

Qi 啟 is the son of Yu 禹, the legendary founding father the Xia 夏 Dynasty. Song 誦 is the personal name of King Cheng of Zhou 周成王 (cr. 1042–1021 BCE), the heir King Wu of Zhou 周武王. Here Xiao Yi compares the current heir designate, his brother, Xiao Gang, favorably to the successors of ancient founding fathers.

L. 28

Sucheng 肅成 refers to Sucheng Gate 肅成門, which according to Wang Chen’s 王沈 (d. 266) *Wei shu* 魏書 cited in Pei Songzhi’s 裴松之 commentary on *Sanguo zhi*, it was where Cao Pi 曹丕 (187–226), then the heir designate of Wei, summoned various scholars to expatiate on and discuss great principles. See *Sanguo zhi*, 3.88. Henceforth Sucheng was used to refer to the place where the heir designate engaged in scholarly activities. Cf. Li Shan’s “Shang *Wen xuan zhu biao*” 上文選注表, *Wen xuan* 1.14: “Prince Zhaoming dwelled inside the Sucheng Gate where he gave lectures on the Classics, and opened the Bowang Park in order to summon worthies” 昭明太子...居肅成而講藝,開博望以招賢.

L. 29

This line alludes to Emperor Ming of Han’s (r. 57–75) handling of a court case (*yu* 獄) involving the emperor’s brother, Liu Ying, the King of Chu. In 70, Liu Ying was accused of wicked associations and seeking false omens. Liu Ying was sent into exile and killed himself the following year. The emperor subsequently pursued the alleged conspiracy. Thousands of people were implicated and punished, and great numbers were killed. Empress Ma was concerned at the numbers affected, and as she and the emperor were together at night she interceded on their behalf. Influenced by her plea, the emperor became more uncertain, and many people were treated more leniently. See *Hou Han shu*, 10A.410. Also see de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms*, 636; 607.

L. 30

Pi and Zhuang 丕莊 refer to Cao Pi and Liu Zhuang. They were respectively alluded to in the previous couplet.

L. 31

Ban and Zheng 班鄭 refer to Ban Gu 班固 (32–92) and Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), both of whom were renowned scholars of the Classics. Ban Gu was a contemporary of Liu Zhuang, and Zheng Xuan a contemporary of Cao Pi.

L. 32

This line alludes to the conduct of the sage, for sages reputedly made their teachings available for all, letting people take whatever was appropriate for each of them. See *Huainanzi*: “Isn’t the way of sage like a wine jar set in the middle of the thoroughfare? People passing by will ladle or spoon some out, in terms of how much it varies, yet each and every one gets what [they think] is appropriate” 聖人之道，猶中衢而致尊邪。過者斟酌，多少不同，各得所宜。 See He Ning, *Huainanzi jishi*, 10.708.

L. 31

This line alludes to a passage in *Mozi*, *Sibu beiyao*, 12.5b: “The junior nobleman should fold his hands while waiting, he shall speak when consulted, and shall remain quiet when not consulted. Figuratively speaking he is bell-like: when struck it sounds, when not struck it does not sound” 君子共己以待，問焉則言，不問焉則止。譬若鍾然，扣則鳴，不扣則不鳴。 In using the bell metaphor, Xiao Yi seems to suggest that though the heir designate is constantly consulted, he would remain quiet when no one asks anything from him, like a true junior nobleman.

L. 34

Xi Xiang 繫象 refers to “Xici zhuan” and “Xiang zhuan” 象傳, two of the ten commentaries on the *Yi jing*.

L. 35

Zhu and Si 洙泗 are two rivers in modern Shandong province that mark the place where Confucius gave lectures to his disciples. See *Li ji zhengyi*, 7.54: “I, together with you serve the Master between the Zhu and the Si, and [after his death], we shall retire and grow old on the banks of the Western He river” 吾與女事夫子於洙泗之間，退而老於西河之上。 Also see *Shuijing zhu*: “the Master taught between the Zhu and the Si rivers. The area between these two rivers north of the city is the place where the Master guided his disciples” 夫子教于洙泗之間，今於城北二水之中，即夫子領徒之所也。 See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 25.446. These two rivers originate in Sishui 泗水 *xian*, Shandong 山東, and flow to the old capital city of Lu 魯 (in modern Qufu 曲阜, Shandong). The term Zhu-Si is often used to refer to the Ruist culture that originated in the Shandong area.

L. 37

Lian’e 聯萼 alludes to *Mao* #164 “Chang di” 常棣, *Mao shi Zhengyi*, 9.140: “The flowers of the cherry-tree, /Are they not truly splendid? Of men that now are, /None equals a brother” 常棣之華，鄂不韡韡。凡今之人，莫如兄弟。 In his translation, Waley took *e* 鄂 as an adjunct simply

meaning “truly.” See Waley, *The Book of Songs* (1937; rpt. New York: Grove Press, 1978), 203. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 glosses 鄂 as 萼 (calyx) saying: “that which supports the blossom from underneath is called *e*” 承華者曰鄂. Zheng explains the allegorical implication of the line, saying: “it is a metaphor for the way that the younger brother serves the elder brother with respect, and the elder brother cares for the younger brother with honor. Their manifestation of favor and propriety is also splendid” 喻弟以敬事兄, 兄以榮覆弟, 恩義之顯亦韡韡然也. The traditional allegorical reading of the *Shi jing* #164 not only serves as a fitting allusion in this context, additionally, by humbly (he basically says that he was undeservedly associated *miulian* 謬聯 with his brother) likening himself to a calyx that supports the blossom, a metaphor for his brother, the heir designate, Xiao Yi subtly ingratiates himself with the latter.

Tianqu 天衢 here refers to the capital. See Zhang Heng 張衡, “Xijing fu” 西京賦, *Wenxuan* 2.51: “Did he not pay respectful attention to the Celestial Thoroughfare? /Did he not long for a return to Fenyu?” 豈伊不虔思於天衢/ 豈伊不懷歸于紛榆. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 185.

L. 39

According to the Han tradition imperial princes were to be enfeoffed at the Shangdong men 上東門 (the upper eastern gate, that is, the northern most gate on the east of the imperial palace). See *Han jiuyi* 漢舊儀 cited in the *Taiping huanyu ji*, 3.15b–16a.

LL. 38–39

Each of the twelve constellations corresponds to one principality or region of the empire. Putting each geographical unit under the protection of one of the twelve constellations is called *fenye* 分野 or *huaye* 畫野 (demarcating the fields). See Pankenier, *Astrology and Cosmology in Ancient China*, 265–71.

L. 40

Bozong 伯宗 is a variant reference to the *Zongbo* 宗伯, which according to the *Zhou li* and other early texts is the name for the Ministry of Rites in the Zhou dynasty. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 17.1a. Here it refers to the officials in charge of the imperial clan. See Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 533.

L. 41

Neishi 內史, according to tradition, was a member of the Ministry of Rites who prepared all royal documents with the help of a large staff of subordinates; later it became something like a chief of the royal staff, or royal secretary. See Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 350.

L. 42

For *Maoshe* 茅社 see the pseudo-Kong commentary to the “Yu gong” of the *Shu jing* 書經, *Shang shu zhengyi*, 6.36: “The king makes a mound of five-colored earth as the soil altar. When he invests a vassal lord [with a title and appanage], he apportioned the soil with the corresponding color to the vassal lord to establish the [local] soil-altar. The soil is covered with yellow soil and wrapped with white cogon grass” 王者封五色土為社. 建諸侯, 則各割其方色土與之使立社. 燾以黃土, 苴以白茅. The bestowal of a lump of earth wrapped with cogon grass thus symbolizes the emperor’s granting of the fief and the mound on which the altar to the local gods of grain and soil stood.

L. 43

Houfu 侯服 here refers to the domain of principality in general, the areas outside the royal domain. According to the “Yu gong” 禹貢 in the *Shu jing*, *houfu* refers to the area within a radius of a thousand *li* of the royal domain. See *Shangshu zhengyi*, 6.41.

For *bi yu* 俾予 see “Tang gao” 湯誥 of the *Shu jing*, *Shang shu zhengyi*, 8.50: “It is given to me, the One Man, to secure the harmony and tranquility of your states and clans” 俾予一人輯寧爾邦家. Trans. Legge, *The Book of Historical Documents*, 188.

L. 44

Jinshou 金獸 or golden beast is a token of enfeoffment. According to the “Zhiguan” 職官 chapter of *Tong dian* 通典: “Following the institutions of the Jin and Song dynasties, golden beasts were given to the princes as tokens of the bestowal of a feudal title in the Liang dynasty” 梁封爵亦如晉宋之制, 諸王皆假金獸符. See *Tong dian*, 31.180.

The *Yuzhi ji* reads *shou* 獸 (beast) as *hu* 虎 (tiger). Chen Zhiping and Xiong Qingyuan propose that *hu* 虎 is likely to be the original reading, which was changed to *shou* 獸 during the Tang to avoid the personal name of Li Hu 李虎, grandfather of the founding ruler of Tang, Li Yuan 李淵 (566–635). They cite the “Yu gong” quoted in the *Taiping yulan* which mentions the bronze tiger (*tonghu* 銅虎) as the token given to enfeoffed lords at the ceremony. See *Taiping yulan*, 198.2b. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 35.

Fengjian 封建 (lit. install by enfeoffment) originally refers to the procedure by which the kings of early Zhou governed those parts of their realm beyond the directly-administered royal domain by enfeoffing their kinsmen and other associates, and installing them with oaths of fealty. See Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 212.

L. 45

Tonggui 桐圭 (also written 桐珪) alludes to story recorded in the *Shi ji* in which King Cheng of Zhou 周成王, taking a parasol tree leaf shaped like a jade tablet as the enfeoffment token enfeoffed his younger brother Shuyu 叔虞 in the area of Tang. See *Shi ji*, 39.1635.

The *Yuzhi ji* reads *chu* 處 as *yu* 虞.

L. 46

East of the Xiang River refers to Xiangdong commandery 湘東郡 (administrative seats east of modern Hengyang 衡陽 *shi*, Hunan). See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 2606. Xiao Yi was enfeoffed as Prince of Xiangdong in 514 at age of seven. See *Liangshu*, 5.113.

L. 47

Gui and Meng are two hills near Mount Tai 泰山 in modern Shandong 山東 province. The line alludes to “奄有龜蒙 [he] took possession of Gui and Meng” line in “Bi gong” 閼宮 *Mao* # 300, *Mao shi zhengyi* 20.349, where the omitted subject refers to Duke Xi of Lu 魯僖公. Xiao Yi put compares his status to that of the Zhou period Duke of Lu.

LL. 48–49

Xiangdong 湘東 commandery was first established in the second year of the Taiping 太平 reign of Wu (257), which corresponds to the second year of the Ganlu 甘露 reign of the Wei. Xiangdong commandery roughly corresponds to the area of modern Zhuzhou 株洲 in Hunan. See *Sanguo zhi*, 48.1153. Also see Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 3–4.

The *Yiwen leiju* reads Zhengyuan 正元 for Ganlu 甘露. The Zhengyuan reign corresponds to 254–256.

L. 50

I follow the *Yiwen leiju* in reading 鱗 for 麟; all other versions have Linshan 麟山. Linshan 麟山 is also known as Shiyu 石魚山 (Stone Fish Mountain), is located ten *li* west of modern Xiangxiang 湘鄉 *shi*, Hunan. The rock resembles the pattern of fish scales; when burnt, it smells like fish, thus the name. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 38.659.

The descriptive rhyming binome *cuiwei* 崔嵬 (*dzwâi-ŋwâi) depicts the steep and rugged appearance of the mountain.

L. 51

Sheng Hongzhi's 盛弘之 *Jingzhou ji* 荊州記 cited in the *Taiping yulan* reports a dragon's track seen on a large boulder on Mt. Longmi in Lingling district (roughly corresponding to modern Yongzhou 永州 *shi*, Hunan). See *Taiping yulan*, 388. 8b–9a.

The rhyming binome *qionglong* 穹隆 (*k^huŋ-liuŋ) describes the arched and vaulted appearance. See Zhu Qifeng, *Ci tong*, 1.25–26.

L. 52

Jincheng 金城 refers to strongly fortified city fortresses. Here Xiao Yi refers to a specific fort north of Xiajuan 下雋 county (northwest of modern Tongcheng 通城 *xian*, Hubei). According to the *Shuijing zhu*, the fort was where Wu general Lu Huan 陸渙 (?), governor of Jiangxia, stationed his troops. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 35.604.

L. 53

“Shiyan” 石燕 (stone swallows) refers to a mountain which the Xiang River runs through. It is located between modern Yongzhou and Hengyang 衡陽 in Hunan. See *Shuijing zhu*: “[The Xiang River] flows southeast to the east of the Shiyan mountain, this mountain has purplish-red rocks that resemble swallows, and thus it is used to name the mountain” 東南流逕石燕山東,其山有石紺而狀燕,因以名山. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shu jing zhu jiaoshi*, 38.662.

L. 54

Fenshaan 分陝 refers to the provisional administrative system during the early years of the reign of King Cheng of Zhou 周成王 (ca. 1042–1021 BCE). After the death of King Wu of Zhou 周武王 (ca. 1034 BCE), the Duke of Zhou 周公 and Duke of Shao 召公 served as dual-regents to assist the underage King Cheng. They practiced a dual-nucleus administration system by dividing the territory of the Zhou royal domain into two parts according to the position of Shanzhou 陝州 (corresponding to modern Shan 陝 *xian*, Henan). The Duke of Zhou governed the area east to Shanzhou and made Luoyi 洛邑 (roughly corresponding to modern Luoyang 洛陽 in Henan) the capital city of this area; the Duke of Shao was in charge of the area west to Shanzhou, Haojing 鎬京 (roughly corresponding to modern Xi'an 西安), which continued to serve as the capital of the Zhou royal domain. For the earliest record see *Shi ji*, 24.1229. In the Six Dynasties, the strategic position of Jingzhou 荊州 was often compared to that of Shanzhou 陝州, according to which the Zhou royal domain was divided into east and west parts under a dual-nucleus administration system. See *Nan Qi shu*, 15.274. See for example, Tao Qian 陶潛, “Qin gu Zhengxidajiangjun Zhangshi Meng Fujun zhuan” 晉故征西大將軍長史孟府君傳, in *Jingjie xiansheng ji* 靖節先生集, *Sibu beiyao*, 6.4b: “The Defender-in-chief Yu Liang 庾亮 (289–340) of Yingchuan 潁川, who was noted as a member of the consort family, was entrusted [by the emperor] with an important official post of garrisoning at Wuchang 武昌 (modern Ezhou 鄂州, Hubei)” 太尉潁川庾亮,以帝舅民望,受分陝之重,鎮武昌.

L. 56

Xiao Yi served as governor of the [Nan] Langya 南琅邪 and [Nan] Pengcheng 南彭城郡 commanderies from 517 to 522. This appointment is not mentioned in *Liang shu* or *Nan shi*.

Xiao Yi himself also mentioned this appointment in his preface to the *Huaijiu zhi* 懷舊志, cited in the *Yiwen leiju*, 34.3a; 919.: “From the time I began governing the Lang Terrace in the north, I

explored the cave of Yu” 吾自北守琅臺，東探禹穴。For a detailed discussion on Xiao Yi’s appointment as governor of Nan Langya and Pengcheng commanderies, see Xu Yimin, *Jinlouzi jiaojian*, 1419; Wu Guangxing, *Xiao Gang Xiao Yi nianpu*, 69–70.

Both commanderies were “émigré commanderies” (*qiaojun* 僑郡) established in the Southern Dynasties. Nan Langya commandery, named after Langya commandery (roughly corresponding to the modern east coast of Shandong). [Nan] Pengcheng commandery was named after Pengcheng commandery (administrative seats in modern Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu). During the Liang administrative seats of Nan Langya commandery were located north of modern Nanjing, Jiangsu. Nan Pengcheng commandery did not have independent administrative territory. Its administrative seats were attached to that of the Nan Langya commandery. See Wu Guangxing, *Xiao Gang Xiao Yi nianpu*, 69–70; also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 1815.

L. 57

Peng of the “Peng Si” referring to Pengcheng commandery, probably alludes to Wei Meng 韋孟 (d. 156 BCE), a native of Pengcheng. Wei Meng served as tutor to Liu Jiao 劉交 (d. 179 BCE), King Yuan of Chu (r. 201–178 BCE), and his two successors, Liu Ying 劉郢 (or Liu Yingke 劉郢客) (d. 175 BCE) and Liu Wu 劉戊 (d. 154 BCE). He composed poems as a means of protesting against the depravities of Liu Wu. He finally resigned from office and compiled another poem of admonition which is cited in the biography of his descendent Wei Xian 韋賢 (ca. 148–76 BCE) in *Han shu*, 73.3101. For a detailed account of Wei Meng’s life and of poems attributed to him, refer to Zeb Raft, “The Beginning of Literati Poetry: Four Poems from First-century BCE China,” *T’oung Pao* 96 (2010): 74–124.

Si of the “Peng Si” refers to Sishui 泗水 postal station or precinct (located east of modern Pei 沛 *xian*, Jiangsu) where Liu Bang 劉邦, the founding emperor of the Han (r. 202–195), served as the head before he rose to power. See *Shi ji*, 8.342. Alternatively, Si could refer to Sishui 泗水 kingdom (administrative seats southeast of modern Suqian 宿遷 *shi*, Jiangsu). Xiao Xian 蕭咸 (d. 2), a younger son of Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之 (d. 46 BCE), whom the imperial houses of Qi and Liang include into their ancestral lineage, once served as administrator of Sishui 泗水內使. See *Han shu*, 78.3291. See also Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 1667.

L. 59

This line alludes to the history of Pengcheng in the Spring and Autumn period (770–476 BCE). Yu Shi 魚石, a powerful general of the state of Song, was exiled to the state of Chu immediately after a failed military coup that he initiated in 577 BCE. Having lived in exile for three years, he successfully persuaded the King of Chu to attack Song. Chu then conquered Pengcheng of the state of Song on his behalf. Pengcheng was subsequently conferred to Yu Shi, where he and his men were stationed until the next year (572 BCE). Pengcheng was returned to Song with the help of the state of Jin, and Yu Shi was executed. See *Shi ji*, 38.1630. Also see *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 27.212.

L. 60

Chenzi 沈子 probably refers to Cen Hun 岑昏 (d. 280): chén 沈 (LHan: ðim< *drəm); cén 岑 (LHan: dzim< *dzrəm), see Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese*, 360; 363. According to the *Wu zhi* 吳志 cited in the *Taiping yuahn*, 170. 4a, Cen Hun was in charged with the dredging and deepening of the canal that connects Dantu 丹徒 (in modern Zhenjiang *shi*, Jiangsu) and Yunyang 雲陽 (corresponding to modern Danyang *shi*, Jiangsu).

L. 62

This line alludes to a line from the *Li ji zhengyi*, 59.441: “A Ruist scholar takes his loyalty and trustworthiness as his helmet and armor, takes the rites and the propriety as his shield and sheathing” 儒有忠信以為甲冑，禮義以為干櫓.

L. 63

Peng 棚 is a kind of tall armored chariot with a platform on top for soldiers to look into the distance, and *chong* 衝 is a kind of armored chariot that was used in charging forward in a battle. See *Han shu*, 100B.4254: “The armored chariots have engaged in seven military expeditions, and the charging chariots and towering chariots are imposing and impressive” 戎車七征，衝棚閑閑. On the *chong*, see Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilization in China*, Volume 4, Part II, 256–57.

L. 64

Jin ju 錦車 (ornate chariot) refers to the designated chariot for envoys. See *Han shu*, 96B.3907.

L. 65

Yu xuan 魚軒 (alt. *you xuan* 輶軒) is a swift chariot, usually associated with the Light Carriage envoys (*you xuan shi* 輶軒使). Cf. Yang Xiong 揚雄, “Da Liu Xin shu” 答劉歆書: “I often heard that the documents presented and recorded by the Light Carriage envoys of former dynasties were all stored in halls of the Chou and Qin” 嘗聞先代輶軒之使，奏籍之書皆藏於周秦之室. See Zhou Zumo 周祖謨 and Wu Xiaoling 吳曉鈴, *Fang yan jiaojian ji tongjian* 方言校箋及通檢 (1951; rpt. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1956), 93. Trans. David R. Knechtges, “The Liu Hsin/ Yang Hsiung Correspondence on the *Fang Yen*,” *Monumenta Serica* 33 (1977): 309–25.

L. 68

This line probably alludes to the Luxi 路西 palace that was consigned to flames in 235 or 236 BCE when a palace attendant accidentally set it on fire when looking at swallows nesting under the palace eaves with a torch. See Zhang Zongxiang 張宗祥, *Yue jue shu*, 2.3b. See also *Yue jue*

shu cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 922.4a. According to the *Jiangnan tongzhi* 江南通志, the palace, originally built by King Helü 闔閭 of Wu (d. 496 BCE), was in Changzhou 長洲 county (administrative seats in modern Suzhou, Jiangsu). See *Jingnan tongzhi*, *Siku quanshu*, 31.10a.

In later literary works, Wu palaces are often associated with swallows. See, for example, Li Bo 李白 “Shuangyan li” 雙燕離 (Ballad of a pair of swallows): “They [the swallows] left As the Boliang [Terrace] was on fire, and entered the king of Wu’s palace. The Wu palace was reduced to fire again, all the chicks were wiped out and the nest empty” 柏梁失火去, 因入吳王宮. 吳宮又焚蕩, 雖盡巢亦空. Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫, “Wuling guan huo” 武陵觀火 (Watching fire in Wuling): “[The fire that burned] the Wu palace harmed swallows chicks” 吳宮傷燕雛.

L. 69

Pingling 平陵 here refers to the walled-city of Pingling 平陵城, also known as Gucheng 固城, built by King Yuji 余祭 of Wu (r. 547–544 BCE). The citadel was conquered by Chu in 535 BCE. After King Helü retook Pingling in 503 BCE, the city’s palace complex was burnt down. The site of Pingling was west of Liyang 溧陽 (east of modern Gaochun 高淳 *xian*, Jiangsu).

L. 71

Taizhen 太真 was an alternative *zi* of Wen Qiao 溫嶠 (288–329), who, in the capacity of General Zhonglei 中壘將軍 and military command of the area north of the Qinhuai River (督東岸北部諸軍事), helped Emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 323–325) quash Wang Dun’s 王敦 (266–324) rebellion. When Su Jun 蘇峻 (d. 328) and his rebel army occupied the capital and captured Emperor Cheng 成帝 (r. 325–342), Wen Qiao waged a military campaign and eventually quelled Su Jun’s rebellion in 328. “The former encampment of Taizhen” refers to Shamenpu 沙門浦 (southwest of modern Nanjing 南京, Jiangsu), west of Chapu 查浦 (roughly corresponding to the area south of Mt. Qingliang 清涼, west of modern Nanjing), where Wen Qiao’s troop were stationed outside of the capital during the campaign. See *Jin shu*, 67.1785–96. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 1326; 1839.

L. 72

Jiegu 節鼓 (clapper drum) is a kind of drum which resembles the shape of chessboard. It has a bamboo clapper (*jie* 節) in the middle to mark the rhythm in music. See “Yue” 樂 in *Tong dian* 通典, 244.752. Cf. *Jiegu* 羯鼓, which Schafer renders as “wether drum.” *Jiegu* was known widely in areas of modern Turkestan and India. During the medieval period, it became a popular instrument among aristocrats with its exciting music and exotic songs that were sung to it. See Edward H. Schafer, *Golden Peaches of Samarkand, A Study of T’ang Exotics* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1985), 52. See Nan Zhuo 南卓, *Jiegu lu* 羯鼓錄, *Siku quanshu*, 1a–10a.

L. 73

The Stone Citadel refers to the Shitou cheng 石頭城, a strategically important fortified city located west of Mt. Qingliang on the west part of modern Nanjing. This walled city was first built by Sun Quan 孫權 (182–252) in 212 on the site of a fortress originally built during the Warring States Period. See *Sanguo zhi*, 47.1118.

L. 74

Taotian 滔天 occurs twice in the “Yao dian” 堯典 of the *Shu jing* 書經, which is the *locus classicus* of the term. In the first place it describes the devastating situation caused by a great flood. The second occurrence describes Shun’s 舜 nefarious brother, Xiang 象. See *Shang shu zhengyi*, 2.10: “Xiang is deferential [in appearance] yet swells up to heaven” 象恭滔天. On this passage see William G. Boltz, “Kung kung and the Flood: Reverse Euhemerism in the ‘Yao tien,’” *T’oung Pao*, Second Series, 67 (1981): 141–53.

Fengshi 封豕 (giant boar), is a mythical monstrous creature. See *Shanhai jing* 山海經, *Sibu congkan*, 18.16a. It is also used to describe a heinous person. Cf. *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* 52.416: [She] gave birth to Bofeng, he was indeed the one who has a boar’s heart, who was insatiably avaricious, inexhaustibly brutal, he is called *fengshi*” 生伯封, 實有豕心, 貪惓無厭, 忿類無期, 謂之封豕.

L. 75

Changjing 長鯨, cf. Zuo Si 左思, “Wudu fu” 吳都賦, *Wen xuan*, 5.205: “Gigantic leviathans swallowing boats, long whales spouting waves” 長鯨吞航, 修鯢吐浪. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 379. Both *changjing* in this line and *fengshi* in the previous line allude to nefarious rebels of the Eastern Jin such as Wang Dun and Su Jun, both of whom were successfully defeated by Wen Qiao. On Wen Qiao’s military campaign against the rebels, see his biography in the *Jin shu*, 67.1785–96.

L. 78

The “mirror-smooth water” probably refers to the Yangzi River near the Bailu Islet 白鷺洲. The Qin Huai River flows into the Yangzi River not far from there. Xiao Yi would travel east via the Qin Huai River to go to Guiji to take his new post in 519.

L. 79

Wenyi 文鵠 is a boat with a heron pattern painted on its prow to ward off water demons. See He Ning, *Huainanzi jishi*, 8.592.

Zaihong 載鴻 refers to a boat that carried a disemboweled goose as an auspicious banner. Li Shan glosses *yu* 旟 in a line of Zhang Heng, “Sixuan fu” 思玄賦, as “to strip off a bird’s feather and skin together, and put it on top of a bamboo stick” 合剝鳥皮毛, 置之竿頭. Li Shan notes that it is the exactly same as *zaihong* 載鴻 and *minyuan* 鳴鳶 recorded in the *Li ji*. See *Wen xuan*

15. 676. Also see *Li ji zhengyi*, 3.22: “When there is dust ahead, one displays the banner with the screeching kite; when there are chariots and cavalymen ahead, one displays the banner with the flying wild goose” 前有塵埃則載鳴鳶, 前有車騎則載飛鴻.

L. 80

Xie ting 謝亭 was named after Xie Shi 謝石 (327–389), who built it on the formal site of a post station called Xin ting 新亭, located southwest of Jiankang. See *Danyang ji* 丹陽記 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 194.8b. Xie ting was where Xie Shi’s descendent Xie Tiao 謝朓 (464–499) bid farewell to his friend Fan Yun 范雲 (451–503) and commemorated the occasion with a poem, “Xinting zhu bie Fan Lingling shi” 新亭渚別范零陵詩 which was later collected in the *Wen xuan*. See *Wen xuan*, 20.981. Xin ting was located southwest of the Jiankang, though its exact sit is still disputed. See Lu Haiming 盧海鳴, *Liuchao ducheng* 六朝都城 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2002), 114–19; Zhu Xiangdong 朱向東, “Xinting guzhi xinkao” 新亭故址新考, *Nanjing Xiaozhuang xueyuan* (2006: 4): 10–17; (2016: 5): 31–40.

L. 81

Yanbo 彦伯 is Yuan Hong’s 袁宏 (328–376) *zi*. When Yuan was about to depart to assume a post in Dongyan 東陽 (in modern Dongyang, Zhejiang), Xie An 謝安 (320–385) held a farewell banquet in Yuan’s honor and presented him a fan as a farewell gift. Yuan Hong expressed his appreciation, saying “given this, I shall respectively observe and promulgate the teaching of humaneness in order to appease the multitudes there” 輒當奉揚仁風, 慰彼黎庶. See *Jin shu*, 92.2398. The *Jingding Jiankang zhi* 景定建康志 identifies Dongye ting 東冶亭 in the eastern suburb of Jiankang as the site where Xie An held the farewell banquet for Yuan Hong. See *Jingding Jiankang zhi* 景定建康志, *Siku quanshu*, 22.8b–9a.

L. 82

Wu cheng 五城 refers to the five citadels that were established during the rebellion instigated by Wang Dun in 322. Wang Dun sent his brother Wang Han 王含 (d. 324) to lead an army of fifty thousand to press on to the capital Jiankang. After being defeated Wang Han fled west to Nitang 倪塘 (roughly corresponding to east of modern Jiangning 江寧 *xian*, Jiangsu) and established five citadels. See *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, 19.15b–16a.

L. 83

Chen Zhiping and Xiong Qingyuan propose that *san ji* 三冀 might be a mistake for *san yi* 三翼. Li Shan cites *Shuizhan bingfa neijing* 水戰兵法內經 attributed to Wu Zixu 伍子胥 saying that *san yi* refers to a fleet consisting of warships in three sizes. See *Wen xuan*, 35.1601. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 44. Also see Xie Lingyun, “Zhaun zheng fu” 撰征賦: “Warships of three different sizes sped up in fish-file formation; / The chariot horses galloped like swift wild geese” 迅三翼以魚麗/ 襄兩服以鴈逝. Trans. Tian, *Visionary Journey*, 297; Xiao Yi,

“Chuanming shi” 船名詩, *Quan Liang shi*, 25. 2042: “Floating clouds fly on the edge of the sky,
/ Warships of three different sizes chase each other” 天際浮雲飛, / 三翼自相追.

L. 84

Cangzhun 蒼隼 should probably be read *cangsun* 蒼隼 (gray falcon). Both Feiyun 飛雲 and Cangsun in this line are names of ships. *Chuxue ji* 初學記 quotes *Jin ling* 晉令 saying: “For water-battle there are Flying Clouds, Gray Falcon, First in the Breech, and Flying Bird” 水戰有飛雲船, 蒼隼船, 先登船, 飛鳥船. See *Chuxue ji*, 25.610.

L. 85

Baili 白鱧 (Silver Serpent-head) and Qintong 青桐 Green Parasol Tree are also names of ships. For Baili see Xiao Gang 蕭綱 “Zeng Zhang” 贈張纘, *Chuxue ji*, 25.610: “Waves rock the Silver Serpent-head, / And wind moves the Gray Eagle” 波搖白鱧舟, 風動蒼鷹舳.

L. 86

Jinwu 金吾 originally refers to the image of a bird, often engraved on a gold-tipped baton, which was believed to frighten away evil. See Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 168. Sheli 舍利 is the Chinese transcription of Sanskrit *śarīra* (relic), which originally referred to the relic of the Buddha. Here both Jinwu and Sheli are names of ponds. For Sheli, see *Jin gongge ji* 晉宮閣記 quoted in *Chuxue ji*, 25.610: “In the Sheli pond there are Mica Raft, and Boundless Raft” 舍利池有雲母舟, 無極舟.

L. 87

Both Minghe 鳴鶴 (Crying Crane) and Zigong 紫宮 (Purple Palace) are names of ships. See *Chuxue ji*, 25.610: “In the Celestial Spring Pond there are Purple Palace Raft, Rising and Advancing Raft... In the Numinous Mushroom Pond there are Crying Crane Raft and South Pointing Raft” 天泉池有紫宮舟, 升進舟... 靈芝池有鳴鶴舟, 指南舟.

L. 88

Fangyue 方嶽 refers to Mt. Fang 方山, also known as Mt. Tianyin 天印山, located southeast of modern Jiangning *xian*, Jiangsu. See Li Shan’s commentary on Xie Lingyun’s “Linli xiangsong fangshan shi” 鄰里相送方山詩, *Wen xuan*, 20.980.

L. 89

Chiban 赤坂 refers to Mt. Chi 赤山 located thirty *li* southwest of modern Jurong 句容 *xian*, Jiangsu. According to the *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記, the name Danyang 丹陽 covering the area which joins modern Jiangsu, Anhui, and Zhejiang, came from Mt. Chi (lit. Mt. Flame-red). See *Taiping huanyu ji*, 90.21b. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 1188.

L. 90

This line alludes to an anecdote about Liu Tan 劉惔 (fl. 345), *zi* Zhenchang 真長, in the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語, which tells of his placing a chowry with a rhinoceros-horn handle as a farewell token in his friend Wang Meng's 王濛 (309–347) coffin. See Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, ed. and comm., *Shishuo xinyu jianshu* 世說新語箋疏 (1983; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 17/755. Liu Tan served as governor of Danyang in 347 and died in his post. See *Jin shu*, 45.

L. 91

This line alludes to an anecdote about Ruan Yu 阮裕 (fl. 326), *zi* Sikuang 思曠, recorded in the *Shishuo xinyu*, which tells of his hastening back to his hermitage in Mt. Shan 剡山 (northwest of modern Sheng 嵊 *xian*, Zhejiang) after he attended the funeral of Emperor Cheng (r. 326–342) in the capital, lest the fashionable crowd would follow after him. See Yu Jiaxi, *Shishuo xinyu jianshu*, 388. Trans. Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World*, 174.

L. 93

Cf. *Mao* #59 “Zhu gan” 竹竿, *Mao shi zhengyi* 3.58: “The Qi River spreads its waves; / Oars of juniper, boat of pine-wood” 淇水粼粼/檜楫松舟. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 47.

L. 94

Xinqiu 新丘 (new mounds) is not otherwise attested. It probably refers to a place along the Pogang Ditch (Pogang du 破崗瀆), a canal that Sun Quan ordered to construct in 245. The canal connects Xiaoqi 小其 (in modern Gourong 句容, Jiangsu) and Yunyang. Because it is located on a hilly highland, the canal has fourteen inclined planes where boats can be hauled up or down. To build it, Sun Quan mobilized 30,000 soldiers. See *Sanguo zhi*, 47.1146.

The waterway provided a stable and less precarious water routine alternative to the Yangzi River in the north, but the water passage was narrow and difficult to travel. Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494) attests that “The water in Pogang Ditch flows backward (*viz.* boats have to travel upstream), half of the time boats of traveling merchants have to be towed. Yet they (*viz.* court envoys) would force other boats to go back downstream to make space for their own boats to pass through” 破崗水逆, 商旅半引. 逼令到下, 先過己船. See *Nan Qi shu*, 40.692. That is probably why Xiao Yi refers to this leg of his trip as weary.

LL. 95–97

These three lines originally describe the work of sixty thousand corvée laborers conscripted to build the mausoleum of the First Emperor [of Qin] at Mount Li 驪山 (east of modern Xi'an 西安, Shaanxi). To build the mausoleum, the laborers had to quarry rocks from mountains north of the Wei River 渭水, and move them back to Mount Li through the river. The sheer bulk of the

rocks sometimes cut off the flow of the Wei River entirely. See Fan Ning, *Bowu zhi jiaozheng*, 6.73. The *Bowu zhi* entry also cites a folk ballad about the hard labor, which goes: “When they were moving rocks to the mouth of Sweet Springs; /The Wei River stopped flowing on this account. / A thousand men take the lead; /Ten thousand men hook together one upon another” 運石甘泉口, 渭水為不流. 千人唱, 萬人鉤. Fan Ning notes two variant readings for *gou* 鉤. *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔 citing *Guanzhong ji* 關中記 writes *ge* 歌 (sing) for *gou* 鉤. See *Beitang shuchao*, 106.9a; *San Qin ji* 三秦記 cited in *Sheng'an shihua* 升庵詩話 writes *ou* 謳 (chant). See *Sheng'an shihua* 升庵詩話, *Sheng'an congshu* 升庵叢書 Vol. Six (Chengdu: Tiandi chubanshe, 2002), 4.100. If one reads *ge* 歌 or *ou* 謳 for *gou* 鉤, then the last two lines of the ballad should be rendered as “A thousand men sing the lead, / Ten thousand men sing in unison with them.”

Here it probably describes how boats were being towed where the water is not deep enough for boats to go through.

L. 98

Chen and Xiong suggest that this line refers to Wen Qiao who burned the Scarlet Bird (Zhuque 朱雀) Bridge on the Qinhuai River when Wang Dun rebelled against the Eastern Jin court. See *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, 16.3a. For Wang Dun's biography see *Jin shu*, 98.2553–68. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 47.

L. 99

This line refers to the Pogang du that Sun Quan, *zi* Zhongmou 仲謀, ordered to build in 245. See *Sanguo zhi*, 47.1146.

L. 100

“Three Maos” (San Mao 三茅) here refers to Mt. Mao 茅山, also known as Mt. Jurong, southeast of modern Jurong *xian*, Jiangsu. The mountain was where the three founding divinities of the Shangqing 上清 school of Daoism, Mao Ying 茅盈 (145 BCE–?) and his two younger brothers, Mao Gu 茅固 and Mao Zhong 茅衷, cultivated themselves according to Daoist principles. See Elena Valussi, “Mao jun” 茅君, in Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (London: Routledge, 2008), 733–34.

L. 101

Jiuzhuan 九轉 refers to *jiuzhuan jindan* 九轉金丹 (golden elixir in nine cycles). According to the “Jindan” 金丹 chapter of Ge Hong's 葛洪 *Baopuzi* 抱朴子: “One ingests the ‘nine-times transmuted [cinnabar],’ in three days he will become a transcendent 九轉之丹, 服之三日得仙.” See Wang Ming, *Baopuzi neipian jiaozhi*, 4.77. Also see Zhongguo dao jiao xiehui 中國道教協會, ed., *Daojiao da cidian* 道教大辭典 (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1994), 62.

L. 102

Purple Terrace is one of the dwelling places of Taoist deities. In the *Han Wudi neizhuan* 漢武帝內傳, the Queen Mother presents a divine text brought out from the Purple Terrace to Emperor Wu. Trans. Thomas E. Smith, “Ritual and the Shaping of Narrative,” Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1992, 507.

L. 103

The book with green headings probably refers to *Taiping qingling shu* 太平青領書 (Book of the Great Peace with Green Headings), which according to Yu Xi’s (fl. 307–343) *Zhilin* 志林 cited in Pei Songzhi’s commentary on the *Sanguo zhi*, was a divine book in several hundred *juan*. It was obtained by Gan Ji 干吉 (alt. Yu Ji 于吉) at the waters of the Quyang and subsequently presented to Emperor Shun (r. 125–144). See *Sanguo zhi*, 46.1110. See B. J. Mansvelt Beck, “The Date of the ‘Taiping Jing,’” *T’oung Pao* 66 (1980): 149–82. See also Benjamin Penny, “Gan Ji,” in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio, 433–34. See also Barbara Hendrichske, *The Scripture on Great Peace* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

“Silver case” perhaps is intended to evoke the generic titles of Taoist texts. See for example, *Yinhan yukui ji* 銀函玉匱記 mentioned in “Nei pian” of the *Baopuzi*. See Wang Ming, *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi*, 334.

L. 104

The *locus classicus* of the phrase *pi wu* 披霧 is *Shishuo xinyu*, where it is used to compliment Yue Guang’s 樂廣 (d. 304) sharp intellect and eloquence: “Seeing him is like rolling away the clouds and mist and gazing at the blue sky” 見之若披雲霧睹青天. See Xu Zhen’e, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 238. Trans. Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü*, 234.

L. 105

Sima Qian uses the phrase *lingyun* 凌雲 to describe Sima Xiangru’s “Daren fu” 大人賦, *Shi ji*, 117.3063: “As soon as [Sima] Xiangru presented his *fu* on the Great Man, the son of Heaven became greatly pleased, and he had an air of gracefully gliding mounted on the clouds, as if he had the intention of wandering between heaven and earth.” 相如既奏大人之頌, 天子大說, 飄飄有凌雲之氣, 似游天地之間意.

L. 106

Yin bei 殷碑 (Yin’s stele) refers to the monumental inscription in the temple that is devoted to Ji Zha 季札 (576–484 BCE), called the Shrine of Master Ji 季子廟. The shrine was built by Yin Zhongkan 殷仲堪 (d. 399) in 311 when he served as the governor of Jinling 晉陵 (administrative

seats in modern Changzhou, Jiangsu). See Gao Shao 高紹, “Chongxiu Wu Jizi miao ji” 重修吳季子廟記, in *Quan Tang wen*, 294.19b–20a; 2948.

L. 107

Yanzhou 延州 is here metonymy for Ji Zha, commonly known as Master Ji of Yanling 延陵季子. Yanling 延陵 was Ji Zha fiefdom. Ji Zha was the youngest and worthiest son of the King of Wu Shoumeng 壽夢 (r. 585–561 BCE). The king wanted him to be the heir apparent, but Ji Zha declined the proposal out of propriety and righteousness. Immediately after the king died, Ji Zha went to his fief lest his three elder brothers might yield the throne to him. See *Shi ji*, 31.1449. Ji Zha long was viewed as a Ruist moral paragon, see *Li ji*, *Li ji zhengyi* 10.85–86: “Master Ji of Yanling was a person versed in the rites in Wu” 延陵季子吳之習於禮者也. Here Xiao Yi seems to relate himself to Ji Zha in a self-flattering manner, and portrays himself as a contemporary counterpart of this ancient worthy prince.

L. 108

The alliterative binome *bifei* 鬐沸 (*pit-put) is probably onomatopoeic in origin, which describes the gushing and spurting of water. See Zhu Qifeng, *Ci tong*, 22.10–11. See also Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Volume Two, 76, L. 52n. The *locus classicus* is Mao #222 “Cai shu” 采菽, *Mao shi zhengyi* 15.221: “High spurts that fountain” 鬐沸檻泉. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 186. The gushing spring had already become one of the tourist sites inside the Shrine of Master Ji as early as Xiao Yi’s time. See Zhang Zhengjian’s 張正見 (527–579) poem “Xing jing Jizi miao” 行經季子廟: “Wild vines encroach upon the gushing well;/ Mountain rain moistens the moss-covered-stele” 野藤侵沸井/ 山雨濕苔碑. See *Zhang Sanji ji* 張散騎集, in *Han Wei Liuchao baisan mingjia ji* 漢魏六朝百三名家集, ed. Zhang Pu 張溥, vol.8 (Shanghai: Saoye shanfang, 1925), 43.9a.

The binome *yuanshan* 蜃蟺 (*ʔuan-dʒan) describes the winding appearance of raging waters. See Zhu Qifeng, *Ci tong*, 14.98. Cf. Xi Kang 嵇康, “Qin fu” 琴賦, *Wen xuan* 18. 837: “Sinuously snaking, as if coiled together” 蜃蟺相糾. See Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Three, 283. See also Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Volume Two, 76, L. 58n.

L. 110

Chuanba 傳巴 evokes a line in the “Jiu ge” 九歌, *Chu ci buzhu* 2.23b: “The rites are accomplished to the beating of the drums; / The flower-wand is passed on to succeeding dancers” 成禮兮會鼓/ 傳芭兮代舞. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 118. According to the *Chu ci* commentator Wang Yi 王逸 (89–158), *ba* 芭, also written *ba* 巴, which is an aromatic plant that *wu* 巫 (spirit mediums) hold in performing ceremonial dances. Toward the end of each dance, the *ba* is passed to the next *wu* performer who begins a new dance. Pan Fujun identifies *ba* as *Musa basjoo*, hardy banana. See Pan Fujun 潘富俊, *Chu ci zhiwu tujian* 楚辭植物圖鑑 (Taipei: Maotouying chubanshe, 2002), 97.

Duqu 度曲 here probably refers to a succession of tunes one played after another. See Zhang Heng, “Xijing fu,” *Wen xuan* 2.76.

L. 111

The *Wenyuan yinghua* edition has a note on *kai* 開 (to open), saying it should probably be *wen* 聞 (to hear). *Wen* makes more sense since it is parallel to *jian* 見 (to see) in the previous line. The confusion may derive from the graphic similarity between *kai* and *wen*. Therefore, I follow the *wen* reading in my translation.

Ange 安歌 evokes another line in the “Jiu Ge” 九歌, *Chu ci buzhu* 2.3a: “Flourish the drumsticks, beat the drums; /The singing begins softly to a slow, solemn measure” 揚枹兮拊鼓, 疏緩節兮安歌. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 102.

LL. 110–112

This line alludes to Ji Zha’s visit to the Lu court where he showed his aesthetic appreciation of music at the musical performance of the *Shi jing* that was held in his honor. See *Zuo zhuan zhengyi* (Xianggong, 29), 39.304–06. See also Kenneth J. DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two: Music and the Concept of Art in Early China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1982), 21–27.

L. 113

Yu yi 紵衣 here alludes to the robe made from fine hemp that a Zheng minister, Zichan 子產, presented to Ji Zha as a gift, when Ji Zha went on an official visit to Zheng in 544 BCE. See *Zuo zhuan zhengyi* (Xianggong, 29), 39.306.

L. 114

Mei feng 美風 (alt. fair wind/ custom) is intended to allude to Fengmei 風美, an old name of Qu’e 曲阿 (administrative seats in modern Danyang *shi*, Jiangsu), also known as Yunyang. Fengmei was used temporarily during Wang Mang’s 王莽 reign. See *Han shu* 28A.1580.

The *Wenyuan yinghua* version notes *tu* 途 should probably be read *yu* 余. I followed the *yu* reading in my translation.

L. 115

Yunyang was an early Wu settlement in the Spring and Autumn period, roughly corresponding to modern Danyang *shi*, Jiangsu. See Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao*, 25.1183. Yunyang prefecture’s administrative seats were located in modern Danyang, Jiangsu. In 234 the name of the prefecture was changed to Qu’e.

L. 116

Sang zi 桑梓 (mulberry and catalpa trees) refers to one's native place. It first appears in *Mao* #197 "Xiao bian" 小弁, *Mao shi zhengyi* 12.184: "The mulberry and catalpa; / Must be regarded with reverence" 維桑與梓/必恭敬止. Cf. Zhang Heng, "Nandu fu" 南都賦, *Wen xuan* 4.162: "The ruler shall forever be filial; /And always remember the mulberry and catalpa of home" 永世克孝/懷桑梓焉. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 335.

L. 117

Song 松 should probably read *fen* 粉 (elm). Fenyu 粉榆 (Elm Tree) is the name of a village fifteen *li* from Feng 豐, where Liu Bang 劉邦, the founder of Han dynasty, was born. Liu Bang prayed at the altar of the soil god located here when he first began his rebellion against the Qin. See *Shi ji*, 28.1378: "When the Emperor Gaozu just rose, he prayed for a good harvest at the Fenyu Altar" 高祖初起, 禱豐粉榆社. Fenyu here could refer to the ancestral home of the Xiao clan in Nan lanling 南蘭陵 (northwest of modern Changzhou, Jiangsu).

The royal families of Qi and Liang both traced their ancestral line to Xiao He 蕭何 (d. 193 BCE), a renowned minister of Emperor Gaozu of Han (r. 202–195 BCE). Lanling 蘭陵 *xian* of Donghai 東海 commandery (corresponding to the area southwest of modern Cangshan 蒼山 *xian*, Shandong) where Xiao He's grandson Xiao Biao 蕭彪 resided, is considered the Xiao clan's ancestral home. In the early fourth century, the Xiao clan migrated south of the Yangtze River and settled in Wujin 武進 *xian* of Jinling 晉陵 commandery (administrative seat fifty *li* east of modern Danyang, Jiangsu). The Xiao clan's place of settlement was subsequently renamed Southern Lanling 南蘭陵 as one of many "émigré commanderies" (*qiaojun* 僑郡) mainly consisting of northern émigrés (*qiaomin* 僑民). See *Nan Qi shu*, 1.1 and *Liang shu*, 1.1. See *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 1430.

The *Yuzhiji*, *Liangyuandi ji* (Siku quanshu edition), and *Lidai fuhui* read *fen* 粉 for *song* 松.

LL. 118–119

Cf. *Shi ji*, 29.1415: "The Grand Scribe says: I have ascended Mt. Lu in the south, examined the Nine Rivers dredged by the Great Yu, then arrived at Guiji and Taihuang, climbed Mt. Gusu, and gazed at the Five Lakes" 太史公曰: 余南登廬山, 觀禹疏九江, 遂至于會稽太滄, 上姑蘇, 望五湖.

L. 118

Wu hu 五湖 (The Five Lakes) are variously identified. Li Shan's commentary on Guo Pu's 郭璞 "Jiang fu" 江賦 cites Zhang Bo's 張勃 (fl. 4th century) *Wu lu* 吳錄, and says that Wu hu is another name for Lake Tai (Taihu 太湖). See *Wen xuan*, 12.558. Wei Zhao 韋昭 and Li Daoyuan 酈道元 both think that the name refers to Lake Tai and four other lakes near Lake Tai; however, the latter names three of the four lakes differently from the former. See Wei Zhao's commentary

on the *Wu Yue chunqiu* 吳越春秋. And see Chen Qiaoyi, *Shui jing zhu jiaozheng*, 29.513. See also Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Volume Two, 322, L. 23, n. 23.

The eighth century *Shi ji* commentator Zhang Shoujie 張守節 explains that the name refers to the five bays of Lake Tai's eastern shore, each called a "lake": Ling 菱, You 游, Mo 莫, Gong 貢, Xu 胥. He further argues that "these five lakes were probably separated from Lake Tai in the past, but now they are connected" 蓋古時應別今並相連. See *Shi ji*, 2.58–59.

L. 119

Gusu 姑蘇 is the oldest known designation of the region around the city of Suzhou 蘇州, as well as the name of the mountain that was the heartland of the Wu domain. Here it probably refers to the Gusu Terrace, thirty-five *li* southwest of Wu prefecture (modern Suzhou). According to Wei Zhao's commentary on the "Yue yu" 越語 of the *Guo yu* 國語, the terrace was located outside the Chang Gate (Chang men 閶門), and near Lake Tai. It was originally built by King Helü in 504 BCE at the summit of Gusu Mountain, and was later enlarged and refurbished by King Fuchai 夫差. It was eventually destroyed by fire when Yue defeated Wu in 473 BCE. See *Guo yu*, *Sibu congkan*, 21.7b. For a useful survey of the history of the Gusu Terrace, refer to Olivia Milburn, *Cherishing Antiquity: The Cultural Construction of an Ancient Chinese Kingdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 314–26.

The *Yiwen leiju* reads L.117 as 夕結覽於姑蘇, which the *Wenlan yinghua* editors deem erroneous (*fei* 非).

L. 120

Chang Gate (Changmen 閶門) was the west gate of the Wu capital. It was an important landmark of the capital. See Milburn, *Cherishing Antiquity*, 346.

L. 122

Taibo 太伯 (The elder brother Tai), alt. Taibo 泰伯, was the oldest son of King Tai of Zhou 周太王 (viz. Danfu 亶父, King Wen of Zhou's grandfather). When King Tai named his youngest son Jili 季歷 (the father of King Wen) as his heir, Taibo and his brother Zhongyong 仲雍 fled south to the land of the Jing and Man tribes. Thence he was proclaimed the founding ruler of the state of Wu. See *Shi ji*, 31.1445. For a detailed account of the early history of the Kingdom of Wu refer to Milburn, *Cherishing Antiquity*, 20–27.

L. 123

Bi guo 避國 alludes to the story of Taibo and Zhongyong fleeing south, yielding the throne to their allegedly worthier younger brother Jili. For Juwu 句吳 see Milburn, *Cherishing Antiquity*, 9–10.

L. 124

The *locus classicus* of Xi hu 西滸 is the *Shi jing*, Mao #237 “Mian” 緜, *Mao Shi zhengyi* 16.242: “The lord of old, Danfu/ At dawn galloped his horses/ He followed the West River’s margin/ As far as Mt. Qi’s base” 古公亶父/ 來朝走馬/ 率西水滸/ 至於岐下. The poem tells of Danfu, who led his people from Bin to the base of Mt. Qi, in order to escape an invasion of the Rongdi 戎狄 tribe. See *Shi ji*, 4.113–14. But this line here refers to Taibo leaving the West River’s margin, the original homeland of the Zhou royal family, for the south.

Cf. LL. 88–89 of Pan Yue 潘岳, “Xi zheng fu” 西征賦, *Wen xuan* 10.443: “Following West River’s margin/ Transforming influence coursed through Qi and Bin” 率西水滸, 化流岐鬮. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 181.

The *locus classicus* of the term *yuezheng* 樂政 (music regulations) is in *Zhou li zhushu* 23.794: “In general, for music, [the music master] has charge of the proper sequence [of the musical instruments] and puts the music regulations in order” 凡樂, 掌其序事, 治其樂政. On the line *zhiqi yuezheng*, Kong Yingda comments: “it says regulating and managing the sound of music, to make it obtain its correct tone, without being excessive and unrestrained” 謂治理樂聲, 使得其正, 不淫放也.

L. 126

Gu River 谷水 is an ancient name for the Song River 松江. It flows eastward from Lake Tai into the sea. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shui jing zhu jiaozheng*, 29.515. See also Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 1291.

See Lu Ji 陸機, “Zeng cong xiong Juji” 贈從兄車騎, *Wen xuan* 24.1147: “I dimly descry the north bank of the Gu river/ I fondly cherish the north side of Mt. Kun” 髣彿谷水陽/ 婉孌崑山陰.

L. 127

Jiahe *zhi fang* 嘉禾之方 refers to the area that roughly corresponds to modern day Jiaxing 嘉興 (Zhejiang). *Shuijing zhu* quotes *Wu ji* 吳記 saying that the area was originally named Youjuan 由卷 district. In the third year of the Huanglong reign of Wu (231), auspicious grain grew in the district, thus the name was changed to Hexing 禾興 (grain flourishing). To avoid the taboo on the name of the heir designate Sun He 孫和 (224–253), the name was further changed to Jiaxing. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shui jing zhu jiaozheng*, 29.515. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2779.

L. 128

Qingting 慶亭 should probably be Chengting 陵亭, located in Wuxing 吳興 commandery (administrative seats in modern Huzhou 湖州 *shi*, Zhejiang). According to the *Sanguo zhi*, Chengting was the place where Sun Quan, the ruler of Wu, killed a tiger in 218. See *Sanguo zhi*,

47. 1120. See also Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyi jiyao*, 25.1160. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2397.

L. 129

Zuili 樛李, roughly corresponding to the area south of modern Jiaxing, Zhejiang, was the place where Yue defeated Wu in 496 BCE. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* (Ding Gong 14), 56.448. See also Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2907.

LL. 130–133

These four lines allude to Wu Zixu 伍子胥 (sixth century BCE), a native of Chu, who fled to Wu after his father, a state official, criticized the king and was subsequently killed. He became a trusted minister of King Helü but then came into conflict with the king's successor, King Fuchai (r. 495–473 BCE). Wu Zixu remonstrated at length with King Fuchai. He was then slandered, banished and forced to commit suicide. Before he died, he asked that his eyes be hung over the eastern gate of the capital so that he might witness Wu's eventual defeat. This enraged the king, who stuffed his body into a leather sack, which he then threw into a river. See Wu Zixu's biography in the *Shi ji*, 66.2171–84. Also see Milburn, *Cherishing Antiquity*, 86–93. After his violent death Wu Zixu came to be revered as a paragon of loyalty. By the first century CE., Wu Zixu had become a central figure in water-related sacrifices and worshipped as a river deity in the lower Yangtze Valley. There were temples devoted to him all along the valley, some of which are attested already for the third century CE. See Trans. Alide Eberhard, Wolfram Eberhard, *The Local Cultures of South and East China* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 390–97. See also Laurence Schneider, *A Madman of Ch'u* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1980), 138–39. Wu Zixu was connected with the tide and was himself a tide deity. According to the *Qian Tang zhi* 錢唐志 cited in the *Taiping guangji*, before Wu Zixu died, he said that he would ride the tide day and night to witness the defeat of Wu. From that time on, the tides became high and fierce. It was said that from time to time one could even see Wu Zixu riding a chariot with a plain-silk canopy driven by white horses on top of the tide. Thus, people built a shrine in his honor on the bank of the river. See *Taiping guangji*, 291.2315. For a discussion of the range of stories, anecdotes, characters that came to be associated with Wu Zixu, refer to David Johnson, “Epic and History in Early China: The Matter of Wu Tzu-hsu” *JAS* 40 (1981): 255–71.

Quanting 泉亭 was the name given by Wang Mang to Qiantang 錢塘 district (administrative seat in modern Hangzhou, Zhejiang) in 4 CE. See *Han shu*, 28B.1591. Also see Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 40.695. This line relates the tidal bore of the Qiantang River.

LL. 132–133

Cf. Mei Sheng (or Cheng) 枚乘 (d. ca. 140 BCE), “Qi fa” 七發, *Wen xuan* 34.1570: “A little farther on, it's splendid, towering, and bright, like pale-silk chariots with white horses and

canopies spread on top” 其少進也，浩浩澧澧，如素車白馬帷蓋之張。Trans. Frankel, *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady*, 199.

L. 134

Cf. Zhang Heng, “Xijing fu,” *Wen xuan* 2.60: “A wind from the distance struck the separate islets/ Raising huge breakers, lifting waves” 長風激於別壖/起洪濤而揚波。Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 201.

L. 135

Cf. Mu Hua 木華, “Hai fu” 海賦, *Wen xuan*, 12.546: “The lightest dust does not fly/ or the tenderest vines do not quiver” 輕塵不飛/纖蘿不動。Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan* Vol. Two, 309.

L. 136

As the *Wenyuan yinghua* editors point out, Dong’ou 東歐 should probably be Dong’ou 東甌. In 193 BCE emperor Xiaohui 孝惠 of Han enfeoffed Yao 搖 as the King of Donghai 東海王. Because he established Dong’ou as the capital, the King of Donghai is also known as King of Dong’ou. See *Shi ji*, 113.2979. Later Dong’ou is also referred to the coastal area of southeast Zhejiang.

Cf. Mao #299 “Pan shui” 泮水, *Mao shi zhengyi* 20.342: “The Lord of Lu has come/ See, there are his banners” 魯侯戾止/言觀其旂。Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 267.

L. 137

Zhang Shoujie’s 張守節 *Shi ji zhengyi* quotes *Kuodi zhi* 括地志 which says that Mt. Yusi 玉筍, also known as Mt. Wanwei 宛委, or Mt. Shikui 石匱, is one of the mountain peaks of the Guiji Mountain range, located eighteen *li* southeast of Guiji commandery. According to legend, this was where Yu 禹 stored metal documents and jade tablets. See *Shi ji* 130. 3294. Also see Chen Qiaoyi, *Shui jing zhu jiaozheng*, 40.698. Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 536.

Mt. Tongniu 銅牛, east of Mt. Yusi, was where Goujian 勾踐 King of Yue smelted and cast copper and tin. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shui jing zhu jiaozheng*, 40.698. See also Yue Shi 樂史, *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 (Taipei: Wenhai chuban she, 1975), 96.8b, 724.

L. 138

Dongwu 東武 refers to the so-called “monstrous mountains” (*guaishan* 怪山) which according to legend migrated from Dongwu 東武 district (modern Zhucheng 諸城, Shandong) to the west of Shanyin 山陰 district (modern Shaoxing, Zhejiang). See Gan Bao 干寶 (d. 336) *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (Shanghai: Saoye shanfang, 1922), 6.1a. See also *Wu Yue chunqiu* 吳越春秋 cited in Chen

Qiaoyi, ed. and comm., *Shui jing zhu jiaoshi*, 40.699. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 689.

L. 139

This line probably alludes to a story recorded in the *Guiji dianlu* 會稽典錄 attributed to Yu Yu 虞預 (ca. 272–345) that accounts when Yu Guo 虞國 of late Eastern Han died serving as governor of Rinan 日南 (roughly corresponds to the area between Quảng Bình and Bình Định provinces of modern Vietnam), a pair of wild-geese followed his coffin back to Guiji and remained around his tomb for three years. See *Guiji dianlu* cited in the *Yiwen leiju*, 91.1579; *Taiping yulan*, 411.8b. The Southern Sea (Nanhai 南海) here refers to the East China Sea, see *Shi ji*, 6.260: “[The First Emperor of Qin] ascended Mt. Guiji, offered sacrifice to Yu the Great, performed the Wang Sacrifice to the Southern Sea, and had a stone erected with a eulogy carved on it celebrating the virtue of Qin” 上會稽，祭大禹，望于南海，而立石刻頌秦德。

Chen and Xiong think that this line refers to Mt. Yandang 雁蕩 located northeast of modern Leqing 樂清 *shi*, Zhejiang. It is said that Mt Yandang is where migrating wild-geese stop and rest on their way to the north in spring; hence, the name

L. 140

Cf. LL. 234–235 of Zhang Heng, “Xijing fu,” *Wen xuan* 2.57: “Invading the clouds and mist, touching the firmament above/ Its form spired upward, far into the distance 干雲霧而上達/ 狀亭亭以蒼蒼. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 197.

L. 142

Shun Qiao 舜橋 (The Bridge of Shun), also known as Baiguan Qiao 百官橋 (The Bridge of Hundreds Officials), was the place where hundreds of officials attended Shun when he took refuge in Guiji. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shui jing zhu jiaoshi*, 40.702. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2580.

L. 143

Yu Jing 禹井 (Yu’s Well) is located east of Yu’s reputed burial place in Guiji. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shui jing zhu jiaoshi*, 40.697. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 1934–35.

The *Yiwen leiju* reads *xia* 暇 for *kan* 瞰.

L. 144

Yiwen leiju reads *zhuang* 狀 as *chuang* 牀. Yushi chuang 御史牀 (Couch of the Censor) refers to the couch that was bestowed on Yu Fan 虞翻 (164–233) by his lord Sun Quan to reward his achievements as a great *jingxue* scholar and government official. See Yue Shi, *Taiping huanyu ji*,

96.9b–10a, 725. Although Yu Fan declined the Han imperial court’s appointment as censor (*yushi* 御史), it is the title by which he is often known. See *Sanguo zhi*, 57.1319.

L. 145

According to the *Shidao zhi* 十道志 the “Gate of Protector-General” (Dufu Meng 督護門) was built by and named after Protector-General (Duhu 督護) Wang Yin 王愔 during the reign of Emperor Cheng 成帝 (r. 325–342). See Shen Zuobin 沈作賓, *Jiatai Guiji zhi* 嘉泰會稽志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 18.13a; (7055).

L. 146

Jie Kou 借寇, literary “to borrow Kou [Xun],” alludes to an anecdote about Kou Xun 寇恂 (d. 36). According to his biography in the *Hou Han shu*, 16.624–25: Kou Xun once served as the governor of Yingchuan 潁川 (in modern Zhengzhou, Henan), and was loved and esteemed by the local people. A few years later, when Kou Xun in the company of Emperor Guangwu passed through Yingchuan on their way to the south, the people of Yingchuan beseeched the emperor, saying: “If only your majesty would allow us to borrow Lord Kou for another year” 願從陛下復借寇君一年. Later the expression “Jie Kou” is used to refer to a beloved and respected local government official and his governance.

L. 147

Cf. Mao #241 “Huang yi” 皇矣, *Mao shi zhengyi* 16.251: “[God on High] gazed down upon the four quarters/ Examining the ills of the people” 監觀四方/ 求民之莫. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 255.

L. 148

Cf. “Li sao” 離騷, *Chu ci buzhu* 1.3b: “My august father inspected and gauged my initial qualities” 皇覽揆余于初度兮. In 522 Xiao Yi was summoned back to the capital to serve as palace attendant. In 524, he was put in charge of military affairs at the Shitou Citadel near the capital.

Cf. LL. 64–65 of Pan Yue’s “Xizheng fu” 西征賦, *Wen xuan* 10.442: “His august reflection discerned my loyal devotion 皇鑒揆余之忠誠. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan* Vol. Two, 185.

L. 149

Received Brilliance (Chengming 承明) was the name of a hall (*dian* 殿) of the Everlasting Palace (Weiyang Gong 未央宮) in Han. See *Han shu*, 27.1417. Here it refers to the Liang imperial court.

L. 150

This line seems to refer to Xiao Yi's appointment as the regional inspector of Yangzhou 揚州刺史. As a post equivalent to the governor of Danyang 丹陽尹, his appointment as the regional inspector of Yangzhou is not documented in standard histories. But in the “Ju shu” 聚書 (Book collecting) chapter of the *Jinlouzi*, Xiao Yi specifically mentions the books he collected when he served in Yangzhou (wei Yangzhou 為揚州). See Xu Yimin, *Jinlouzi jiaojian*, 2.516. Xu Yimin argues that Xiao Yi served both as governor of Danyang and regional inspector of Yangzhou at the same time from 522–526. See Xu Yimin, *Jinlouzi jiaojian*, 2.523.

Huai-Hai 淮海 here refers to Yangzhou 揚州, which in ancient times encompassed modern Jiangsu, Anhui, Jiangxi, Zhejiang, and parts of Fujian. In the Liang period, it was commonly used to designate the area around the capital of Jiankang. See “Yu gong”, *Shang shu zhengyi* 6.36: “The Huai River and the sea formed [the boundaries of] Yangzhou” 淮海惟揚州.,

L. 151

This line refers to his post as governor of the Danyang metropolitan area. Danyang roughly corresponds to modern Zhenjiang 鎮江, which was eighty kilometers south of the capital Jiankang 建康 (modern Nanjing, Jiangsu).

L. 152

Scholar Zhang refers to Zhang Chang 張敞 who served as the metropolitan governor in 61 BCE and remained governor for an exceptionally long period. Zhang Chang was a well-regarded governor with a marked ability to suppress crime. For his biography see *Han shu*, 76.3216–26. Also see Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Period (221 BC–AD42)*, 676–77.

L. 153

Bian and Yan 邊延 refer to Bian Feng 邊鳳 and Yan Du 延篤 (d. 176) respectively. Bian Feng was a metropolitan governor; both he and his successor Yan Du were admired for their administrations. The two men were celebrated by the people as comparable to the finest commandery administrators during the Former Han. See *Hou Han shu* 64.2103–04. Also see de Crespigny, *A Bibliographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)*, 19; 933.

L. 156

Cf. Pan Yue 潘岳, “Qiu xing fu” 秋興賦, *Wen xuan* 13.588: “Merry and joyful, they climb a spring terrace;/ Their gold and sable caps resplendent and bright” 登春臺之熙熙兮/ 珥金貂之炯炯. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Three, 19.

L. 155

“Hurried over the courtyard” (*qu ting* 趨庭) alludes to a story in the *Lunyu* 論語. Once Confucius was standing alone. When his son, Boyu 伯魚, hurried past him across the courtyard, Confucius exhorted him to learn the *Songs* (*Shi* 詩) and the rites. See Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 33.1505. The term is thereafter used to refer to paternal teaching. At the same time *ting* 庭 ‘court’ can also refer to the imperial court. Xiao Yi went to the court to receive instructions from his father, who was also the emperor.

L. 156

The Three Rivers (San He 三河) collectively refers to three commanderies, Heinei 河內, Hedong 河東, and Henan 河南 in the Former Han. It roughly corresponds to the area along the Yellow River in modern Luoyang 洛陽 *shi*, Henan. See *Shi ji*, 129.3262. The Three Guardians (San fu 三輔) is a collective reference to the three officials who administrated the Metropolitan Area, in which the dynastic capital was located: Youfufeng 右扶風 (the guardian of the right), Zuopingyi 左馮翊 (the guardian of the Left), and Jingzhaoyin 京兆尹 (the metropolitan guardian). Here the term refers to the three metropolitan districts under the administration of the Three Guardians. See *Han shu*, 19A, 736.

Here Xiao Yi refers to the Liang capital as a counterpart to the old Western Han capital Chang’an.

L. 157

See “Kaogong ji” 考工記 in the *Zhouli zhushu* 41.289: “Master-builders plan the site of the capital. The capital city forms a square planning having sides of nine *li*, with its three gates on each side. In the city, three main longitudinal and three main transverse streets are marked out” 匠人營國。方九里，旁三門。國中九經九緯，經涂九軌。 Trans. Jun Wenren, *Ancient Chinese Encyclopedia of Technology* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 95–96.

Xiao Yi describes the layout of the streets of the capital according to the idealized scheme of the *Zhou li*.

L. 158

See Hexagram “Guai” 夬 in the *Yi jing*, *Zhouyi zhengyi* 5.44: “*Kai* is such that action is taken openly in the king’s court, and a sincere call here means danger” 揚于王庭/孚號有厲。 Trans. Richard Lynn, *The Classic of Changes I Ching* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 404. The *junxuan* 俊選 refers to two ranks of elected scholars, *xuanshi* 選士 (selected scholars) and *junshi* 俊士 (refined scholars) respectively. See *Liji zhengyi*, 13.114. Here it refers to distinguished scholars in general.

L. 159

You ran 褒然 (being outstandingly, magnificently) is used to describe the cream of intellects. See *Han shu*, 55.2495: “Now you, honorable sir, standing out among others, are the cream of [all the recommended learned scholars], I shall congratulate you in particular” 今子大夫褒然為舉首, 朕甚嘉之.

LL. 158–159

It is not entirely clear whether Xiao Yi is referring to his prominence as a scholar, or his promotion of prominent scholars at the court. These two lines could also be rendered “I made myself known as a prodigious and eminent scholar to the royal court; I learned of the most outstanding among past exemplars.”

L. 160

The Zhongtai 中台 (Central Pavilion) is an unofficial reference to the Department of State Affairs in the era of Six Dynasties. See Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, #1629; 194.

L. 161

Bang jiao 邦教 (literally “teachings of the state”) involves training in and enforcement of proper moral and political values among the people. The one in charge of this function is the minister of education (*situ* 司徒), a title of great prestige from high antiquity. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 9.59; *Shang shu zhengyi*, 18.123. See also Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, #5801; 458. But Xiao Yi did not hold this post until 549, after Hou Jing occupied the capital, Xiao Yan granted a series of official titles to Xiao Yi including *situ chengzhi* 司徒承制 (minister of education recipient of edicts). See *Liang shu*, 5.113.

See Hexagram “Guan” 觀 (Viewing) in the *Yi jing*, *Zhouyi zhengyi* 3.24: “Here one’s Viewing extends to the glory of the state, so it is fitting therefore that this one be guest to the king” 觀國之光/ 利用賓于王. Trans. Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 263.

L. 162

In the Southern Dynasties *nan gong* 南宮 (southern palace) was a quasi-official reference to the developing Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省) and its senior officials. See Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, #1629; 339–40.

L. 163

This line alludes to what purports to be Zhou education system described in the *Li ji*, which stipulated that those who do not comply with the prescribed teaching in a village would be gathered together to have a special session or tutorial conducted by the elite scholars of the state led by the minister of education. If this did not succeed in rectifying them, those from the right

[wing] of the village school (*you xiang* 右鄉) would be moved to the left, and vice versa. See *Li ji zhushu*, 13.1a–b. Here the term *you xiang* is a synecdoche for this largely ritualistic system.

L. 164

The Circular Moat (Bi yong 辟雍) was the place where ritual ceremonies were held. For a detailed note on the Circular Moat (Bi yong 辟雍) in see Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 152, L.103, n.103.

L. 165

The Bronze Horse Gate (Jinma men 金馬門) was a large portal where scholar-officials waited to be summoned by the emperor. According to Sima Qian, the name comes from a large bronze horse statue that stood in front of the gate. See *Shi ji*, 126. 3205.

L. 166

The *Yuzhiji* and *Lidai fuhui* both read *ju* 車 for *ju* 居.

L. 167

The heavenly abode (*tianju* 天居) refers to the imperial palace of the capital.

L. 168

The *locus classicus* of the phrase *yuanchu* 爰處 is in “Ji gu” 擊鼓 *Mao* #189, *Mao Shi zhengyi*, 11.168: “Here shall we live, here rest/ Here laugh, Here talk” 爰居爰處/爰笑爰語. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 282.

L. 170

Pingyang 平陽 is traditionally identified as the capital of the legendary ruler Yao 堯. According to tradition it corresponds to an area southwest of modern Linfen 臨汾 *shi*, Shanxi. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 656. See Ying Shao’s commentary on the *Han shu*, 28A, no.7; 1551. According to Ying Shao, Pingyang was located on the north bank of the Ping River. Also see Song Xiangfeng 宋翔鳳, ed. and comm., *Diwang shiji* 帝王世紀, *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, 2.3b.

L. 171

Ji fang 冀方 (the region of Ji) refers to the central plains, comprising the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River. The term is associated with Yao. See “Wuzi zhi ge” 五子之歌 of the *Shu jing*, *Shangshu zhengyi*, 7.157: “There was the lord of Tao and Tang/ Who possessed this region of Ji” 惟彼陶唐/有此冀方.

L. 172

Xuan Wang 玄王 (the Dark King) refers to Xie 契, the ancestor of the Shang. According to legend, Xie was the child of the lady who swallowed an egg of a dark bird (or swallow, *xuanniao* 玄鳥). Thus, he is also known as the Dark King. See *Mao* #303 “Xuanniao” 玄鳥 and *Mao* #304 “Changfa” 長發, *Mao shi zhengyi*, 20.355–59. Louisa G. Fitzgerald Huber, as well as a few other scholars, deemed Zhengzhou Shang city 鄭州商城 (east of modern Zhengzhou, Henan) as the preeminent early Shang city and the most likely site of the Bo capital. Zhengzhou Shang city (1952), covering over nine square miles and has a stamped-earth city wall of hour miles in circumference. See Louisa G. Fitzgerald Huber, “The Bo Capital and Questions concerning Xia and Early Shang,” *Early China* 13 (1988): 46–77.

L. 173

Luo 洛 refers to Luoyi 雒[洛]邑, also known as Chengzhou 成周, which was the principal capital of the Eastern Zhou 東周 (770–256 BCE). On the capital and royal residence of the Eastern Zhou refer to Liang Yun 梁云, “Chengzhou yu wangcheng kaobian” 成周與王城考辯, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 5 (2002): 51–55.

L. 174

Huangqi zigai 黃旗紫蓋 (Yellow banners and purple canopies) refers to an auspicious vapor or aura. Its appearance reputedly presaged a change of regime, and the places where it made an appearance indicate who the new ruler will be. As such, the expression is usually used as political propaganda to claim political authority throughout Chinese history.

For instance, Pei Songzhi’s commentary on the *Sanguo zhi* cites Yu Pu’s 虞溥 *Jiangbiao zhuan* 江表傳, which says that when Diao Xuan 刁玄 (fl. 271) served as the envoy of Wu to Shu, he brought various prognostication texts back to Wu. He interpreted the texts in such a way that they served as political propaganda for the legitimacy of the Wu court. Diao Xuan spread a rumor saying “[Vapor that resembles] yellow banners and purple canopies appeared in the southeast. Can it be that the lord of the Jing and Yang regions is the one who eventually would possess all under heaven?” 黃旗紫蓋見於東南, 終有天下者, 荊揚之君乎? See *Sanguo zhi*, 48. 1168.

L. 175

The *locus classicus* of the term “realm-within” (*yu zhong* 域中) is the *Laozi* 25: “In the ‘realm-within’ there are four that are great, and the king resides in one of them” 域中有四大, 而王居其一焉. See Gao Ming, *Boshu Laozi jiaozhu*, 351. Xiao Yi uses it to refer to the entire domain, if not the whole universe.

LL. 174–175 Xiao Yi is saying that the capital of the dynasty, Jiankang, has the most magnificent imperial aura within the entire realm.

LL. 176–177

See *Zhou li zhushu*, 10.11b: “It is where heaven and earth converge, where the four seasons join with each other, where winds and rains meet, and where *yin* and *yang* merge together. Therefore, hundreds creatures are well nurtured and settled here. Thus the royal domain is established here” 天地之所合也, 四時之所交也, 風雨之所會也, 陰陽之所和也. 然則百物阜安, 乃建王國焉. See also Zhang Heng, “Dongjing fu” 東京賦, *Wen xuan* 3.99: “They sought a place where all winds and rains converged/ And then established the Royal City” 總風雨之所交/ 然後以建王城. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan* Vol. One, 249.

L. 178

This line alludes to a story recorded in the *Hou Han shu* that recounts when Su Bo’e 蘇伯阿, an expert on prophetic omens, was sent as an envoy of Wang Mang to Liu Xiu’s ancestral place, in awe of the “kingly aura” in the place, he exclaimed, “How favorable is the aura here, lush and luxuriant” 氣佳哉, 鬱鬱蔥蔥然. See *Hou Han shu*, 1B.86.

L. 179

Qingyun 卿雲 (felicitous clouds) is another auspicious omen. According to the *Shi ji* 史記, *qingyun* is something that “resemble mist but are not mist; resemble clouds but are not clouds. They are clustered and dense, thinly attenuated, whorled and warped, this is called *qingyun*. If *qingyun* is seen, it would be felicitous” 若煙非煙, 若雲非雲, 郁郁紛紛, 蕭索輪囷, 是謂卿雲. 卿雲[見], 喜氣也. See *Shi ji*, 27.1339. See also Lippiello, *Auspicious Omens and Miracles in Ancient China*, 138.

L. 180

This line refers to the twin gatetowers that Emperor Xiaowu 孝武 of Song (r. 453–464) built on two sides of the Yangtze River in 463. The one on the western bank was built on Xiliangshan 西梁山 (in sixty *li* south of modern He 和 *xian*, Anhui) and the one on the eastern bank stood on Dongliangshan 東梁山 (in modern Wuhu 蕪湖 *shi*, Anhui).

These two mountains are collectively known as Tianmenshan 天門山 (Heavenly Gate Mountains) based on their strategic location for the defense of Jiankang, the capital of the Southern Dynasties in the lower Yangtze River. See *Song shu*, 6.134. See also Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 293.

L. 181

The Huai River refers to the Qinhuai River 秦淮河, which flows through the city of Nanjing into the Yangtze River in the west. The Qinhuai River was commonly known as the Huai River before the Tang. See Jiangsusheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江蘇省地方誌編纂委員會,

Shuili zhi 水利志, *Jiangsu sheng zhi* 江蘇省志 Vol. 13 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2001), 138.

L. 182

The Sweet Spring Palace (Ganquan 甘泉) was a Han imperial palace northwest of Chang'an. It was originally built in the Qin, and further renovated in the early Han. “*Fu* on the Sweet Springs Palace” by Yang Xiong was written upon the occasion of sacrifices to the supreme deity Grand Unity (Taiyi 太一) held at the Sweet Springs Palace. Cf. Yang Xiong 揚雄, “Ganquan fu” 甘泉賦, *Wen xuan* 7.321–37.

The Luminous with Splendor Hall (Huizhang 暉章) was one of the twelve halls of the Western Jin palace complex. See *Jin gongge ming* 晉宮閣名 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 175.5b.

L. 183

The Lodge of Peaceful Joy (Pingle 平樂) was in the Shanglin Park. It was the place where various types of entertainments were held. Cf. Zhang Heng, “Xijing fu,” *Wen xuan*, 2.75.

The Everlasting Palace (Weiyang 未央) was another Han imperial palace. For a detailed description of the Han imperial palaces, refer to He Qinggu 何清谷, ed. and comm., *Sanfu huangtu jiaoshi* 三輔黃圖校釋 (1995; rpt. Shaanxi: Sanqin chubanshe, 1997), 142–66.

L. 184

The Ascending the Empyrean Gatetower (Lingxiao 凌霄) was built by Emperor Ming of Wei (r. 226–239). *Yiwen leiju*, 62.1116 cites a lost line of the transmitted *Wei zhi* 魏志 of the *Sanguo zhi*, which reads, “Emperor Ming constructed the Lingxiao Gate Tower” 明帝作凌霄闕.

Soaring Rain Hall (Feiyu 飛雨) is known only as one of the halls of the Everlasting Palace. See *Han shu*, 98.4030. According to Yan Shigu’s 顏師古 commentary on this line, *yu* 雨 is sometimes written *yu* 羽. See *Han shu*, 98.4031.

L. 185

The Unicorn 麒麟 and the Phoenix 鳳凰 were halls of the Everlasting Palace. See *Han shu*, 75.3175.

L. 186

The Nine Splendors Hall (Jiuhua 九華) was one of the halls of the Han imperial lateral courtyard (*ye ting* 掖庭). The Palace of Humanity and Longevity (Renshou 仁壽) was located in Luoyang 洛陽, the capital of Western Jin. See *Jin gongge ming* cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 175.6a.

L. 187

The Hall of Hundred Blessings (Baifu 百福) and the Hall of Shining Brightness (Mingguang 明光) were both located in Luoyang. See *Taiping yulan*, 175.5b.

LL. 188–189

Cf. Sima Xiangru 司馬相如, “Changmen fu” 長門賦, *Wen xuan* 16.714: “Carved magnolia serves for the beams/ Engraved ginkgo wood for the rafters” 刻木蘭以為榱兮/ 飾文杏以為梁. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol.3. 163.

L. 194

Cf. Zhang Heng, “Xijing fu,” *Wen xuan* 2.75: “When the Grand Equipage visited the Lodge of Peaceful Joy/ They pitched A-rank and B-rank tents, and the emperor donned a halcyon-plume coat” 大駕幸乎平樂/ 張甲乙而襲翠被. See Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 227.

L. 195

Yang Shen 楊慎 notes that the phrase the “region of *Geng-Xin*” (庚辛之方 *Geng-Xin zhi fang*) echoes the “realm of *Geng-Xin*” (*Geng-Xin zhi yu* 庚辛之域) in Ma Rong’s 馬融 “*Liang Ji sidi fu*” 梁冀西第賦, which is cited in a commentary to the *Hou Han shu*. It is noted that Ma Rong’s line in question cannot be located in any transmitted commentaries on the *Hou Han shu*, but is cited in the “*Li zhi*” 禮志 of the *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 probably wrongly attributed to the *Hou Han shu*. See Wang Dachun 王大淳, ed. and comm., *Danqian zonglu jianzheng* 丹鉛總錄箋證 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2003), 714. See *Nan Qi shu*, 9.150. Gengxin 庚辛 corresponds to northwest.

Both *Liang Yuandi ji* and *Lidai fuhui* read *fang* 枋 for *fang* 方. *Liang Yuandi yuzhiji* reads *fang* 房.

L. 196

Jetavana Garden (祇園 *Zhi yuan*) was located south of the city of Śrāvastī, which was donated to the Buddha and his disciples by Anāthapiṇḍada. The garden originally belonged to Prince Jeta, from whom Anāthapiṇḍada purchased it. Anāthapiṇḍada built lodges in the garden to serve the Buddha and the monastic community. See the entry on Jetavana in Robert Buswell and Donald Lopez, eds. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 383. See also Ciyi 慈怡 et al., *Foguang dacidian* 佛光大辭典 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004), 5194–95. For a detailed description of Daoxuan’s account of the Indian Jetavana Vihāra, see He Puay-peng, “The Ideal Monastery: Daoxuan’s Description of the Central Indian Jetavana Vihara,” *East Asian History* 10 (1995): 1–18.

Here it refers to a Buddhist temple, named Jetavana Garden (*Zhi yuan*), located in the southern suburb of the capital Jiankang. The temple, built in 247, was the first Buddhist temple in the

South. It changed its original name, Jianchu 建初 Temple, to the Zhi yuan when the Phenix Terrace (Fenghuang tai 鳳凰臺) was built next to it in 439.

L. 197

This line alludes to a line in Wang Ji's 王吉 (d. 48 BCE) petition presented to Emperor Xuan 宣 (91–48 BCE), where he acclaims the ideals that are traditionally associated with Confucius and his disciples. He urged the emperor “to herd people of the generation in order to arrive at the domain of humanity and longevity” 馭一世之民濟之仁壽之域. See *Han shu*, 42.3063.

Here 齊 should probably be read as *ji* 濟 (to get to the shore, achieve) or *ji* 躋 (to ascend). “Domain of humanity and longevity” probably refers to the imperial palace.

L. 198

The *zhouhang* 舟航 (boat-bridge, lit. floating bridge made of boats lashed together) here refers to the Scarlet Bird (Zhuque) Bridge on the Qin Huai River. The bridge was part of a thoroughfare that leads to the imperial palace in the north. This thoroughfare existed as early as the third century, see Zuo Si's “Wudu fu” *Wen xuan*, 5.217: “High gateway tower upward; Through door after door chariots run side by side. Vermeil watchtowers stand in pairs; The imperial speedway is as smooth as a whetstone. Where it is planted with pagoda trees, Cross by clear streams” 高闈有闕，洞門方軌。朱闕雙立，馳道如砥。樹以青槐，亘以綠水. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan* Vol. One, 399.

L. 200

This line alludes to two tiered-pavilion in Hualin yuan 華林園 (Garden of Lustrous Groves), named “Zhao ri” 朝日 (Morning Sun) and “Xi yue” 夕月 (Evening Moon). See *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, 21.15a–b.

LL. 201–203

These lines probably refer to the Guanghua 光華 Palace (Palace of Lustrous Glow) with seven double tiered-pavilions that Emperor Wu of Liang built during the Datong reign (527–529). It is said that a great quantity of precious gems stones were conscripted from the Caotang 草堂 Temple. See *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, 21.13b.

“Clusters of pearls” in L. 201 perhaps refers to gem beaded curtains.

The phrase *qi zhong* 七重 in L. 202 alludes to “Qichong hangshu” 七重行樹 (the seven avenues of gem trees) in the Pure Land named *sukhāvatī* (in Sanskrit blissful) or *jile* 極樂 (ultimate bliss) in Chinese translation as described in what are referred to in East Asia as the “three pure land sutras.” See Buswell and Lopez, eds. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 1598. See also Ciyi et al, *Foguan dacidian*, 102.

L. 204

The “bow-arched bridge” refers to the Yin hong qiao 飲虹橋 (Rainbow-watering bridge) a bridge on the Qin Huai River north of the Zhi yuan. See *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, 16.28a–b.

L. 205

The “goose park” refers to the Southern Park (Nan yuan 南苑) was located northeast of the Phenix Terrace. See *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, 22.50a.

L. 206

Gan 紺 (bluish magenta) was believed to be the color of the Buddha’s hair. The Buddhist temple is sometimes referred to by the names of *gan dian* 紺殿 (magenta palace) or *gan fang* 紺坊 (magenta quarter). See Ciyi et al., *Foguan dacidian*, 4767–68. The *zigan zhi tang* 紫紺之堂 (Hall of Purple Magenta) here refers to the Changgan 長干 Temple located outside the southern gate of the city, southeast of the Phenix Terrace. The temple was built in 502 by Emperor Wu of Liang. In 535, Buddha’s hair relic was recovered from the Pagoda of King Ashoka of the temple. See *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, 46.10a–b. See also Cao Fuhua 曹福華, “Jianchu si yu Changgang si: budebu liqing de shishi” 建初寺與長干寺: 不得不釐清的史實, *Jiangsu difang zhi* (2016) 2: 74–77.

L. 207

The *lian* 蓮 (Sanskrit *utpala*), *Nymphaea tetragona*, is a blue colored water lily native to southern and eastern parts of Asia. The *qinglian* 青蓮, or blue-colored lotus (Sanskrit *nīlotpala*) is considered sacred in some of the Buddhist texts. See Ciyi et al., *Foguan dacidian*, 6411–12. The Blue Lotus Terrace 青蓮之臺 here probably alludes to a legend associated with the origin of the Wagan 瓦棺 Temple (The Temple of the Pottery Coffin), located east of the Phenix Terrace. In Western Jin, two blue lotus blossoms grew out of the ground. Underneath, a coffin made of pottery was excavated. The lotus blossoms were stemmed from the tongue of the Buddhist monk buried in the coffin. It is said that that monk recited the Lotus Sūtra ten thousand times before he died. The temple was built in his honor. See *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, 46.13b–14a.

L. 210

Yangsui 陽燧 (solar fire-kindler) is a type of concave mirror used to start fires. According to Jia Gongyan 賈公彥, it is believed that by using the mirror to start fires one can extract the essence of the sun, hence the name. See *Zhouli zhushu*, 36.247. Also see the *Huainanzi*: “Therefore, when the burning mirror sees the sun, it ignites tinder and produce fire” 故陽燧見日, 則燃而為火. See He Ning, *Huainanzi jishi*, 3.172. Trans. Trans. John Major, Sarah Queen, Andrew Meyer, Harold Roth, *The Essential Huainanzi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 43. The *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 explains in great detail how the images of objects reflected in

the concave mirror are always upside down. See Hu Daojing 胡道靜, ed. and comm., *Mengxi bitan jiaozheng* 夢溪筆談校證 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2011), 112.

For a detailed study of the *yangsui*, refer to Chen Guangzhong 陳廣忠, “Yangsui, yinsui, zuansui kao” 陽燧陰燧鑽燧考, *Anhui shifan daxue bao* 1 (1990): 62–67. It is also discussed in Needham, *Physics and Physical Technology*, in *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 87–94.

L. 211

See “Tian wen” 天問, *Chu ci buzhu* 3.7a: “What land does the sun not shine on and how does the Torch Dragon light it” 日安不到燭龍何照? Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 128.

According to Wang Yi 王逸, the Torch Dragon holds a torch in its mouth to bring light to the domain where the sun does not shine. Also see Xie Huilian’s 謝惠連 “Xue fu” 雪賦, *Wen xuan* 13.594: “It gleams like the Candescent Dragon/ Torch in mouth, illuminating Mount Kun” 爛兮若燭龍/ 銜耀照崑山. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Three, 27.

The Black Dragon (Li long 驪龍) according to legend lived at the bottom of a pool and possessed a pearl which is luminous at night. See Wang Ming, *Baopuzi neipian jiaozhi*, 20.345.

L. 212

Shou 綬 is a type of silk ribbon that is used for tying the seal of office to one’s waist-band. The silk ribbon embroidered with peach blossoms (*taohua shou* 桃花綬) was only given to high officials at the court. See Sun Xingyan 孫星衍, ed. and comm., *Han guan liuzhong* 漢官六種 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 188–89.

L. 213

Xuanshan 玄山 should probably be read *Shanxuan* 山玄. *Shanxuan yu* 山玄玉 (Jade of *shanxuan*) is a kind of ornamental jade pendant hanging from a sash, which was a special insignia for dukes and marquises. See *Li ji zhengyi*, 30.1482: “Dukes and marquises adorn themselves with jades of *shanxuan* and vermillion silk sashes” 公侯佩山玄玉而朱組綬.

L. 214

For *yuan li* 爰立, see “Yue ming” 說命, *Shang shu zhengyi*, 10.174: “Thereupon the king raised and made (Yue) his minister” 爰立作相.

The “Ba ming” 八命 (Eighth Ordainment) is one of a set of Nine Mandates ritual (*Jiu yi* 九儀) used to inaugurate an official. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 18.761: “The Eighth Ordainment is to assume the role of regional governor” 八命作牧.

Jian yu 建旟, literally “install the falcon-banner,” originally referred to a winter military parade. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 27.826. Later the term was used to refer to the occasion of a military general leaving the capital to take up an official post in a new assignment. Here Xiao Yi refers to his assuming the post as inspector of Jingzhou in 526.

L. 215

In 526 Xiao Yi was appointed regional inspector of Jingzhou 荊州 which had its administrative seat in Jiangling 江陵 (modern Jingzhou *shi*, Hubei).

L. 216

This line refers to Shi Le 石勒 (274–333, r. 319–333), founder of Later Zhao. Cui Hong’s 崔鴻 *Shiliuguo chunqiu* 十六國春秋 cited in the *Taiping yulan* relates that when Shi Le was a young boy, he often heard sounds of horn blowing and bell clapping (*biduo zhi sheng* 鞞鐸之聲). The same sounds could also be heard at night, when he was later sold into slavery. Upon learning about this uncanny phenomenon related to Shi Le, Shi Le’s master immediately set him free. See *Taiping yulan*, 120.1a. This anecdote is also mentioned in the *Shuijing zhu* and *Jin shu*, see Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 5.85; *Jin shu*, 104.2707.

Chen and Xiong think that the “dragon horn” alludes to the sound of a horn that reputedly resembled the roar of dragons and was blown at the battle between Huangdi and Chiyao. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 80. See “Yue dian” of the *Tongdian*, 141.734.

L. 217

The Bear Carriage (*xiong ju* 熊車) refers to a kind of chariot that had a crossbar at the front of the carriage. See *Hou Han shu*, “Zhi,” 29.3647: “Excellencies and adjunct marquises rode in sitting carriages with vermilion wheels...They leaned forward on the bear-shaped crossbar” 公列侯安車, 朱班輪...伏熊軾.

L. 218

The Gate of Thills (*yuan men* 轅門) was formed by the thills of two vehicles placed face-to-face, with the chariots arranged as a protecting wall. It was used to refer to the temporary resting-place of an emperor while on a hunt or an outing. See *Zhou li zhushu* 6.676.

L. 219

The Yuhuang 餘皇 (also written 餘臚) was a famous Wu warship that was used in a battle between Wu and Chu in 525 BCE. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 48.2085.

LL. 220–221

“Ziliu [ma]” 紫騮馬 and “Xuanyun” 玄雲 were both Han military tunes, which were performed during an imperial procession. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 81. For “Ziliu ma” see *Yuefu jie ti* 樂府解題 cited in *Yuefu shiji* 21.311. It is in the category of *Hengchui qu* (Songs for transverse winds). “Xuanyun” is categorized as a non-*gucui* 非鼓吹 tune in the *Song shu*, 19.559, but is placed in the *guchui* 鼓吹 category in the *Jin shu* 23.701.

Xiao Yi composed a song to the title “Ziliu ma”; see *Yuefu shiji* 24.352.

L. 222

“Youzuo” 右座, also written 宥坐 or 右坐, literally means “on the right of the seat,” and here refers to the *qi qi* 欹器 (tilting vessel). When the vessel was empty; it would tilt, and when it was full, it would tip over. Only when it was at the mean did it stand upright. The ruler kept the vessel always at his side as a caution against excess. Thus, it is also known as *youzuo zhi qi* 宥坐之器 (right-hand vessel). See “You zuo” 宥坐 of *Xunzi* 荀子. Wang Xianqian 王先謙, comm., *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解 (1988; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 20.520. For a short explanation of the vessel, refer to John Knoblock, *Xunzi, A Translation and Study of the Complete Works* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), vol. 3, 238.

L. 223

Zuoguang 左廣 means left-hand war-chariots company. *Guang* 廣 refers to a company of fifteen war-chariots in the ancient Chu army. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 48.2085.

The *Wenyuan yinghua* editors noted the variant reading 招武 of this line, which is a better parallel with the preceding line.

L. 224

This line alludes to a line of the “Da feng ge” 大風歌 (Song of the great wind), the first line of which reads: “A great wind rises, clouds soar on high” 大風起兮雲飛揚. See *Shi ji* 8.389; *Han shu* 1B.74. The song is attributed to the Han Founder Liu Bang 劉邦. Liu Bang reputedly composed this song at a banquet held in his hometown of Pei 沛 to which he had returned in 195 BCE.

L. 225

This line refers to Xiang Yu’s 項羽 (232–202 BCE) final defeat and death. When Xiang Yu was defeated at Gaixia 垓下 (corresponding to southeast of modern Lingbi 靈璧 *xian*, Anhui) he fled south. Guan Ying 灌嬰 (d. 176 BCE) chased him all the way to Dongcheng 東城 commandery (administrative seat southeast of modern Dingyuan 定遠 *xian*, Anhui) and crushed his army. After Xiang Yu committed suicide, five of Guan Ying’s adherents each seized a part of his body, to be rewarded later by the conferment of noble titles from the Han court. See Xiang Yu’s and Guan Ying’s biographies in the *Shi ji*, 7.336; 95.2671. Also see Loewe, *A Biographical*

Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin periods, 599–602; 136–37. For the identifications of Dongcheng 東城 and Gaixia 垓下, refer to Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 694; 1754.

Cf. Cao Zhi 曹植, “Qi qi” 七啟, *Wen xuan*, 34.1583: “[Hunters] backhand a bear and smash its paw; / Dragging a tiger they break apart its striped hide” 批熊碎掌/ 拉虎摧斑.

L. 227

The Hegemon of Chu (*ba chu* 霸楚) refers to Xiang Yu 項羽, who styled himself the Hegemonic King of West Chu (*xichu bawang* 西楚霸王). See *Shi ji*, 7. 319.

L. 228

The “Dappled Horse” (*zhui ma* 騅馬) specifically refers to the dappled horse that Xiang Yu rode. The word 逝 ‘run far’ is from the “Gaixia ge” 垓下歌 attributed to Xiang Yu: “The times do not favor me, / My dappled steed cannot run far/ He cannot run far, what is to be done?” 時不利兮騅不逝/騅不逝兮可奈何? See *Shi ji*, 7.333.

L. 229

The term *luzhu* 鹿逐 (deer chasing) using *lu* as a metaphor for the imperial throne, refers to one’s desire and effort to assume the throne. It comes from *Shi ji* 92.2629: “Qin lost its deer, and all under heaven chase it at once” 秦失其鹿, 天下共逐之.

L. 230

The Wu River (*wu jiang* 烏江) is in modern He 和 *xian*, Anhui. It was where Xiang Yu committed suicide in despair over his defeat. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 466.

L. 231

The Fire-Red Emperor (*chi di* 赤帝) refers to Liu Bang 劉邦. It was believed that the Han dynasty was founded by virtue of fire (*huode* 火德). People later used the term Fire-Red Emperor to refer to the founder of the Han dynasty. See *Shi ji*, 8.347.

L. 232

Guan Rampart (Guan lei 灌壘) probably refers to the walled city located in Liyang 歷陽 county (corresponding to modern He 和 *xian*, Anhui). According to the *Chengyi kao* 城邑攷 cited in Gu Zuyu’s *Dushi fangyu jiyao*, the rampart was allegedly built by Fan Zeng 范增 (277 or 278–204 BCE), Marquis of Liyang 歷陽侯, a staunch supporter of Xiang Yu. The city, alternatively known by Fan Zeng’s honorific appellation Yafu 亞夫, was later reinforced by Guan Ying. See

Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao*, 29.1320–21. See also Shi Weilei et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 369.

L. 233

Dangli 當利, located southeast of modern He 和 *xian*, Anhui, is a bay (*pu* 浦) of the Yangze River. It was originally named Yangpu 揚浦 and changed to Dangli pu 當利浦 in the Western Jin. See *Taiping huanyu ji*, 20.14b–15a. Also see Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao*, 29.1327. Shi Weilei et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 976.

Cf. Guo Pu 郭璞, “Jiang fu” 江賦, *Wen xuan* 12.567: “[The Yangtze] scours ravines and engenders bays/ Branches into tributaries and forms lakes” 漱壑生浦/區別作湖. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 341.

L. 234

This line alludes to Sun Quan’s diplomatic maneuver in 211. Sun Quan submitted to the newly-enthroned Emperor of Wei, Cao Pi 曹丕 (187–226, r. 220–226), in response to Liu Bei’s declaration of assuming the imperial title. Cao Pi in turn recognized Sun as King of Wu. See *Sanguo zhi*, 47.1121–23.

The *Yuzhiji* and *Lidai fuhui* write *wu wang* 吾王 (our king) as *Wu wang* 吳王 (the king of Wu). Using *wuwang* (our king) to refer to Sun Quan perhaps assumes the voice of the Wei, from which the ensuing dynasties, including Liang, inherited the imperial mandate.

L. 235

This line alludes to Cao Pi after receiving formal submission from Sun Quan, calling for Sun Quan to send one of his sons as a hostage to guarantee the alliance between Wu and Wei against Shu. Sun Quan declined the request. See *Sanguo zhi*, 47.1125.

L. 236

General Zhao refers to Zhao Yan 趙儼 (171–245), who was installed in various important military positions by Cao Cao and his successor Cao Pi. See Zhao Yan’s biography in *Sanguo zhi*, 23.668–71. The official insignia (*jie* 節) was usually carried by commanders and imperial envoys as a symbol of imperial authority.

L. 237

Palace Attendant Xin refers to Xin Pi 辛毗 (d. ca. 235), an influential adviser and trusted envoy of Cao Pi. In 222, Cao Pi sent him to visit Wu to form an alliance with Sun Quan and attain Sun’s son as hostage. See *Sanguo zhi*, 47.1125. See also Xin Pi’s biography in *Sanguo zhi*, 25.695–700.

L. 238

The “legs of a tripod” (*ding zu* 鼎足) is a figure for the division of three spheres of influence or political domains. See Zhuge Liang’s 諸葛亮 biography in the *Sanguo zhi* 35.915: “When [Cao] Cao’s troop is defeated, he will inevitably go back north. In this case, then the military force of the Jing and Wu areas will become formidable, and the situation of the legs of a tripod thus will be fully completed.” 操軍破必北還。如此則荊吳之勢彊，鼎足之形成矣。Here it probably refers to the Huai River as a demarcation of the border between the Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534) in the north and the Liang in the south.

L. 240

The *jiujing* 九井 refers to Jiujing 九井 Mountain located southeast of modern Dangtu *xian*, Anhui. See Shi Weile, ed., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 33. Yin Zhongwen’s 殷仲文 (d. 407) poem “Nanzhou Huangong Jiujing zuo” 南州桓公九井作 was composed at Jiujing Mountain for Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404). See *Wen xuan*, 22.1032–34. Li Shan cites the Jiang tu 江圖 (Yangtze River chart) of Yu Zhongyong 庾仲雍 (Eastern Jin), which says Jiujing as an alternative name for Tong 銅 Mountain. Yu adds: “The mountain has nine wells, and the wells connect with the Yangtze River.” Shortly before Huan Xuan declared himself emperor of the Chu dynasty in Dangtu. He built a sacrificial alter north of Jiujing Mountain. See *Zizhi tongjian*, 113.4b–5a.

The *locus classicus* of the phrase *wenjin* 問津 is in the *Lun yu* 18/6 (*Lun yu zhushu*, 18.2529): “Chang Ju and Jie Ni were plowing the field in a team. Confucius went past them, and he sent Zilu to ask where the ford was.” 長沮桀溺耦而耕，孔子過之，使子路問津焉。Here the phrase probably alludes to the story of Confucius’ inquiring about the matter of “ritual” (*li* 禮) from Laozi, which appears in a number of pre-Han and Han texts. See for example, *Shi ji*, 63.2140; 47.1909; *Liji zhengyi*, 18.165–66; Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 7B.741; 5A.427–30; 5B.516–25.

L. 241

The Six Dependencies (*liu fu* 六服) are the six zones of a state that radiate out from the royal domain. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 37.892. Also see *Shang shu zhengyi* 18.234: “For various lords of all the Six Dependencies, none of them does not acknowledge his virtue” 六服群辟，罔不承德。

Duhui 都會 (metropolis) here refers to Gushu 姑孰, also written Gushu 姑熟, was a fortified wall in the area of modern Dangtu 當塗, Anhui. It was an important military strategic point during the Southern Dynasties. See Wang Xiangzhi 王象之, *Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 18.3b–4a.

L. 242

Han Valley (Han gu 函谷) served as one of the major strategic passes that protected the capital of Western Han, Chang’an 長安, to the east. It was located in Hongnong 弘農 (roughly

corresponds to modern Lingbao 靈寶 *xian*, Henan). See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 1731.

Here the Han Valley refers to the Eastern Pass (Dongguan 東關), a navigable water channel at the mouth of the Ruxu River, located between Mt. Ruxu 濡須山 (sixty *li* southwest of modern Hanshan 含山 *xian*, Anhui) and Mt. Qibao 七寶山 (fifty *li* northwest of Wuwei 無為 *xian*, Anhui). The Eastern Pass was strategically important during the period of North-South division. See Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao*, 19.890–94. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2946–47.

L. 243

Luyang 魯陽 refers to the Luyang Pass 魯陽關, fourteen *li* southwest of Lushan 魯山 *xian*, Henan. The Luyang Pass was strategically important in the Han and later became a transportation hub of the Luoyang metropolitan area. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2583. Here the Yuyang Pass refers to Mt. Zhaoguan 昭關山, also known as Mt. Xiaoxian 小峴山 (located north of modern Hanshan *xian*, Anhui). It was through the Zhao Pass (Zhaoguan 昭關), located on Mt. Zhaoguan, that Wu Zixu fled from Chu to Wu in 515 BCE. See *Shi ji*, 66.2173. The *Yuanhe junxian zhi* 元和郡縣志 cited in the *Dushi fangyu jiyao* refers to Mt. Xiaoxian 小峴山 together with Mt. Daxian 大峴山 (northeast of modern Hanshan *xian*, Anhui) as “the strategic passage of Huainan” 淮南襟要之地. See Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao*, 19.858–60. See also Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 1880.

Lapels and girdles (*jindai* 襟帶) refer to a protected strategic stronghold. Cf. Zhang Heng, “Dongjing fu,” *Wen xuan* 3.98: “If the people’s devotion is not true/ Why speak of steep defiles or “collars and girdles” 苟民志之不諒/ 何云巖險與襟帶. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 249.

L. 244

This line alludes to a story about Zhong Jun 終軍 (fl. 122 BCE), who was a native of Jinan 濟南 (in modern Jinan, Shandong) and served in Emperor Wudi’s court. He was recommended as a National University student (*boshi dizi* 博士弟子) when he was only eighteen *sui*. Zhong Jun traveled from Jinan to the capital on foot to take up the post. When he passed through a check point outside the capital, he was given a travel pass made of silk (*ru* 繻) and told that he would need it to go through the check point when he returned. Upon hearing this, Zhong Jun discarded the travel pass, and said: “As a man with aspirations traveling westward, I will not need a return permit” 大丈夫西游, 終不復傳還. He was appointed imperial messenger (*yezhe* 謁者), and traveled on tours of inspection, including a mission to the Xiongnu. See his biography in the *Han shu*, 64B. 2814. Also see Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin periods*, 727–28.

L. 245

This line alludes to a story about Guo Dan 郭丹 (24 BCE–62 CE), a native of Nanyang 南陽 (roughly corresponding to the area between modern Jiyuan 濟源 and Huojia 獲嘉 *xian*, Henan). When he was young, he left home and went to Chang'an to study. On the way to the capital, he had to purchase a travel pass at the Han Valley Pass to enter Chang'an. It was at that point when he supposedly said to himself: "If I, [Guo] Dan, do not ride an envoy's chariot, I then will not exit the pass at all" 丹不乘使者車, 終不出關. Twelve years later, in the year 24 Guo Dan was appointed grand master of remonstrance (*jianyi dafu* 諫議大夫) commissioned with special powers (*Chijie shi* 持節使), and thus realized his original aspiration. See *Hou Han shu*, 27.940. Also see de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms*, 280–81.

L. 246

Ruxu 濡須 refers to the site on the northern shore of the Yangtze River where two battles between Cao Cao and Sun Quan, first in 214, and then in 217, took place. As early as 211 after Sun Quan established his capital at Moling 秣陵 (modern Nanjing), he set up the Ruxu fortress as a bridgehead in anticipation of military incursion from Cao Cao. The fortress was not far from Mt. Ruxu, which was the Wu army's strategic stronghold to resist Wei troops from the north. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2946.

L. 247

This line probably alludes to Lu Xun's 陸遜 (183–245) petition to the last Wu sovereign Sun Hao 孫皓 (242–283, r. 264–280), expressing his concern about the survival of Wu at the time. He relates that whenever he thinks about the critical perils looming large, he "beats his pillow in the middle of the night, and facing his meal forgets to eat" 中夜撫枕, 臨餐忘食. See *Sanguo zhi*, 58.1355.

LL. 248–249

Lianglong 兩龍 (pair of dragons) probably alludes to Liu Yao 劉繇 (157–198) and his brother Liu Dai 劉岱 (d. 192). The Liu brothers were collectively referred to as "the two dragons" for their outstanding talent. In the early 190s Liu Yao was granted an imperial commission as inspector of Yangzhou (administrative seat in Shouchun). Unwilling to face Yuan Shu 袁術 (155–199), who controlled the area of the Huai, Liu Yao went further south to establish himself in area of modern Danyang, Jiangsu. See Liu Yao's biography in the *Sanguo zhi*, 49.1183–84.

The *erhu* 二虎 can also refer to the two mountain ridges standing on two sides of the Yangtze River near modern Wuhu 蕪湖, Anhui. The one on the western bank is called Xiliangshan 西梁山, and the one on the eastern bank Dongliangshan 東梁山. They are collectively known as Tianmenshan 天門山, also known as Erhushan 二虎山. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 293.

Both *erhu* 二虎 (pair of tigers) and *lianglong* 兩龍 (matching set of dragons) could also refer to Sun Quan and Cao Cao together, who were on a par with each other for a long time. In 217 Cao

Cao's expedition reached his defensive beachhead at Ruxu. Though he gained no real success, he left strongly fortified garrisons in place, which compelled Sun Quan to formally acknowledge Cao's suzerainty. But in practice, the relations between the two warlord states remained the same. See *Sanguo zhi*, 1.37 and 49; 47.1120. See also de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms*, 38 and 773–74.

L. 251

The shank-mounted bell (*nao* 鐃) was used to signal a halt or retreat to army troops. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 12.721.

LL. 252–253

These two lines allude to Liu Pi 劉裒, son of Liu Bang's elder brother Liu Xi 劉喜 (d. 193 BCE), who was installed as king of Wu in 195 BCE. During the reigns of Emperor Hui 惠 (r. 196–188 BCE) and the Empress Lü 呂后, the exploitation of the copper mines in Zhang 鄣 commandery, also known as 故鄣 (administrative seat north of modern Anji 安吉 *xian*, Zhejiang) and making salt from the supplies on the coast greatly increased his wealth. After Liu Pi's heir was killed by Liu Qi 劉啟, then the imperial heir designate, Liu Pi grew disaffected with the imperial rule. Emperor Wen (r. 185–157 BCE), perhaps aware of the weakness of his own position, tolerated Liu Pi's failure to observe the rules. See Liu Pi's biography in the *Shi ji*, 106.2821–37. And also see Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin periods*, 334–37.

Tongshan 銅山 can refer to any of the copper mines scattered in the former Wu area (roughly corresponding to modern southern Anhui, southwestern Jiangsu, and northern Zhejiang). See the entry “Tongshan” in Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2360. Here Tongshan mostly likely refers to the copper mine that was located south of modern Tongling 銅陵 *shi*, Anhui.

LL. 254–255

These two lines allude to the extravagance of the former Wu state.

Cf. Zuo Si, “Wudu fu,” *Wen xuan* 5.216: “It is engirdled by deep Morning and Evening Lake/ Belted by the luxuriant Long Isle Park” 帶朝夕之濬池/ 佩長洲之茂苑; “And if one inspected the Hailing Granary/ He would find it overflowing with red grain” 觀海陵之倉/ 則紅粟流行. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 395; 397.

Changzhou 長洲 (Long Isle) was the name of an old hunting park once used by King Helü for dog-racing. See *Wu Yue chunqiu* 吳越春秋 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1978), 2.78. It was located south of Mt. Gusu on the north shore of Lake Tai. See in Shi Weile et al, *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 437. Hailing 海陵 (east of modern Tai 泰 *xian*, Jiangsu) was where Liu Pi built his granary to store surplus food. See *Han shu*, 21.2363. See Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 394; LL.291–92n.

L. 256

Cf. Pan Xu 潘勗, *Wen xuan* 35.1625: “Ce Wei gong jiuci wen” 冊魏公九錫文: “[Yuan Shao] mobilized an army while inwardly harboring contempt [for the emperor]” 稱兵內侮.

L. 257

This line alludes to Lake Zhaoxi 朝夕 (Morning and Evening) in the Wu area, which “morning and evening” rose and fell with the tide from the sea. See Zuo Si, “Wudu fu,” *Wen xuan* 5.216. Also see Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 394; LL. 291–92n. The line is a metaphor for the short-lived (less than two months) rebellion that Liu Pi launched. See *Shi ji*, 106.2821–37.

LL. 256–257

This line refers to the “Revolt of the Seven Kingdoms” 七國之亂 that Liu Pi instigated in coordination with six other Han kings in 154 BCE.

L. 258

This line refers to Wu’s military victory over Shu in 221–222. At the end of 221 Liu Bei launched a great attack through the Yangzi Gorges, but after some months he was thoroughly defeated by Sun Quan’s general Lu Xun 陸遜 (183–245) in 222. This victory gave Wu full control of the Yang and Jing areas south of the lower and middle Yangzi River. Sun Quan changed name of the battle site Yiling 夷陵 into Xiling 西陵, northwest of modern Yichang 宜昌, Hubei. See *Sanguo zhi*, 47.1124–26.

L. 259

This line alludes to the military campaign against Wu led by a Western Jin general Wang Jun 王濬 (206–286), which ended in Sun Hao’s 孫皓 (242–283, r. 264–280) surrender in 280. Wang Jun 王濬, *zi* Shizhi 士治, was a native of Hongnong 弘農 (in modern Lingbao 靈寶, Henan). Setting out from Chengdu in 279, Wang Jun marched straight into Xiakou 夏口 (in modern Wuhan 武漢, Hubei) and Wuchang 武昌 (south of modern E’zhou 鄂州, Hubei) without much resistance, and eventually conquered the Wu capital Jianye 建業 (Nanjing, Jiangsu). See Wang Jun’s biography in the *Jin shu*, 42.1207–16.

For the geographic locations of Xiling, Xiakou, and Wuchang, refer to Shi Weile et al, *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 939; 2103; 1431.

L. 260

Zai 載 here is probably a loan word for *dai* 戴. Cf. *Han Fei zi* 韓非子: “The lord of the people, is the one whom all under the heaven are united to support, thus he is serene” 人主者, 天下一力以共載之, 故安. See Zhang Jue, *Han Feizi jiaoshu*, 8.556.

LL. 260–261

These two lines probably refer to Zhou Yafu 周亞夫 (d. 143 BCE), best known for the highly successful part that he played in suppressing the revolt of the seven kings in 154 BCE. During the revolt, Zhou cut the supply lines between Chu and Wu, the chief protagonists in the rebellion. He then successfully captured most of the Wu starved forces; Liu Pi, king of Wu, had subsequently deserted his troops and fled. As a result of his successful campaign, Zhou Yafu enjoyed a paramount position at the court. See Zhou Yafu’s biography in the *Shi ji*, 57.2073–80; *Han shu*, 40.2057–63. See *Shi ji* 106.2831; *Han shu*, 35.1913–18. Also see Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin periods*, 735–36.

L. 262

This line alludes to a story about the Eastern Han general Ma Yuan 馬援 (14 BCE–49 CE). When Ma Yuan left the south for the capital, he brought with him a cart of Job’s tears (*yi* 薏苡). When he died not long afterward, his political opponents at the court falsely alleged that what Ma Yuan took home from the south was a cart filled with pearls and rhinoceros-horns. His widow was thus implicated in his alleged crime because of the slander. See his biography in the *Hou Han shu*, 24.846. Also see de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms*, 658–61.

L. 263

This line evokes *Mao* #200 “Xiangbo” 巷伯, *Mao Shi zhengyi* 12/13.188: “An ornament here, a decoration there/ Make up this shell-embroidery/ Those slanderers of men/ Indeed have gone too far” 萋兮斐兮/ 成是貝錦/ 彼譖人者/ 亦已大甚. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 315. The *beijin* 貝錦 (shell-embroidery) is traditionally taken as a trope for intricately fabricated slanders.

L. 264

This *locus classicus* of this line can be found in the *Shi ji*, 92.2627: “It is indeed as people have said, “As soon as the wily rabbit dies, the well-bred dog is boiled; as soon as the soaring bird is gone, the fine bow is hidden; as soon as a rival state is conquered, the counselor perishes” 果若人言, 狡兔死良狗亨, 高鳥盡良弓藏, 敵國破謀臣亡.

L. 265

Cf. “Shao Siming” 少司命 of the “Jiuge” 九歌, *Chu ci buzhu* 2.14b–15a: “Without a word he came in to me;/ Without a word he left me” 人不言兮出不辭. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 111.

LL. 262–265

These two lines allude to Zhou Yafu's losing the emperor's trust and favor soon after he was appointed chancellor-in-chief (*chengxiang* 丞相) in 150 BCE. He made a few enemies at the court, including the king of Liang, the Empress Dowager, and Empress Wang's brother. He also found himself at odds with the emperor over policies. In 147 BCE Zhou Yafu pled illness and was relieved of his post. Shortly after that the emperor invited him to dine with him in the palace. He was served with a big chunk of meat yet was not given any tool to cut it. Apparently annoyed, Zhou Yafu summoned the palace retainer and asked for tableware. The emperor, irritated by Zhou's disrespectful attitude, said: "Could it be that you are not happy with my hospitality?" Zhou Yafu removed his cap and bowed to apologize. But as soon as the emperor granted him a pardon, he left without properly excusing himself from the emperor. The emperor was alarmed by Zhou's impudence and finally had him put in prison. Zhou Yafu refused to eat and died in prison. See *Han shu*, 40.2060–61.

L. 266

Leizhong 雷中 refers to an Eastern Jin military stronghold named Dalei 大雷, also known as Leichi 雷池, located in modern Wangjiang 望江 *xian*, Anhui. Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 153.

L. 267

Cf. "Jiu ge" 九歌, *Chu ci buzhu* 2.2a: "On a lucky day with an auspicious name/ Reverently we come to delight the Lord on High" 吉日兮辰良/穆將愉兮上皇. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 102.

LL. 268–269

Gongjin 公瑾 is Zhou Yu's 周瑜 (175–210) *zi*. He was Sun Quan's most important military adviser and commander of the Wu forces at the battle of Chibi 赤壁 against Cao Cao of Wei in 208. Zhou Yu died two years later, at the age of thirty-six *sui*, when he was about to launch a military expedition against Shu. See *Sanguo zhi*, 54.1259–67. Zhongsu 忠肅 is the posthumous name of He Wuji 何無忌 (d. 410). He assisted Liu Yu 劉裕 (356/363–422), founder of the Song dynasty (r. 420–422), to defeat Huan Xuan in Jingkou 京口 (Zhenjiang, Jiangsu). See He Wuji's biography in the *Jin shu*, 85. 2214–16. In 410, He Wuji was sent to quell Lu Xun's 盧循 (d. 411) insurrection. He was captured and killed in battle. Liu Yu eventually avenged the killing of He Wuji by crushing the rebel troops later in the same year.

The place of interest here is most likely to be Sangluozhou 桑落洲 (originally located northeast of modern Jiujiang 九江 *shi*, Jiangxi), where He Wuji crushed Huan Xuan's troops in 404 and where Liu Yu quelled Lu Xun's rebel army responsible for the killing of He Wuji in 410. See Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao*, 85.3587. See also Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2261.

Shucheng 舒城 district (administrative seat thirty *li* southwest of modern Lujiang 廬江 *xian*, Anhui), Zhou Yu's native place, is also in this area. According to Gu Zuyu, forty-eight *li* west of Shucheng was the site of the citadel named after its builder Zhou Yu. See Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao*, 26.1198. The *Shuijing zhu* cited in the *Chuxueji* also mentions a shrine devoted to Zhou Yu in Shu commandery 舒州 (administrative seat in modern Qianshan 潛山 *xian*, Anhui). See *Chuxueji*, 8.26a; Xu Xuan 徐鉉, “Shuzhou Zhou jiangjun miao beiming” 舒州周將軍廟碑銘, in *Ji xing ji* 騎省集, *Siku quanshu*, 11.1a–4a. Susong 宿松 (administrative seat in modern Susong *xian*, Anhui) is the Zhou Yu's putative burial place. See Xu Xuan, “Gu Runan xian Taijun Zhoushi furen muzhiming” 故汝南縣太君周氏夫人墓志銘, *Ji xing ji*, 30.6a. Also see Lu You 陸游, *Nan Tang shu* 南唐書, *Siku quanshu*, 6.1a. According to the Gu Zuyu, Mount Zhou-He 周何山, one *li* east of Wangjiang *xian*, was so named because Zhou Yu and He Wuji both had station troops there. See Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao*, 26.1232.

Beginning from the fifth century, Zhou Yu and He Wuji were mentioned together as two local deities in Dalei 大雷. See Xie Tiao 謝朓 (464–499), “Jiwen Dalei Zhou He ershen wen” 祭文大雷周何二神文, cited in the *Yiwen leiju*, 79.1354. A story recorded in Xiao Yi's *Jinlouzi* 金樓子 also mentions these two deities together. In 497, Xiao Yi's father Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (464–549) was sent by Emperor Ming (r. 494–498) to repel the Northern Wei's military incursion in Yongzhou 雍州 (administrative seat in modern Xiangfan 襄樊, Hubei). The troop encountered a fierce windstorm near Dalei, which made it impossible for them to advance. Xiao Yan dismissed his assistant's suggestion to make sacrifice to Zhou Yu and He Wuji, two local deities, and ordered his troop to brave the storm and move forward. The storm soon calmed down and turned into a favorable wind for the troop to advance. See Chen Zhiping and Xiong Qingyuan, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 160–61.

Cf. “Jiu ge” 九歌, *Chu ci buzhu* 2.2b–3a: “The meats cooked in melilotus, served on orchid mats/ And libations of cinnamon wine and pepper sauces” 蕙肴蒸兮蘭藉/奠桂酒兮椒漿. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 102. The *jiao*, which Hawkes renders as “pepper,” is fagara (*huajiao* 花椒 “flower pepper”).

L. 270

This line refers to Zhou Yu's stratagem of launching an attack of fire-ships at the battle of Chibi against Cao Cao. See *Sanguo zhi*, 54.1262–63. I follow the *Liang Yuandi ji* (both editions), *Yuzhiji*, and *Lidai fuhui* in reading *shi* 實 for *bin* 賓.

L. 271

This line refers to He Wuji's offering advice to Liu Yu in helping him defeat Huan Xuan. See *Jin shu*, 85.2214.

L. 272

Pipi 披披 is a reduplicative binome describing the way loose garments flutter gently in the wind. See “Jiu ge” 九歌, *Chu ci buzhu* 1.13a: “My cloud-coat hangs in billowing folds/ My jade girdle-pendants dangle low” 靈衣兮被被/玉佩兮陸離. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 111. *Lüwu* 屢舞 Cf. *Mao* # 220, *Mao shi Zhengyi*, 491.1: “They leave their seats and roam/ Cut capers, throw themselves about” 舍其坐遷/屢舞僊僊. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 296.

L. 273

See “Jiu ge” 九歌, *Chu ci buzhu* 1.3a–b: “The five notes mingle in a rich harmony/ And the god is merry and takes his pleasure” 五音紛兮繁會/君欣欣兮樂康. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 102.

L. 274

Xiazhi 下雒 roughly corresponds to modern Yangxin 陽新 *xian*, Hubei. Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidia*, 96. When Liu An, 劉 (179–122 BCE), king of Huainan 淮南王 (r. 174–122 BCE), consulted with his close confidant Wu Pi 伍被 (d. 122 BCE) about the military strategy, should the king raise a rebellion, Wu Pi suggested that the city of Xiazhi needs to be held strongly for its strategic importance. See *Han shu*, 45.2171.

L. 275

The *dunli* 惇吏 should probably be *dunshi* 惇史. The *dunshi* refers to the tradition of recording virtuous deeds of the elderly in high antiquity. See *Li ji zhengyi* 28.240: “The five Dis taking them [the virtuous elderly] as models, sought to nourish their bodily vigour, and did not beg them to speak; but what good lessons they did speak were taken down by the faithful recorders” 五帝憲，養氣體而不乞言，有善則記之為惇史. Trans. James Legge, *The Li Ki* (Adelaide: The University of Adelaide Library, 2016), Book X, section II, 3. <https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/r/religion/li-ki/book10.html>

The *dunshi* here refers to Wu Pi, who served at the court of Liu An. When Liu An, King of Huainan, consulted Wu Pi about the chance of success should he raise a rebellion, Wu Pi long argued that circumstances were far from favorable, in view of the strength and stability of the Han court. When realizing that the Liu An’s plot against the imperial court was bound to fail, Wu Pi proceeded to Chang’an to confess his own part in it. He was subsequently executed. See Wu Pi’s biography in *Han shu*, 45.2167–74. See also Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin periods*, 585–86.

L. 276

This line alludes to a story recorded in the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 attributed to Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343). In the story a transcendent Sire Gourd 壺公 gave Fei Zhangfang 費長房 a bamboo staff, which Fei Zhangfang rode to arrive at home. When he then cast the staff into Ge Lake 葛陂, the staff turned into a blue dragon. See Hu Shouwei 胡守為, ed. and comm., *Shenxian zhuan*

jiaoshi 神仙傳校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 9.308–09. Also see *Hou Han shu*, 82B, 2743. Trans. Robert Ford Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2002), 309–10.

L. 277

This line alludes to a story recorded in the *Shen xian zhuan*. In the story when a transcendent named Huang Chuping 皇初平 shouts “Sheep, get up” to a pile of white rocks, the rocks all stood up and turned into several myriad head of sheep. See Hu Shouwei, *Shenxian zhuan jiaoshi*, 2.41–42. Trans. Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 309–10.

L. 278

This line alludes to a story about Liu An that is recorded in the *Shenxian zhuan*. Legend has it that, when Liu An was accused of plotting rebellion, he ascended into Heaven. As he was in the process of departing as a transcendent, there was a bit of his medicine compound left over in a basin in the court. His chickens and dogs pecked at or licked out the basin and they all flew upward as well. See Hu Shouwei, *Shenxian zhuan jiaoshi*, 6.202. Trans. Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 237–38.

L. 279

The wormwood village (Haoli 蒿里) is a burial place south of Mt. Tai 泰山. The name is later used to refer to land of the dead, where nothing is cultivated.

L. 281

Cf. *Lun yu* 12/1 (*Lunyu zhu shu*, 12.46): “To return to the observance of the rites through overcoming the self constitutes benevolence” 克己復禮為仁. Trans. Lau, *The Analects*, 112.

L. 282

This Fishing Terrace (Diao tai 釣臺) is not to be confused with the Fishing Terrace that is associated with King Zhuang of Chu 楚莊王 (r. 613–591 BCE). King Zhuang of Chu’s fishing terrace was a part of the palace complex of the Ying 郢 (near modern Jingzhou, Hubei), the capital of Chu from 689 to 504 BCE..

The Fishing Terrace here refers to the area north of E 鄂 *xian*, viz. Wuchang 武昌 (roughly corresponding to modern Ezhou 鄂州 *shi*, Hubei). See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 1431. According to the *Shuijing zhu*, Sun Quan used to drink heavily on the terrace. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 35.608. Also see *Sanguo zhi*, 52.1221.

L. 283

The Islet of E (E zhu 鄂渚) is in Wuchang. Wuchang was where Sun Quan established the capital of Wu in 221. Shortly after he claimed the imperial title in 229, Sun Quan moved his capital from Wuchang to Jianye 建業. See *Sanguo zhi*, 47.1121; 1134.

Cf. “Ai ying” 哀郢 of “Jiu zhang” 九章: “We passed the head of the Xia, and once, when we drifted westwards/ I looked back for the Dragon Gate, but I could not see it” 過夏首而西浮兮/ 顧龍門而不見. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 164.

Cf. “She jiang” 涉江 of “Jiu zhang” 九章, *Chu ci buzhu* 4.8b: “Climbing the height at E-zhu I looked back/ Ah, the last breath of autumn and winter’s chill” 乘鄂渚而反顧兮/ 欸秋冬之緒風. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 160.

LL. 283–284

The Blue Gate (Qingmen 青門) here refers to a burial site, which is typically located in the eastern suburb of a walled city, outside the East Gate, also known as the Blue Gate.

This line probably refers to Parrot Islet (Yingwu zhou 鸚鵡洲), the burial site of Mi Heng 禰衡 (ca. 173–198). Mi Heng was a talented poet who first served at Cao Cao’s court and then joined Liu Biao’s 劉表 (142–208) entourage in 197. Irritated by Mi Heng’s arrogance and insulting manner, Liu Biao sent Mi Heng to Huang Zu 黃祖 (d. 208) governor of Jiangxia 江夏 (modern Wuchang) in 198. Probably in the same year, when Mi Heng insulted him at a banquet Huang Zu had Mi Heng put to death. Huang Zu was contrite about it and granted Mi Heng an elaborate burial. See Mi Heng’s biography in *Hou Han shu*, 80B.2652–58. It is said that the Parrot Islet was named after Mi Heng’s only extant piece——“Yingwu fu” 鸚鵡賦 (*Fu* on the parrot), which he composed at a banquet which took place on the islet. The original Parrot Islet, now gone, has been traditionally located west of modern Wuchang in the Yangtze River. See Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao*, 76.3216–17. See also Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 35.605.

L. 286

The rhyming binome *weiyi* 逶迤 (alt. 委蛇) (*ʔyai-jai) describes the appearance of the city wall stretching sinuously.

L. 287

The rhyming binome *potuo* 坡陀 (alt. 陂陀, 陂侈, 陂池, 陂阤) (*phai-dai) describes the dilapidated condition of a building or object.

LL. 286–287

Chen and Xiong note that these two lines describe the dilapidation of Wuchang city more than three hundred years after Sun Quan moved the capital from Wuchang to Jianye (viz. Jiankang) in 229. See *Sanguo zhi*, 47.1135. Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 98–99.

L. 288

Shayi 沙羨 roughly corresponds to modern Wuchang *xian*, Hubei. Shayi *xian* was first installed during the Han and was temporarily abolished shortly after the fall of the Han. In 280 it was reinstalled until it was abolished again in 378. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 35.605–06. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 1336.

L. 289

Xiazhou 夏州, not to be confused with Xiazhou 夏州 of Northern Wei (installed in 498, corresponding to modern Hengshan 衡山 *xian*, Shaanxi), corresponds to modern Wuhan, Hubei. See Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao*, 75.3198. The earliest record of it can be found in the *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan jijie* (Xuanguo, 11), 10.579. Also see “Su Qin liezhuan” 蘇秦列傳 in the *Shi ji*: “Chu is the strongest state among all the states under heaven; the king is the most sagacious kings among all the kings under heaven. To the west there is Qianzhong and Wujun, and to the east there is Xiazhou and Haiyang” 楚天下之彊國也，王天下之賢王也。西有黔中巫郡，東有夏州海陽。See *Shi ji*, 69.2259. Also see Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 35.605–06.

LL. 290–291

This line may be compared with Yu Xin 庾信, “Ai Jiangnan fu” 哀江南賦: “Though I had reached the astrological region of the Hsiang and Han/ Among the stars I still sought out the Dipper and Cowherd” 路已分於湘漢/ 星猶看於斗牛。Trans. William Graham, *The Lament for the South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 79.

The Wing (*Yi* 翼) and Axletree (*Zhen* 軫), stars in Crater and Corvus respectively, are the “astral field” constellations of the state of Chu. The Dipper (*Dou* 斗) and Oxherd (*Niu* 牛) are the “astral field” constellations of the state of Wu. Xiao Yi is saying that he had departed from the Wu area, where the dynastic capital was, and entered Chu proper, where his fiefdom was.

LL. 292–293

This line alludes to a folk song cited in the “Li lou” 離婁 chapter of *Mengzi* (*Mengzi zhushu* 7A.55): “If the blue water is clear/ it is fit to wash my chin-strap” 滄浪之水清兮/可以濯我纓。Trans. Lau, *Mencius*, 121. The phrase “to wash my chin-strap” is later used to express one’s intention to leave the corrupt world behind. In the “Yu gong” 禹貢 chapter of the *Shu jing* 書經 the Canglang River is identified as the river into which the Han River flows eastward. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 refers to the Canglang River as an alternative name for the Xia River 夏水, a tributary of the Han River 漢水. The *Shuijing zhu* suggests that the lower reaches of the Han River and Mian River are conventionally referred to as the Canglang River. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 28.497. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 1343.

L. 294

This line alludes to a story in the *Zhuangzi* that tells when King Wen encountered an old man fishing, he observed that “Yet his fishing wasn't really fishing. He didn't fish as though he were fishing for anything, but as though it were his constant occupation to fish.” 而其釣莫釣，非持其釣，有釣者也，常釣也。The king had the old man escorted to the capital and handed over the administration of the state to him. Seemingly doing nothing at all, the old man put the administration in good order. See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 7B.720–23. Trans. Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 228–29.

There is another story recorded in the *Nan shi* that tells of Sun Mian's 孫緬 (fl. ac. 457) encountering an angler fishing on a raft when Sun served as the governor of Xunyang 尋陽 commandery (west of modern Jiujiang, Jiangxi). In response to Sun Mian's inquiry about whether or not he has fish to sell, the fisherman replied, “his fishing is not real fishing, how could I be the one who sells fish?” 其釣非釣，寧賣魚者邪。The *Nan shi* lists this anonymous fisherman as one of the recluses in the “Yinyi zhuan” 隱逸傳 (Biographies of the recluses). See *Nan shi*, 75.1872–73.

L. 295

See Xie Huilian 謝惠連, “Xue fu” 雪賦, *Wen xuan* 13.596: “Unfettered, my heart is free and at ease/ why worry, why fret?” 縱心皓然/何慮何營. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Three, 31.

L. 296

The *Wenyuan yinghua* editors notes that the original *hu* 護 should probably be *huo* 獲. Later editions all adopt the *huo* 獲 reading.

L. 297

For the term *shangzheng* 上征 see “Li sao” 離騷, *Chu ci buzhu* 1.20a–b: “I yoked a team of jade dragons to a phoenix-figured car/ And waited for the wind to come, to soar up on my journey” 馳玉虬以乘鸞兮/溘埃風余上征. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 73.

L. 300

Baisha 白沙, not to be confused with Baisha 白沙 north of Xiangyin 湘陰 *xian*, Hunan, refers to Baishakou 白沙口, also known as Matunkou 麻屯口, located south of modern Jiayu *xian*, Hubei. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 35.604; Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2398.

L. 301

This line describes the Queyue 卻月 (Crescent Moon), a military garrison where Liu Biao's general Huang Zu (d. 200) was stationed. The garrison, also known as Rampart of the Reclining Moon (Yanyue lei 偃月壘), was located ten *li* north of Hanyang 漢陽 *xian* (corresponding to modern Hanyang 漢陽 *qu*, Wuhan, Hubei). See Li Jifu 李吉甫, *Yuanhe juanxian tu zhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 27.646. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 35.605. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 982.

Queyue can also refer to the style in which women of the time contoured their eyebrows in the shape of a reclining crescent moon. From afar the garrison probably looked like a reclining crescent moon, thus the name.

L. 302

This line probably refers to the smooth-surfaced rock that is said to have been located next to the Yellow Crane Tower (Huanghe lou 黃鶴樓). The earliest extant record of the rock known as *shijing* 石鏡 (stone mirror), however, is as late as the Song. See for example Lu You 陸游, *Ru Shu ji* 入蜀記, *Siku quanshu*, 3.9b.

L. 304

Chi bi 赤壁 (Red Cliff) was the site of a battle between Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220) and the allied forces of Sun Quan and Liu Bei 劉備 (161–223) in 208. The exact location of the site is still contested. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 1197. Assuming that Xiao Yi sailed upstream all the way through the river, the site that he refers to here is most likely the one that both *Kuo di zhi* and *Yuanhe junxian zhi* 元和郡縣志 identified as situated northwest of modern Puqi 蒲圻 municipality Hubei. See He Cijun 賀次君, ed. and comm., *Kuo di zhi jijiao* 括地志輯校, 4.232. See also Li Jifu, *Yuanhe junxian tu zhi*, 27.646.

L. 306

See Zhou Yu's 周瑜 (175–210) biography in the *Sanguo zhi*, 54.1261: "... Furthermore, dispensing with saddled horses, relying on oars and boats, contesting and competing with Wu and Yue, inherently is not what people from the Central Domain are good at" 且舍鞍馬杖舟楫, 與吳越爭衡, 本非中國所長.

L. 307

Pi 貔 is said to be an animal of great strength and ferocity. It is variously identified as an ash-gray tiger, leopard, or bear. Later the term became an epithet for a ferocious company of soldiers. Cf. Xiao Yi, "Chi xi gao sifang" 馳檄告四方, *Quan Liang wen* 16.8b: "With this I shall command a ferocious company of soldiers and personally don armor and a headpiece" 我是以董率梟貔, 躬擐甲冑.

LL. 309–310

These two lines allude to the battle of the Red Cliff in 208, when Cao Cao's fleet was destroyed by fire-ships, and he was forced to retreat. For *yanshang* 炎上 see “Hong fan” 洪範 of the *Shu jing*, “Fire is said to blaze and ascend” 火曰炎上. Trans. Karlgren, *The Book of Documents* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), 30.

L. 313

The *locus classicus* for the term *li gui* 麗龜 is the *Zuo zhuan* (Xuangong 12): “A elaphure leapt in front of them. He shot at the stag, hitting it in the back” 麋興於前，射麋麗龜. According to Du Yu 杜預, *li gui* specifically means hitting right on the hunched part of the prey's back. It is used to refer to a deft archery tactic on the battlefield. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 23.179.

L. 314

This line refers to the allied army's military triumph against Cao Cao's force.

L. 315

The phrase *dangtu* 當塗 (lit. standing in the way) refers to the Wei dynasty by synecdoche. Numerous portentous words allegedly predicting the change of Heaven's mandate were circulated at the end of the Eastern Han. One of the prophecies reads, “That which replaces Han shall be the high-rising standing in the way” 代漢者當塗高. According to the *Sanguo zhi*, a prominent scholar of the time, Zhou Shu 周舒 (d. ca. 194) was able to decipher that “the high-rising standing in the way” refers to the watchtower by palace gates, viz. *wei* 魏. The prophecy was fulfilled in 220, when the last emperor of the Han abdicated the throne to Cao Pi (187–226), the first emperor of the Wei dynasty (220–266). See *Sanguo zhi*, 42.1020.

See Jack Dull, “A Historical Introduction to the Apocryphal Texts of the Han Dynasty,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1966, 307–08. Howard Goodman, *Ts'ao Pi Transcendent: The Political Culture of Dynasty-Founding in China at the End of Han* (Seattle: Scripta Serica; Richmond: Distributed Worldwide by Curzon Press, 1998), 101–02. See also David R. Knechtges, “The Rhetoric of Imperial Abdication and Accession in a Third-Century Chinese Court: The Case of Cao Pi's Accession as Emperor of the Wei Dynasty,” in Knechtges and Vance, eds., *Rhetoric & the Discourses of Power in Court Culture* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 3–35.

Milu 麋鹿 (lit. elaphure and deer) here refers to the Yunmeng Preserve by synecdoche.

Yunmeng Preserve was located between the Han and the Yangtze Rivers, roughly corresponding to east of modern Jiangling, Hubei. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 326. Yunmeng Preserve is known for its exotic animals. Cf. *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策, “Jing has Yunmeng, and is filled with rhinoceros, gaurs, elaphures, and deer” 荆有云夢，犀兕麋鹿盈之. See also Sima Xiangru 司馬相如, “Zixu fu” 子虛賦, “Netting hares, overrunning deer/ Shooting elaphures, hobbling stags” 掩兔擐鹿/射麋腳麟. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 53.

Also see Knechtges' note on this line where he cites Edward Schafer "Cultural History of the Elaphure," *Sinologica* 4 (1956): 250–74.

LL. 316–317

Immediately after the death of Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 in 234, Sun Quan sent reinforcements to Baqiu (southwest of modern Yueyang 岳陽, Hunan) to guard against military aggression from Wei in the north, and to defend the boundary between Wu and Shu on the west. Shu subsequently sent more troops to Yong'an 永安 (administrative seat located in Baidicheng 白帝城, ten *li* east of modern Fengjie 奉節 *xian*, Sichuan) as well. When asked by Sun Quan about Shu's reciprocal move, Zong Yu 宗預 (d. 264), who served as Shu envoy to Wu at the time, replied: "I, your minister, think that to reinforce the Baqiu garrison in the east and to increase the Baidi guard in the west are both outcomes appropriate to the force of circumstances. Either of them is worth probing into" 臣以為東益巴丘之戍, 西增白帝之守, 皆事勢宜然, 俱不足以相問也. See Zong Yu's biography in the *Sanguo zhi*, 45.1075–76. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 508; 859.

Shang 上 was probably a graphic error for *tu* 土. *Yuzhi ji* 御制集 reads *tu* 土 for *shang* 上. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 103, n. 27.

L. 318

The Zi 淄 and Sheng 澠 are both rivers in the ancient state of Qi. According to the *Kuo di zhi* 括地志, the Zi River originated northeast of Zizhou 淄州 (corresponding to southwest of modern Zibo 淄博 municipality, Shandong). See He Cijun, *Kuo di zhi jijiao*, 3.139. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2454.

The Sheng River originated northeast of modern Zibo 淄博 municipality, Shandong. Cf. *Zuo zhuan* (Zhaogong 12) "With wines as abundant as the Sheng River" 有酒如澠. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 45.360. Trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition*, 1475. It is said that someone with a good sense of taste would be able to tell them apart, even if they were mixed together. See Chen Qiyu 陳奇猷, ed. and comm., *Lü shi chunqiu jiaoshi* 呂氏春秋校釋 (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1984), 18.1168.

L. 319

The Wei 渭 is a tributary of the Yellow River; the Jing 涇 is a tributary of the Wei. The Jing is clear while the Wei is muddy or turbid. See Mao commentary on the Mao #35, *Mao Shi zhengyi* 2.36: "It is the Wei that makes the Ching look dirty" 涇以渭濁. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 100.

LL. 318–319

These two lines refer to a natural phenomenon known as the “confluence of the rivers” (*jianghui* 江會), which takes place where the Xiang River and the Yangzi River flow into Lake Dongting; instead of converging, these two rivers flow separately, each keeping its consistency intact. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 38.667.

L. 322

Lanxiang 蘭香 refers to Du Lanxiang 杜蘭香, a legendary sylph from heaven. According to her story recorded in the *Soushen ji* 搜神記, Du Lanxiang persistently tried to entice a young scholar named Zhang Shuo 張碩 to be her husband and to live in heaven with her. See Wang Shaoying 汪紹楹, ed. and comm., *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 1.15–16.

L. 323

E’huang 娥皇 (alt. 娥皇) was the elder daughter of Yao, who became Shun’s consort. When Shun died she threw herself in the Xiang 湘 River and became the goddess of the Xiang River. See Wang Zhaoyuan 王照圓, ed. and comm., *Lienü zhuan buzhu* 列女傳補注 (Changsha: Shang wu yin shu guan, 1938), 1a–2a.

Here E’huang 娥皇 probably should be Huang’e 皇娥, a legendary celestial consort. According to the *Shi yi ji* 拾遺記, Huang’e wove during the day at her celestial palace; at night she roamed freely and made merry with one of the sons of the heavenly emperor. See Qi Zhiping 齊治平, ed., *Shi yi ji* 拾遺記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 1.12–14.

L. 324

This line alludes to Zhuge Jin 諸葛瑾 (174–241), *zi* Ziyu 子瑜, who together with Lu Xun 陸遜 (183–245) was sent to launch a military expedition against Xiangyang 襄陽 (administrative seat located in modern Xiangfan 襄樊 *shi*, Hubei) in the north. When the Wu army was about to withdraw from Wei, a high-ranking Wu official was captured on his way back to the Wu capital. Upon hearing the news, Zhuge Jin wrote a note to Lu Xun pointing out that since the enemy already knew of their plan to withdraw and that the river was about to dry up, a speedy retreat from Wei would be imperative. Lu Xun and Zhuge Jin then came up with a strategy to trick the enemy into thinking that the Wu troops had no intention to withdraw, and thereby were able safely to withdraw the Wu army from Wei. See *Sanguo zhi*, 58.1351. The river that Zhuge Jin mentioned is most likely the Xia 夏 River, which according to Ying Shao 應劭 cited in the *Shuijing zhu*, was so named precisely because it flowed in the summer and dried up during the winter. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 32. 650.

The *locus classicus* of *she xian* 設險 is *Yi jing* 易經 (29 *kan*), *Zhou yi zhushu* 72.2: “Kings and dukes provide themselves with strategic conditions in order to protect their states” 王公設險以守其國. Trans. Lynn, *The Classics of Changes*, 318.

L. 325

This line alludes to a story recorded in the *Zuo zhuan* (Zhuanggong 18) which tells of Yan Ao 閻敖, the administrator of a Chu settlement in Nachu 那處 (roughly corresponding to southeast of modern Jingmen 荊門 *xian*, Hubei), who swam the Yong River and fled back to the Chu capital (corresponding to modern Jingsha 荊沙 *shi*, Hubei) when the men of Ba rebelled against Chu and attacked Nachu in 676 BCE. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 9.71.

According to the *Shuijing zhu*, the Yong River connected the Xia River (a tributary of the Jiang River) in the north and the Jiang River in the south. The Yong River entered the Jiang River near Jianli 監利 (roughly corresponding to west of modern Honghu 洪湖, Hubei), located southeast of modern Jingsha. But Nachu is traditionally identified as located north of modern Jingsha. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2230. That is to say the traditionally identified location of Nachu does not tally with that of the Yong River. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 35.602.

L. 326

Xia ju 下車 (lit. dismount the chariot) is used to refer to one's first arrival at his official post. The *locus classicus* is *Li ji zhu shu* 39.696: "King Wu had conquered the Yin and returned to Shang. He enfeoffed the descendants of the Yellow Emperor in Ji before he dismounted his chariot" 武王克殷, 反商, 未及下車, 而封黃帝之後於薊.

L. 328

Yu Quan 鬻拳 was a Chu minister of the Chunqiu period, known for his devotion to his ruler as well as outspoken remonstrance. According to the *Zuo zhuan* (Zhuanggong 19), Yu Quan once forcefully remonstrated with the Master of Chu with a weapon. Realizing his offense, Yu Quan cut off his feet to apologize to the Master of Chu. He was then appointed guardian of the city gate. In 675 BCE, when the Master of Chu was defeated near the Ba forces at Jin 津 (literally "Ford") roughly corresponding to modern Jiangling 江陵, Hubei), Yu Quan would not let the Master of Chu enter the city. When the Master of Chu died, Yu Quan buried him and then committed suicide. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 9.71. Trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition*, Vol. One, 185.

L. 329

Huang Valley 荒谷 was located west of modern Jiangling 江陵 *xian*, Jingsha 荊沙 *shi*, Hubei. See Chen Qiaoyi, ed. and comm., *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 28.506. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 1770. In 699 BCE (Huangong 13), the Maréchal of Chu, Qu Xia 屈瑕 (d. 699 BCE.) hanged himself in the Huang Valley, after being defeated by the Luo 羅 people. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 7.55. Trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition*, Vol. One, 119, 121.

L. 330

Liuxia 柳下 was the fief of Zhan Qin 展禽 (720–621 BCE), a descendant of Lord Xiao 孝 of Lu (r. 795–769 BCE.). Zhan Qin's posthumous name is Hui 惠. Zhan Qin's home reputedly had a willow tree in the yard, and thus he was named Under the Willow Tree Hui. Therefore, he is also known as Luxia Hui 柳下惠 (Hui of Liuxia). Mencius regarded him as one of the sages who served as teachers to a hundred generations. He said of him: “Hui of Liuxia was not ashamed of a prince with a tarnished reputation, neither did he disdain a modest post. When in office, he did not conceal disown talent, and always acted in accordance with the Way. When he was passed over he harbored no grudge, nor was he distressed even in straitened circumstances, when he was with a fellow-villager he simply could not tear himself away” 柳下惠, 不羞汙君, 不辭小官. 進不隱賢, 必以其道. 遺佚而不怨, 阨窮而不憫. 與鄉人處, 由由然不忍去也. See *Mengzi zhushu*, 3B.28. Trans. Lau, *Mencius*, 150.

L. 331

This line alludes to *Mao* #16 “Gan tang” 甘棠, *Mao Shi zhengyi* 1.19, which according to the Mao tradition, was composed by the people of the south in grateful memory of the Lord of Shao's achievements. According to the *Shi ji*, when the Lord of Shao was inspecting local governance, he sat down under a sweet pear-tree and attended to administrative affairs there. See *Shi ji*, 34.1550. Here Xiao Yi congratulates himself on his administrative ability.

L. 332

The *liu tiao* 六條 (six articles) refers to the criteria by which the regional governance was evaluated and regional officials were assessed during the Han. On the basis of the assessments, all commanderies, kingdoms, and prefectures of the empire were periodically given a ranking, and the performance of the individuals was similarly evaluated. See *Han shu dianzhi yi* 漢書典職儀 cited in Yan Shigu's commentary on the *Han Shu*, 19A. 742. See also Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 91. For a summary and brief discussion of the six articles, see Jack Dull, “A Study of the Han Dynasty Prefecture,” M.A. Thesis, University of Washington, 1959, 28–29.

L. 333

This line alludes to Liu Hong 劉弘 (236–306), who served as regional inspector of Jingzhou. According to the *Jinyang qiu* 晉陽秋 cited in Pei Songzhi's commentary to the *Sanguo zhi*, local people used to say: “A written instruction from Lord Liu deserves more credit than the ten regional retainers combined” 得劉公一紙書, 賢於十部從事. See *Sanguo zhi*, 15.465.

L. 334

The phrase *ti yu* 題與 alludes to an anecdote about Zhou Jing 周景 (d. 168) recorded in Xie Cheng's 謝承 *Hou Han shu* which recounts that Zhou Jing wanted to persuade Chen Fan 陳蕃, *zi* Zhongju 仲舉 (d. 168) to take an appointment as his attendant officer. After Chen Fan declined, Zhou Jing wrote: “This is Chen Zhongju's seat” on the chariot that was to be used by

his attendant officer, by which he indicated he had no intention to offer the post to anyone else. Being moved by Zhou Jing's gesture, Chen Fan accepted the post. Later the term *ti yu* becomes an expression for recruiting worthy people to official service. See *Taiping yulan*, 263.1b. For Chen Fan's and Zhou Jing's biographies refer to *Hou Han shu*, 66.2155–71; 45.1538–39. Also see de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)*, 64; 1143.

L. 335

Shuzhi 叔治 is the courtesy name of Wang Xiu 王脩, who was first appointed a magistrate under Yuan Shao 袁紹 (d. 202) and later served as attendant officer to his son Yuan Tan 袁譚 (d. 205). When Yuan Tan was defeated by his brother Yuan Shang 袁尚 (d. 207) in 203, Wang Xiu came to his rescue. As Cao Cao attacked Yuan Tan in 205, Wang Xiu again brought help, but Yuan Tan had already been killed. He then requested Yuan Tan's body for burial. In admiration of his moral integrity and his administrative ability, Cao Cao took Wang Xiu onto his staff, and then appointed him the administrator of Wei commandery. See *Sanguo zhi*, 11.345–47. See Wang Xiu's biography, in de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)*, 837–38; also Rafe de Crespigny, *Imperial Warlord A Biography of Cao Cao 155–220* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 221.

L. 336

See “Jiu bian” 九辯, *Chu ci buzhu* 8.2a: “One climbs a hill and looks down on the water to speed a returning friend” 登山臨水兮/送將歸. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 209.

L. 337

See “Li sao” 離騷, *Chu ci buzhu* 1.4a: “Bewildered, I was born with this inward beauty; / I added to it fair outward adornment” 紛吾既有此內美兮/又重之以脩能.

Also see Ban Biao 班彪, “Bei zheng fu” 北征賦, *Wen xuan* 9.427: “Bewildered, I depart this old city; / My team, slowly, passes it by” 紛吾去此舊都兮/駢遲遲以歷茲. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 167. Pan Yue, “Xizheng fu,” *Wen xuan* 10.453: “Deeply troubled, far did I travel here to Quanjie; / Here I remain in fretful pacing” 紛吾既邁此全節/又繼之以盤桓. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 203.

L. 341

Beidai 貝帶 originally refers to cowry-shell adorned belts. Here it is metonymy for Xiao Yi's retainers. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 109.

LL. 342–343

These two lines allude to the “Gaotang fu” 高唐賦, attributed to Song Yu 宋玉, in which the maiden of Mt. Wu 巫山 tells the Chu king that she is Dawn Cloud (*chaoyun* 朝雲) in the

morning, and Pouring Rain (*muyu* 暮雨) in the evening. See *Wen xuan*, 19. 876. Gaotang was a viewing tower located in Yunmeng 雲夢, a large preserve and hunting park of the ancient state of Chu.

L. 344

Here *wang zhu* 汪渚 is probably not a proper name referring to the islet mentioned in the *Shuijing zhu*, which is in modern Changde 常德, Hunan. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 37.650. *Wang zhu* probably refers to some winding islets that Xiao Yi encountered on his journey.

L. 345

Cenyang 岑陽 was located a hundred *li* south of modern Gong'an 公安, Hubei. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2209. Cf. “Xiangjun” 湘君 of “Jiuge” 九歌, *Chu ci buzhu* 2.6b: “Gazing at the distant Cen-yang mooring, / I waft my magic across the Great River” 望岑陽兮極浦/橫大江兮揚靈. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 107. According to Wang Yi’s commentary, Cenyang was not far from the formal Chu capital.

L. 346

The Dragon Gate (Long men 龍門) was the east gate of the ancient Chu capital. Cf. “Ai ying” 哀郢 of the “Jiu zhang” 九章, *Chu ci buzhu* 4.12a: “We passed the head of the Xia, and once, when we drifted westwards/ I looked back for the Dragon Gate, but I could not see it” 過夏首而西浮兮/顧龍門而不見. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 164.

L. 347

See Pan Yue 潘岳, “Xizheng fu” 西征賦, *Wen xuan* 10.459: “Golden pheasants shriek on terraces and ponds; / Foxes and hares burrow beside the halls” 驚雉雉於臺陂/狐兔窟於殿傍. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 213.

Mamu 馬牧 was a walled city located south of Jiangling (modern Jingsha 荊沙 *shi*, Hubei). See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 34.599. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 260.

The *Wenyuan yinghua* reads *hu tu* 狐兔 (foxes and hares) as 孤兔 (a solitary hare).

L. 348

The Terrace of Manifest Splendor (Zhanghua tai 章華臺), built by King Ling 靈 of Chu (r. 540–529 BCE), was located fifty-four *li* southwest of modern Qianjiang 潛江 *shi*, Hubei. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* (Zhaogong 7), 44.2048. Also see Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 28.506. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2393.

The *Yiwen leiju* reads *liu* 留 for *liu* 流.

LL. 350–351

Cf. “Zhaohun” 招魂, *Chu ci buzhu* 9.15a: “The eye travels on a thousand leagues, / And the heart breaks for sorrow” 目極千里兮/ 傷春心. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 230.

L. 352

Zhu Palace was a part of the Chu palace complex in the Spring and Autumn period. See *Zuo zhuan*, (Wengong 10): “[The king] was residing in Zhu Palace and came down from the palace to meet him” 王在渚宮, 下見之. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 19A. 146. Trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition*, Vol.1, 517. Li Daoyuan identifies the site of the palace with the officially designated place of moorings in the city of Jiangling of his day. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 34.599.

The *Yuzhi ji* omits *jiu* 舊.

L. 354

The *Wenyuan yinghua* documents both 護 and 濩 readings.

L. 355

The *Yuzhi ji* and *Liang Yuandi ji* (Saoye shanfang edition) both read *tongkui jiaodao* 通達交道 for *tongkui jiaobeng* 通達交迸. The *Liang Yuandi ji* (*Siku quanshu* edition) and the *Wenyuan yinghua* read *tongda jiaodao* 通達交道 for the line.

L. 357

According to a story recorded in Wu Jun’s 吳均 *Xu Qixie ji* 續齊諧記, on the third day of the third month when King Zhao of Qin 秦昭王 (r. 306–251 BCE.) offered libation to Hequ 河曲 (corresponding to modern Yongji 永濟 *xian* to Ruicheng 芮城 *xian*, Shanxi), a golden figure emerged from the river and presented the Sword of “Water Heart” to the king. See *Xu Qixie ji*, *Siku quanshu*, 1.7a.

The *Yuzhi ji* and *Yiwen leiju* read *yao* 腰 for *yao* 要.

L. 358

The *Wenyuan yinghua* and *Liang Yuandi ji* (*Siku quanshu* edition) both read this line as “Every household is provided with arable farm land” 家有給耕之田.

L. 359

Cf. “Li sao” 離騷, *Chu ci buzhu* 1.9b: “Madly they rush in the covetous chase” 忽馳騫以追逐兮. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 70.

L. 360

See *Laozi* 老子: “It is only when he is safely behind walls and watch-towers, that he rests peacefully and is above worries” 雖有榮觀/ 燕處超然. See Gao Ming 高明, ed. and comm., *Boshu Laozi jiaozhu* 帛書老子校注, 356. Trans. Lau, *Lao Tzu*, 83.

Both the *Wenyuan yinghua* and *Yuzhi ji* read 寔 for 實.

L. 361

The Level Terrace (Ping tai 平臺) was part of an elaborate detached palace complex called the Eastern Park (Dong yuan 東苑). Liu Wu 劉武 (d. 144 BCE.), King of Liang, built the Eastern Park northeast of the capital of his fiefdom to invite prominent scholars for literary gatherings. See *Han shu*, 47.2208, and Ru Chun’s 如淳 commentary on the *Han shu*, 47.2209.

L. 365

Jindi 金堤 (metal dike) refers to a strong and well-built dike. Cf. Zhang Heng, “Xijing fu,” *Wen xuan* 2.65: “It was surrounded by a ‘metal’ dike, / Planted with weeping willow and purple osier” 周以金堤/ 樹以柳杞. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 211n.

Here it probably refer to the dike that was built under the command of Huan Wen 桓溫 when he served as regional inspector of Jingzhou. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 34.599.

L. 366

Tongti 銅鞮 was the original site of the detached palace complex of Jin in the Spring and Autumn period. See *Zuo zhuan* (Xianggong 31): “The Palace of Tongti extends for several *li*” 銅鞮之宮數里. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 40.313. Trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition*, vol.2, 1281.

L. 368

The *locus classicus* of the term *liqiao* 麗譙 ‘ornate watchtowers’ is in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子: “It will not do, my lord, to have files of marching soldiers filling the whole area within your fortress towers” 君亦必無盛鶴列於麗譙之間. Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 8B.827. Trans. Watson, *Chuang Tzu* (New York and London, Columbia University Press, 1968), 264.

L. 369

Zouma 走馬 (Race Horse) refers to Zouma guan 走馬觀 (Race Horse Viewing Tower), one of the palace buildings of the Han era. See *Han gongdian ming* cited in the *Yiwen leiju*, 63. 1133.

L. 370

This line alludes to the palace that was built by the First Emperor of Qin (r. 220–210 BCE). According to the *Sanfu huangtu* 三輔黃圖, the Wei River, representing the Sky River (viz. the Milky Way) in heaven, ran through the entire palace complex; a bridge, intended to be the replica of the bridge formed by a flock of magpies between Oxherd (Qian niu 牽牛, depicted as Altair) and Weaving Maid (Zhi nü 織女, depicted as Vega) in heaven, stretched across the river. See Chen Zhi 陳直, ed. and comm., *Sanfu huangtu jiaozheng* 三輔黃圖校證 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1980), 1.6.

Cf. Ban Gu 班固, “Xidu fu” 西都賦, *Wen xuan* 1.21: “They gather at Camphor Belvedere, / And look down on the Kunming Pond/ On the left is the Oxherd, on the right the Weaving Maid/ Just like the boundless flow of Han in the Clouds” 集乎豫章之宇/ 臨乎昆明之池/ 左牽牛而右織女/ 似雲漢之無涯. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 141.

LL. 370–371

Cf. “Ding zhong zhi fang” 定中之方, *Mao* #50, *Mao shi zhengyi* 3.47: “Orientating them by the rays of the sun, / We set to work on the houses at Chu. / By the side of them planting hazels and chestnut-trees, / Catalpa, paulownias, lacquer-trees” 揆之以日/作于楚室/樹之榛栗/椅桐梓漆. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 281.

Yi 椅 is variously identified. *Erya* 爾雅 identifies *yi* 椅 with *zi* 梓 (*Catalpa Bungeana*). Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 on the other hand, takes *yi* 椅 as an alternative name for *tong* 桐 (*Paulownia fortunei*). Li Shan likewise ascribes *yi* to the category of *tong* (*tong zhishu* 桐之屬). See *Eryang zhushu* 爾雅註疏, 9.711 and *Wen xuan*, 19.878. A modern plant expert Lu Wenyu 陸文郁 identifies it as *Idesia polycarpa* (*idesia*). See Lu Wenyu 陸文郁, *Shi caomu jinshi* 詩草木今釋 (Hong Kong: Wanyue chubanshe, 1970), 28–29, #35. Pan Fujun 潘富俊, however, points out that *yi*, often misidentified as *Idesia polycarpa*, should be identified with *qiu* 楸 (*Catalpa bungei*). See Pan Fujun 潘富俊, *Shi jing zhiwu tujian* 詩經植物圖鑑 (Taipei: Maotouying chubanshe, 2001), 88–89.

Also refer to *Shi jing zhiwu tujian* for the identifications of *zhen* 榛 (*Corylus heterophylla*), *li* 栗 (*Castanea mollissima*), *tong* 桐 (*Paulownia fortunei*), *zi* 梓 (*Catalpa ovate*), and *qi* 漆 (*Rhus verinicilua*), 76–77, 86–87, 90–91, 92–93, 94–95. For the identifications of *yi* 椅 (*Catalpa bungei*), *tong* 桐 (*Paulownia fortunei*), and *zi* 梓 (*Catalpa ovata*), see also Wu Houyan 吳厚炎, *Shi jing caomu huikao* 詩經草木匯考 (Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1992), 151–64.

L. 371

Yiwen leiju writes *ba* 巴 for *se* 色. Zhang Zai 張載 (ca. 250–ca. 310) refers to “Yellow orange of San Ba” 三巴黃甘 in his poem cited in the *Taiping yulan*. See *Taiping yulan* 970.8a. San Ba collectively refers to Badong 巴東, Baxi 巴西, and Bajun 巴郡 commanderies. It roughly corresponds to the area east of the Jialing River 嘉陵江 and Qi River 綦江. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 55.

The *huang gan* 黃甘 (alt. 柑), scientifically known as *Citrus reticulate* Blanco, is a kind of orange with a sweet taste. See Hui-Lin Li, *Nan-fang ts'ao-mu chuang* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1979), 118–20, #63.

L. 374

Both *Shi ji* and *Han shu* mention that “A thousand orange trees in Shu, Han and Jiangling” 蜀漢江陵千樹橘, along with other produce from elsewhere, is commensurate with the wealth owned by a marquis with a fief of thousand households (*qian hu hou* 千戶侯).” See *Shi ji*, 129.3272; *Han shu*, 91.3686.

For the *ju* 橘 sweet orange (*Citrus nobilis* Lour.) see Hui-Lin Li, *Nan-fang ts'ao-mu chuang*, 118, #62.

L. 375

This line alludes to a proverb “Peach and plum do not speak [for themselves], under which a footpath is formed on its own” 桃李不言下自成蹊, which first appears in the biography of Li Guang 李廣 (d. 199 BCE) in the *Shi ji* to describe Li Guang’s charisma. See *Shi ji*, 109.2878.

L. 376

This line alludes to a story recorded in the *Shuo yuan* 說苑 which tells of Confucius’ identifying the object that King Zhao 昭 of Chu (r. 515–489 BCE) encountered as *pingshi* 萍實 (literally ‘duckweed fruit’). The *pingshi* is considered an auspicious item, which only a true hegemon would encounter. See Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 18.465.

L. 377

According to the *Qimin yaoshu* 齊民要術 quoting Guo Yigong’s 郭義恭 *Guang zhi* 廣志, there was a certain type of rice called “cicada chirring rice” *mingchan dao* 鳴蟬稻 in the south, which ripens in the seventh month when cicadas start to chirr. See Miao Qiyu 繆啓愉, ed. and comm., *Qimin yaoshu jiaoshi* 齊民要術校釋 (Beijing: Nongye chubanshe, 1982), 2.99.

L. 378

Fan 范 is an alternative literary name for the honeybee. Cf. “Tan gong” 檀弓 of the *Li ji* 禮記, *Li ji zhengyi* 10.88: “The honeybee has a cap, and the cicada has hanging tassels” 范則冠而蟬有綏.

L. 379

The *shifa* 石髮 (literally “rock’s hair”) is an alternative name for *daye jinhua cao* 大葉金花草 or *wu jue* 烏蕨 (*Sphenomeris chinensis* L.) See *Zhongyao dacidian* 中藥大辭典 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexuejishu chubanshe, 2006), 204–05.

L. 380

The *shanjin* 山筋 (literally “mountain’s tendon”) refers to *zhu* 朮 *atractylis* or hill-thistle *shanji* 山薊 (*Atractylodes macrocephala*). It is a small perennial flowering plant, root used in various medicinal compounds. See G.A. Stuart, *Chinese Materia Medica, Vegetable Kingdom* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1911), 56–57.

The *digu* 地骨 (literarily “earth’s skeleton”) refers to the root of the *gouji* 枸杞 (*Lycium chinense*) the Chinese box-thorn. It is a common shrub in the northern and western provinces. The general action of the plant is considered to be tonic, cooling, constructive, prolonging life, improving the complexion, and brightening the eye. The root is supposed to have special action on the kidneys and sexual organs. See Stuart, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 250. Also see *Zhongyao dacidian*, 2246–49.

L. 381

The *shudai* 書帶 (literally “book band”) refers to *shudai jue* 書帶蕨 (*Vittaria flexuosa*), shoestring fern. See *Zhongyao dacidian*, 714–15. See also Georges Métaillé and Francine Fèvre, *Dictionnaire Ricci des Plantes Chinoises* (Association Ricci: Cerf, 2005), 416.

L. 382

The *pingfeng* 屏風 (literally “wind shielding”), also known as *fangfeng* 防風 *saposhnikovia* root (*Saposhnikovia divaricate*), is an umbelliferous plant, found in most of the central and northern provinces. It is given in all difficulties due to damp and chill, including the thirty-six varieties of “wind” *feng* 風, diseases of the circulation, and general debility. See Stuart, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 407–08. Also see Dan Bensky, Steven Clavey, and Erich Stöger, trans. and eds., *Chinese Herbal Medicine: Materia Medica* (Seattle: Eastland Press, 2004), 16–17; *Zhongyao dacidian*, 1367–70; and Zou Shu 鄒澍, *Benjing shuzheng* 本經疏證, *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, 2.33a–b.

The *Liang Yuandi ji* and *Lidai fuhui* reads *hu* 互 for *ya* 牙.

L. 383

The *fanhun* 返魂 (literally “soul restoring”) is an alternative name for *ziwan* 紫菀, aster (*Aster tataricus*), also purple aster. It is used in the treatment of pulmonary affections, in hemoptysis,

hematuria, puerperal hemorrhage, and dysuria. See Stuart, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 56–57. Also see Zou Shu, *Benjing shuzheng*, 7.38a–b; and *Zhongyao dacidian*, 3277–79.

The *changsheng* 長生 (literary “life lengthener”) is an alternative name for *chongchi danggui* 重齒當歸 (*Angelica biserrata*). See *Zhongyao dacidian*, 2387–90.

L. 384

Guo Pu 郭璞 identifies *lingshou* 靈壽 (literally “divine longevity”) as a plant that resembles bamboo in appearance. See *Shanhai jing*, *Sibu congkan*, B/18.85a.

The *nüzhēn* 女貞 (alt. 楨) (literally “female perseverance”) is the tree which is now commonly called *lashu* 蠟樹, wax tree (*Ligustrum lucidum*) or wax-leaf privet. Its evergreen leaves are an emblem of chastity, hence the name. See Guo Pu’s commentary on *Shanhai jing* A/4. 55b. See Stuart, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 236.

L.385

The *jinyan* 金鹽 (literally “golden salt”) probably refers to *wujia* 五加 commonly known as Siberian ginseng (*Acanthopanax senticosus*/ *Eleutherococcus senticosus*). The part used in the cortex of the root, known as *wujiapi* 五加皮. It is probably called “golden salt” because the color of the root is typically yellowish white. It is recommended in rheumatism, general debility, and for the cure of tertiary syphilitic manifestations. See Stuart, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 4. See also Bensky, Clavey, and Stöger, *Chinese Herbal Medicine: Materia Medica*, 735–36.

The *yuchi* 玉豉 (literally “jade soy sauce”) is an alternative name for *diyu* 地榆 (*Sanguisorba officinalis*), also burnet bloodwort. The root and the leaves are used in medicine. The root is long, tough, brown externally, and of a pink or yellowish color internally. According to Tao Hongjing 陶弘景, since its flowers and seeds are of a brown color like the *chi* 豉 (soy sauce), hence the name *yuchi*. See Stuart, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 349. Also see *Qimin yaoshu*, 10.40a.

Cf. “Zhiguai” 志怪 of the *Jinlouzi* 金樓子: “*Wujia* is an alternative name for *jinyan*, *diyu* is an alternative name for *yuchi*” 五茄一名金鹽, 地榆一名玉豉. See Xu Yimin, *Jinlouzi jiaojian*, 5.1176.

L. 386

The chive of Yao 堯韭 is identified with *changpu* 昌 (alt. 菖), commonly known as sweet flag (*Acorus calamus*). See Wu Pu 吳普, comm. Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 and Sun Fengyi 孫馮翼, eds., *Shennong bencaojing* 神農本草經, *Congshu jicheng chubian*, 1.11. See Hui-Lin Li, *Nan-fang ts’ao-mu chuang*, 53–55, #11. For *changpu* refer to Stuart, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 12–13.

The blossom of Shun 舜華 refers to *mujin* 木槿, a common name for *Hibiscus syriacus*. See “You nü tong che” 有女同車, *Mao* #83, *Mao shi zhengyi*, 4.341: “There was a girl with us in our

carriage/ Whose face was like the mallow-flower” 有女同車/ 顏如舜華. Trans. Waley, *The Books of Songs*, 77. Also see Lu Wenyu, *Shi caomu jinshi*, 52, #60.

LL. 387–388

The *jiaorang* 交讓 (literally “alternately yielding”) and the *daixie* 代謝 (literally “successively succeeding”) both refer to a variety of *Nanmu* 楠木 (*Phoebe nanmu*), that reputedly always grew in pairs. While one tree was withering, the other was growing. They alternated each year in this fashion, hence the names. Cf. Zuo Si, “Shudu fu” 蜀都賦, *Wen xuan*, 4.180: “This is where the *jiaorang* tree is planted” 交讓所植. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 351; L351n, 350. See Liu Kui’s 劉逵 commentary on this line.

L. 389

The *wangyou* 忘憂 (literally “sorrows forgotten” or “nepenthes”) is an alternative name for *xuancao* 萱草 (*Hemerocallis fulva*), red daylily. It is believed that *xuancao* can help one forget sorrows, thus the name. See *Taiping yulan*, 996.3a–b. For the identification, see Pan Fujun, *Shi jing zhiwu tujian*, 112–13. Also see *Zhongyao dacidian*, 3230–33; Stuart, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 204.

The *changle* 長樂 (literally “long-lasting joy”) is an alternative name for the *zihua* 紫華, scientifically known as *Ardisia faberi*. See Fu Xuan’s 傅玄 (217–278) preface to his “Zihua fu” 紫華賦: “Zihua, also known as *changlehua*, originated in the Shu area” 紫華一名長樂華, 舊生于蜀. See *Yiwen leiju*, 81.1388.

L. 390

The *tao pa* 桃杷 (literally “lute strumming”) is probably an alternative name for *baibei sanqi* 白背三七 (*Gynura divaricata*). See *Zhongyao dacidian*, 1031–32. *Liang Yuandi ji* reads *taoba* 桃杷 as *bipa* 杷杷.

The *guzheng* 鼓箏 (literally “zither thrumming”) is an alternative name for *jielü* 結縷 (*Zoysia japonica*), Korean lawngrass, zoysiagrass. *Zoysia* is a genus of creeping grasses commonly found in coastal areas or grasslands. See Guo Pu’s commentary on the entry “Fu” 傅 in the “Shicao” 釋草 of the *Erya* 爾雅, which reads: also known as *jielü* 結縷, or commonly known as the *guzheng cao* 一名結縷, 俗謂之鼓箏草. *Er ya zhushu*, 8.2628.

L. 391

The *yundang* 簣簋 is a variety of bamboo which typically grows besides rivers. It is several *zhang* tall, has circumference of one *chi*, with thin skin, and long nodes. See *Yiwu zhi* 異物志, *Lingnan yishu* 嶺南遺書, Vol. Nine, 1.10b. See also Dai Kaizhi 戴凱之, *Zhu pu* 竹譜, *Siku quanshu*, 2a. For a study of the *Zhu pu* in English, refer to Michael Hagerly, “Tai K'ai chih's Chu-p'u,” *HJAS* 11(1948): 372–440.

For *lülü* 綠簾, cf. “Qiao” 淇奥 *Mao* # 55, *Mao shi zhengyi* 3.53: “Look at that little bay of the Ch’i/ *Lülü* are so delicately waving” 瞻彼淇奥/ 綠竹猗猗. The *lüzhu* in *Mao* #55 is variously identified. For a summary of the disputed identification, see Wu Houyan, *Shi jing caomu huikao*, 173–78. *Lü* 綠 of *lüzhu* 綠竹 in *Mao* version of the *Shi jing* is read as *lu* 菰 (*Arthraxon ciliare*) in the *Lu* tradition of the *Shi jing*. The *lu* 菰 (alt. 筴) by itself is identified as *wangchu* 王芻, also known as *jincao* 盡草 (*Arthraxon hispidus*), which was used for making a greenish-yellow dye for cloth. See *Erya zhushu*, 8.2625; Wang Yi’s 王逸 gloss of *lu* 菰, in *Chu ci buzhu*, 1.19; Lu Wenyu, *Shi caomu jinshi*, 33–34, #41.

Two commentators of the *Erya*, Luo Yuan 羅願 (1136–1184) and Hao Yixing 郝懿行 (1757–1825), both identify *lu* 菰 by its contemporary common name *tanzhuye* 淡竹葉. See Luo Yuan 羅願, *Erya yi* 爾雅翼, *Siku quanshu*, 2.11a–12b; Hao Yixing 郝懿行, *Erya yishu* 爾雅義疏 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2017), 932–33. The *tanzhuye* 淡竹葉 (*Lophatherum elatum*) is found growing plentifully in wild, waste land. Its leaves resemble those of the bamboo. See Stuart, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 247. Also see Pan Fujun, *Shi jing zhiwu tujian*, 100–01. The *lülü* 綠簾 here most likely refers to the *tanzhuye* 淡竹葉, which Xiao Yi might have taken as a variety of bamboo.

L. 392

The *jiaozhan* 交戰 and *cepi* 策皮 are most likely to be some varieties of bamboo; the exact identification of them are unknown. Dai Kaizhi’s *Zhu pu* mentions *jun* 筩 and *lu* 簾, two bamboo varieties native of the Jingzhou era, which can be used to make high quality shafts due to their solid and stiff property. See Dai Kaizhi, *Zhu pu*, 10a. The *Zhu pu* also cites a variety of bamboo named *wei* 籊 mentioned in the *Shu zhi* 蜀志. The *wei* is known for its lightweight and stiffness, which makes it a good raw material for the wide shaft. See Dai Kaizhi, *Zhu pu*, 3b–4a.

L. 393

Yu hou 虞后 (Consorts of Yu) are two consorts of Shun, E Huang 娥皇 and Nü Ying 女英. According to Zhang Hua’s 張華 *Bowu zhi* 博物志, in mourning for Shun after he died, his two widows stained the bamboo by the Jiang 江 and Xiang 湘 Rivers with their tears. See *Bowu zhi* 博物志, *Siku quanshu*, 8.1a.

L. 394

This line alludes to a story about a transcendent named Fei Zhangfang 費長房 recorded in the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳. See the note on L.273. Gebei 葛陂 is located seventy *li* north of Xincui 新蔡 district, Henan. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2505. Chen Qiaoyi, comm. and ed., *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, 21.381.

L. 395

See Dongfang Shuo's 東方朔 "Qi jian" 七諫, *Chu ci buzhu* 13.237: "Gracefully supple are the slender bamboos; / They attach themselves to the [banks] of rivers and ponds. / Above, their lush and luxuriant growth keeps off the dew; / Below, clear and bare, they cause the wind to come" 便娟之修竹兮/寄生乎江潭/上葳蕤而防露兮/下泠泠而來風.

L. 396

See "Liangwang Tuyuan fu" 梁王兔園賦 attributed to Mei Sheng cited in the *Yiwen leiju*: "Slender bamboos are slimly tapering/ occupying both sides of the pond" 脩竹檀欒/夾池水. See *Yiwen leiju*, 65.1162.

L. 397

The *locus classicus* of the phrase *zuopin youshu* 左琴右書 is in the *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE). It is used to describe Master Wuling's 於陵子 wife, who is said to often have "a zither to her left, a book to her right, and found pleasure in them" 左琴右書, 樂亦在其中矣. See *Lienü zhuan*, 2.10b.

Cf. "She wu" 涉務 of *Yanshi jiaxun*: "A scholar of worth dwelling in the world should exalt his ability to be of benefit to others. He should not merely engage himself in high-sounding words and frivolous discussions with a zither to his left and a book to his right" 士君子之處世, 貴能有益於物耳, 不徒高談虛論, 左琴右書. See Wang Liqi, *Yanshi jiaxun jijie*, 4.290. The translation is based on Teng Ssu-Yü, *Family Instructions for the Yen Clan*, 114.

L. 398

This line alludes to Zhang Kai 張楷, *zi* Gongchao 公超, a renowned scholar of the Eastern Han. According to his biography in the *Hou Han shu*, Zhang Kai maintained a private academy with hundreds of students at the capital. When he later went into the mountains west of Hongnong 弘農 commandery (administrative seat north of modern Lingbo 靈寶 *shi*, Henan) enthusiastic scholars pursued him there, and a market known as Gongchao Market 公超市 developed about the place where he lived. See *Hou Han shu*, 36.1242–43. Also see de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)*, 1060–61. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 876.

L. 399

The *Quan Liang wen* reads *men* 門 for *wen* 問.

L. 400

The *Yuzhi ji* reads *meng* 蒙 for *jia* 家.

L. 401

Lead or ceruse (*qian* 鉛) was used to make notations, emendations, and erasures on written documents. In his letter to Liu Xin 劉歆, Yang Xiong 揚雄 tells how he collected language: “I always took my three-inch soft brush, provided myself with a four-foot piece of oiled white silk in order to ask them [foreign envoys] about unusual expressions. As soon as I returned home I used lead to make extracts and arrange them on tablets” 雄常把三寸弱翰，齎油素四尺，以問其異語，歸即以鉛摘次之於槧。See Zhou Zumo 周祖謨 and Wu Xiaoling 吳曉鈴, *Fang yan jiaojian ji tongjian* 方言校箋及通檢 (1951; Rpt. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1956), 93. Trans. David R. Knechtges, “The Liu Hsin/ Yang Hsiung Correspondence *On the Fang Yen*,” *Monumenta Serica* 33 (1977): 309–25. On the application of lead pigment in ancient China, refer to Edward Schafer, “The Early History of Lead Pigments and Cosmetics in China,” *T'oung Pao* 44 (1956): 413–38. Also see *Xijing zaji* 西京雜記: “Yang Ziyun [Xiong] was an aficionado, who often held lead and carried writing tablets. Accompanied by various accounts clerks, he inquired about the speech of remote regions and unreachable quarters” 揚子雲好事，常懷鉛提槧，從諸計吏，訪殊方絕域四方之語。See Zhou Tianyou 周天游, ed. and comm., *Xijing zaji* 西京雜記 (Xi'an: Sanjin chubanshe, 2006), 3.124–25.

The phrase “*yu lu* 魚魯” alludes to a passage in Ge Hong’s 葛洪 *Baopuzi* 抱朴子, which mentions the issue of textual corruptions (caused by scribal error) that appeared in transmitted texts in the manuscript age. The lines read: “Hence the proverb goes ‘when a text is copied three times, *yu* 魚 is written *lu* 魯, *xu* 虛 is written *hu* 虎,’ it is referring exactly to this” 故諺曰，書三寫，魚成魯，虛成虎，此之謂也。See Wang Ming, *Baopuzi neipian jiaozhi*, 19.335.

L. 402

See a passage from Liu Xiang’s 劉向 *Qi lüe* 七略 quoted in the *Taiping yulan*, which reads: “In reading the ancient texts, sometimes one mistakes *jian* 見 for *dian* 典, and *tao* 陶 for *yin* 陰. Cases of this kind are numerous” 古文或誤以見為典，以陶為陰，如此類多。See *Taiping yulan*, 618.3b.

L. 403

The *sanjia* 三家 (“three schools/ traditions”) probably refers to three official schools—the Lu 魯 School, the Qi 齊 School, and the Han 韓 School—of *Shi* study during the early Han, collectively known as the *Sanjia shi* 三家詩。See “Yiwen zhi” of the *Han shu*, 30, 1707.

L. 404

The *wumen* 五門 (“Five sects”) probably refers to four commentaries on the *Chunqiu* 春秋—*Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳, *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳, *Zoushi zhuan* 鄒氏傳, and *Jiashi zhuan* 夾氏傳—which Ban Gu refers to as “Four Schools” (*sijia* 四家), and plus the *Zuo* commentary on the *Chunqiu* 春秋左氏傳。See “Yiwen zhi” of the *Han shu*, 30.1715.

L. 406

Pi 裨 and Tiao 條 are mentioned together in *Zuo zhuan* (Wengong 16) as two of the various Man 蠻 tribes that people of Yong 庸 led in rebellion against Chu in 611 BCE. The Yong domain, roughly corresponding to modern Zhushan *xian* 竹山, Hubei, was located on the western border of Chu. See Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu*, 619. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 2764.

These two lines refer to the time when Xiao Yi sent troops in 542 to quell a pseudo-religious uprising led by a certain Liu Jinggong 劉敬恭, a native of Ancheng 安成 (administrative seats in modern Anfu *xian*, Jiangxi). Liu Jinggong was soon captured and transferred to Jiankang to be executed. See *Liang shu*, 3.87.

These two lines can also allude to a rebellion that took place in Jiaozhou 交州 (administrative seats roughly corresponding to modern Tiên Du, Vietnam) in late 541. The rebellion was led by Li Bi 李賁 (Lý Bì) or Li Fen (Lý Bôn), a native of Jiaozhou (Giao Châu). In 542, Emperor Wu launched a military expedition to Jiaozhou. Li Bi was not killed until 548, less than half a year of the Hou Jing rebellion. See *Liang shu*, 3.87–93. See also Keith Wellter Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 135–51.

Chen and Xiong suggest that these two lines may be referring to the rebellion that took place around the area of Jingzhou and Yongzhou. In 532, Xiao Yi launched a military campaign and executed the head of the rebellion, Wen Daoqi 文道期. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 125. The historical event is mentioned in the *Chen shu*, 11.179.

L. 407

Huamo 華墨 is probably a variant for Gumo 姑墨, one of the thirty-six domains of the Western Regions during the Han period. *Hua* 華 (*wâ) is a graphic variant for *gu* 姑 (*kâ). See Axel Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese and Late Han Chinese* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 46; 51. The capital of Gumo roughly corresponds to modern Akesu 阿克蘇 *shi*, Xinjiang. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 1733. Cf. Zhang Zuan 張纘, “Nan zheng fu” 南征賦, *Liang shu* 34.498: “To the west it reaches Yujin (in modern Mei 眉 *xian*, Sichuan) and Huamo” 西款玉津華墨.

This line alludes to Ban Chao's 班超 (32–102) mobilizing ten thousand men from various domains of the Western Regions to attack Gumo in 78. With this success, Ban Chao was able to propose to the emperor to control all the Western Regions with the aid of allies. See *Hou Han shu*, 47.1575. See also de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)*, 4–5.

L. 408

Yunxiu 云脩 is not otherwise attested in texts. It is probably intended to write Yixun 伊循 (roughly corresponding to northeast of modern Qiang 羌 *xian*, Xinjiang) which was located in

the domain of Shanshan 鄯善 (modern Cherchen, Xinjiang) in Han times. See *Han shu*, 96A.3878. See Shi Weile, et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 1015.

Schuesseler identifies Yixun 伊循 with Issedones (Ἰσσηδόνες) in Greek sources and accordingly reconstructs the name as ?i- s-jun <*?i- s-lun. Schuesseler, *Minimal Old Chinese and Late Han Chinese*, 278. Phonetically *yun* 云 (*wən) and *yin* 尹 (*win?), the phonetic component of *yi* 伊, are not incompatible. Yixiu 伊脩 occurs only once in the *Han shu*, 79.3294. Qi Shaonan 齊召南 (1703–1768) cited in Wang Xianqian's 王先謙 (1842–1917) *Han shu buzhi* 漢書補注 suggests that Yixiu 伊脩 should be read as Yixun 伊循. See Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Han shu buzhu* 漢書補注, *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, 79.1b–2a. The 脩 here is likely to be a graphic variant (or error) for 循 in origin. The *xiu* reading in this line fits the rhyme scheme.

Transportable cage (*jujian* 車檻) is a caged cart used to transport prisoners. See *Shi ji* 56.2059: “Fan Kuai accepted the decree, and immediately his hands were tied behind his back and he was loaded onto a caged cart” 噲受詔，即反接載檻車。

This line alludes to Ban Chao's slaughter of the Xiongnu envoys at the capital of Shanshan when he was sent on a preliminary embassy to the Western Regions in 73. The king of Shanshan had no choice but to pledge his allegiance to Han and sent hostages to Han court. See *Hou Han shu*, 47.1572–73. Also see Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin periods*, 4–5.

LL. 407–408

These two lines probably allude to a series of events in the aftermath of the event known as the “Insurrection of Heyin” 河陰 (administrative seats in the northeast of modern Mengjin *xian*, Hebei) in 528 where the Northern Wei general Erzhu Rong 尔朱榮 (493–530) rounded up Northern Wei royal family members and government officials at the capital and slaughtered 1,300 of them at Heying. See *Wei shu*, 74.1648. The *Bei shi* reports that 2,000 people were killed that day, while the *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 reports the number as 3,000. See *Bei shi*, 48.1753; see Yang Yong 楊勇, ed. and comm., *Luoyang qielan ji jiaojiao* 洛陽伽藍記校箋 (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1982; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 1.14.

After this, three Wei princesses sought refuge in Liang; three regional inspectors and one governor switched their allegiance to Liang and presented Wei territories to the Liang court. Emperor Wu sent the general Chen Qingzhi 陳慶之 (484–539) to accompany Yuan Hao 元顥 (494–529), one of the three Wei princes fled to Liang, to return to Wei to take the Wei throne. On his way north, Chen Qingzhi conquered Daliangcheng 大梁城 (roughly corresponding to modern Kaifeng 開封 *shi*, Henan) and Hulao 虎牢 (northwest of modern Xingyang 滎陽, Henan). In the fifth month of 529, the Yuan Ziyou 元子攸 (507–531), a puppet ruler established by Erzhu Rong, fled north. See *Liang shu*, 3.72–74.

L. 409

Lunar grotto (*yueku* 月窟) refers to the far west. See Yang Xiong 揚雄, “Changyang fu” 長楊賦, *Wen xuan* 9.409–10: “Westward subdued the lunar grotto; / Eastward shook the solar realm” 西厭月窟/東震日域. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 147.

This line probably alludes to the Xiongnu leader, Rizhu king 日逐王 (the Sun-chasing king) Xianxianchan’s 先賢揮 paying allegiance to the Han court in 60 BCE. See *Han shu*, 70.3005–06.

L. 410

This line probably alludes to Hunye Wang’s 渾邪王 defection to the Han court in 121 BCE. During his second campaign against the Xiongnu in 121 BCE, Huo Qubing 霍去病 (140–117 BCE) defeated large numbers of local leaders. One of the local leaders, Hunye Wang 渾邪王, surrendered to the Han court fearing the Xiongnu *Chanyu*’s punishment for the defeat of his force. See *Shi ji*, 110.2909–10; *Han shu*, 55.2482–83. See also Huo Qubing’s biography in Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin periods*, 174.

Rile 日勒 (roughly corresponding to an area northwest of modern Yongchang 永昌 *xian*, Gansu) used to be part of Hunye Wang’s territory. According to the “Junguo zhi” 郡國志 of the *Hou Han shu*, 123.3520, Rile originally belonged to Zhangye commandery 張掖郡, and in 195, it became part of Xi county 西縣. Also see Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 384.

L. 411

This line refers to Tian Shun 田順 (d. 71 BCE), who was given the title of general of tiger’s teeth (Huya jiangjun 虎牙將軍). Tian Shun was one of five generals sent with troops to assist the Wusun 烏孫 in an attack on the Xiongnu in 72 BCE. See *Han shu*, 94A.3785.

L. 412

This line refers to Han Zeng 韓增 (d. 56 BCE), who was nominated to hold the restored title of noble of Long’e 龍頤 in 88 BCE, a title that was held by Han Zeng’s father Han Yue 韓說 (d. 91 BCE) and elder brother Han Xing 韓興 (d. 89 BCE) respectively. Han Zeng was one of five generals who led a major campaign against the Xiongnu in 72 BCE. See *Han shu*, 33.1857. Also see Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (221 BC–AD 24)*, 152.

LL. 411–412

These lines probably allude to the generals that Emperor Wu sent to bring princes who sought refuge in Liang back to Wei to be installed to reign. Emperor Wu sent Chen Qingzhi, Fan Zun 范遵, and Xue Fahu 薛法護 to accompany three different Wei princes back to Luoying in 528, 530, and 532 respectively. Among them, Fan Zun and Xue Fahu were former Northern Wei generals who were appointed the “General Who Pacifies the North” (Anbei jiangjun 安北將軍)

and the “General Who Pacifies the North” (Pingbei jiangjun 平北將軍) respectively. See *Liang shu*, 3.72–74.

L. 414

According to the *Xiao jing gouming jue* 孝經鉤命決 cited in Li Shan’s commentary on the *Wen xuan*, the music presented to the court by the non-Chinese tribes of the east, south, and west are respectively called the Mai 侬 (alt. Mei 𪛗), Ren 任, and Zhuli 株離. 侬 in L.412 is likely to be an error for the word Mai 侬; Zhuli 朱離 in this line is probably a graphic variant for Zhuli 株離. See *Wen xuan*, 1.36–37. See also Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 168, LL. 246–48n.

This line refers to Chen Shan 陳禪 (d. 126) who gave a Ruist denunciation of the music performed at the Han court by a group of entertainers sent from the state of Shan 撣 beyond the frontiers of the southwest. Chen Shan cites Confucius to argue that the music performed by the non-Chinese tribes could desecrate the ritual orthodox of the Han court. A few days later the court official Chen Zhong 陳忠 (d. 125) presented a petition denouncing Chen Shan’s inappropriate conduct. Chen Zhong cited a *Shi jing* line: “They sing the Ya and the Nan, / As well as the Mei, the Ren, and Zhuli” 以雅以南/ 𪛗任朱離 which is assumed to be a variant of the transmitted version of the *Shi jing*, to justify non-Chinese music being performed at court. Chen Shan was subsequently demoted. Cf. “Gu zhong” 鼓鐘, Mao #208, *Mao shi zhengyi* 13.199: “There are songs of the capital, songs of the south, / And flute unfaltering” 以雅以南/ 以籥不偕. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 140. See Chen Shan’s biography in the *Hou Han shu*, 51.1684–86. Also see de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)*, 75–76.

L. 415

This line probably refers to the occasion on which the Chanyu of the Northern Xiongnu sent envoys to the Han court to propose peace and alliance in 52. According to the *Hou Han shu*, the envoys bearing bountiful tribute, sought to acquire Han music and to establish matrimonial relations with the Han court. When the emperor consulted with Ban Biao 班彪 (3–54) on this matter, Ban Biao argued that the Xiongnu’s proposals should be received, but not on terms of equality. See *Hou Han shu*, 89.2946. Also see Ban Biao’s biography in de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)*, 3–4.

L. 416

This line alludes to the Han general Chang Hui 常惠 (d. 46 BCE) who was sent as an emissary to the Wusun in 72 BCE, in the face of a combined attack on the Wusun by the Xiongnu and Jushi 車師. To answer a renewed call for help from Liu Jieyou 劉解憂, a Han princess who had been sent as a bride to the Wusun, the Han army was mobilized and set out from Chang’an in early 71 BCE. Intimidated by the appearance of their large numbers, the main force of the Xiongnu fled north rather than engage in battle with them. A few years later, in 66 BCE, the princess sent her daughter Dishu 弟史 to the Han capital to learn to play the zither. See *Han shu*, 96B.3916. See

Chang Hui's biography in the *Han shu*, 70.3003–05. Also see Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (221 BC–AD 24)*, 25–26.

L. 417

The *Yuzhiji*, *Liang Yuandi ji*, and *Lidai fujhui* all write *gua* 挂 as *gui* 桂. Guitiao 桂條 (lit. osmanthus twigs), which presumably originally was a place name and later used to refer to local fine-bred horses, cannot be identified. In his letter of appreciation to the Qi court, which is partly preserved in the *Yiwen leiju* with the title “Da Qiguo shangma shu” 答齊國饒馬書 (In replying to the state of Qi presenting a horse), Xiao Yi wrote: “The fame [of the horse that you sent] is on a par with that of Guitiao, / The shape resembles that of Liugu” 名重桂條 / 形圖柳谷. See *Yiwen leiju*, 93.1624. Liugu 柳谷, located northwest of modern Tulufan 吐魯番 *shi*, Xinjiang, was probably also famous for fine horses.

According to the *Liang shu*, quite a few states of the Western Region presented fine horses to the Liang court. See *Liang shu*, 54.809–17.

L. 418

Taozhi 桃枝 should probably be Tiaozhi 條支 (alt. 條枝) referring to the Seleucid Empire (Αυτοκρατορία των Σελευκιδών) established in 312 BCE. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 1301. The name is first mentioned in the *Shi ji*, 123.3163–64. It seems that there was no direct contact between Tiaozhi and the Han court. In the *Han shu* and *Hou Han shu*, Tiaozhi is often mentioned in connection with exotic flora and fauna that were often brought to the Central Kingdom by merchants and envoys from the Western Regions. See *Han shu*, 61.2694; 96A.3888–89. *Hou Han shu*, 88.2918.

Chen Qingyuan and Xiong Zhiping construe *taozhi* 桃枝 as “peach-branch bamboo,” which was primarily used to make walking sticks. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 128. According to the “Xiyu zhuan” of the *Han shu*, bamboo walking sticks was a tribute item from Zangke 牂柯 and Yuesui 越巂. See *Han shu*, 96B.3928.

LL. 417–418

These lines allude to the extension of Liang authority to states in the Western Regions and the arrival in Liang territory of visitors from these remote areas to present tributary gifts to the Liang court. See *Liang shu*, 3.63–84; 54.809–18.

L. 419

This line alludes to the story that tells of Ma Yuan 馬援, an Eastern Han general, coming back to the capital from a military expedition to Vietnam. He brought back a chariot full of “Job’s tears” (adlay millet). See *Hou Han shu*, 24.846.

L. 420

This line alludes to a story about Zang Min 臧旻 (fl. 172), who was noted as an expert on the affairs of the Western Regions. Once someone inquired of him about the territory, customs, and practices of the various domains in the Western Regions. Zang Min was able to give a clear and detailed account of the subject and to delineate the area terrain on the spot. See Xie Cheng's 謝承 *Hou Han shu* cited in Pei Songzhi's commentary on the *Sanguo zhi*, 7.231.

L. 421

The *locus classicus* of the word *chun'er* 蠢爾 is *Mao* #178 “Cai qi” 采芑, *Mao shi zhengyi* 10.158: “Foolish were you, tribes of Ching, / Who made a great nation into your foe” 蠢爾蠻荆/大邦為讎. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 129. The phrase often is used to describe defiant, rebellious, disobedient non-Han peoples. See Pan Yue's “Guanzhong shi” 關中詩: “Defiant were the Rong and Di, / Cunningly they rampaged at will” 蠢爾戎狄, 狡焉思肆. Trans. Knechtges, unpublished translation.

The phrase *weigeng* 為鯁 could be construed as *weigeng* 為梗 as in *Mao* #257/3, “Sang rou” 桑柔, *Mao Shi zhengyi*, 18.3b: “Who has produced this stairway to cruelty, / And causes harm until today?” 誰生厲階, 至今為梗?

L. 422

The *locus classicus* of the word *pingling* 憑凌 (alternatively 憑陵) is in the *Zuo zhuan* (Xianggong 25), *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* 36.283: “Now Chen has forgotten the great virtue and beneficence of Zhou, rejected our ties by marriage, and relied on Chu forces to encroach on our humble settlement 今陳忘周之大德, 蔑我大惠, 棄我姻親, 介恃楚眾, 以憑陵我敝邑, 不可億逞. The translation is based on the translation of Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition*, 1151.

L. 423

“Huangjin” 黃金 probably should be Huangjin 黃巾, a group of insurgents led by Zhang Jue 張角 (d. 184) and his two brothers who rebelled against the Eastern Han in 184. The insurgents were known as Yellow Turbans, with yellow bands about their heads. The rebellion received wide response across the empire. It was finally suppressed by the end of 184. Zhang Jue had died of illness earlier in the same year. See de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)*, 1058–59.

The *Siku* editors changed *jin* 金 in the *Siku quanshu* edition of Zhang Pu's 張溥 (1602–1641) *Han Wei Liuchao baisanjia ji* 漢魏六朝百三家集 to *jin* 巾. See *Siku quanshu kaozheng* 四庫全書考證, *Siku quanshu*, 96. 10b.

“Heishan” 黑山 refers to the “Black Mountain” bandits, a group of bandits in the Taihang range, whose power base was in Heishan (as known as Moshan 墨山, northwest of Jun 浚 *xian*, Henan). See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 2553–54. Zhang Yan 張燕 (also known as

Zhang Feiyan 張飛燕) commanded the Black Mountain bandits, then joined Oxhorn Zhang's (d. 185) [Zhang Niuju 張牛角] band and accepted him as leader. See *Hou Han shu*, 73.2364. Also see de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)*, 1083.

L. 424

“Lülin” 綠林 refers to the bandits led by Wang Feng 王鳳 (d. 22) and Wang Kuang 王匡 (d. 25) that arose during Wang Mang's reign in 17 CE. The bandits gathered around Lülinshan 綠林山, also known as Dahong shan 大洪山, southwest of modern Suizhou 隨州, Hubei. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 2478.

“Qingling” 青嶺 refers to Qinglin shan 青林山, located southeast of Suizhou 隨州, Hubei. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 1451. Here Qinglin refers to the power base of a subdivision of the Lülin bandits led by Wang Chang 王常 (d. 36), a secondary leader of the Lülin bandits. In 22, as the group led by Wang Feng and Wang Kuang divided under the impact of sickness and privation, Wang Chang led this separate party west in Nan commandery. They were known as the “Troops from the Lower Yangzi” (Xiajiang bing 下江兵). See *Hou Han shu*, 15.578–79.

L. 425

Zhizong 指蹤 (alternatively 指縱), which is derived from the phrase *fazong zhishi* 發蹤指示, first occurs in the *Shi ji* referring to hunters revealing the tracks of prey for hunting dogs to pursue. Cf. *Shi ji*, 52.2015: “As for hunting, that which pursues and kills beasts and hares is the hunting dog, whereas that which reveals the tracks and points out the direction is the human being [the hunter]” 夫獵, 追殺獸兔者狗也; 而發蹤指示獸處者人也.

L. 426

Cf. *Zuo zhuan* (Zhaogong 20), *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* 49.392–93: “When government is lenient, the people are presumptuous, and when they are presumptuous, one corrects them with harshness. When government is harsh, the people get wounded, and then they are wounded, one indulges them with leniency. Leniency seasons harshness, harshness seasons leniency, and in this way the policies are harmoniously adjusted” 政寬則民慢, 慢則糾之以猛, 猛則民殘, 殘則施之以寬. 寬以濟猛, 猛以濟寬, 政是以和. Trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition*, 1591.

L. 427

“Buguang” 步光 (“Glint of Several Paces”) is a famous ancient sword that belonged to Goujian 勾踐. See *Shi ji*, 67.2199–200, see also Cao Zhi's “Qi qi” 七啟, *Wen xuan*, 34.1580. On this sword see Olivia Milburn, “The Weapons of Kings: A New Perspective on Southern Sword Legends in Early China,” *JAOS* 128.3 (2008): 423–37. Buguang could also be rendered “Glint of Several Paces.”

L. 428

Chen and Xiong suggest this line refers to Xiao Yi's assignment in 534 to Nanzheng 南鄭 (modern Hanzhong 漢中) where he was named commissioner of military affairs. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 132.

LL. 429–430

Lingju 靈琚 (jade girdle-pendant) is probably metonymy for war chariot. On a war chariot the commander typically stands on the left, the chariot driver stands in the middle, and the most valiant and strongest soldier stands on the right, preparing to fight. See Fan Ning 范寧, ed. and comm., *Guliang zhuan zhushu* 穀梁傳註疏, *Siku quanshu*, 13.55. When dashing towards the enemy's position, turning the chariot on the left means the warrior on the chariot, presumably right-handed, is prepared to do combat.

L. 431

All other versions read *bai* 白 (white) for *ri* 日 (sun). I adopt the *bai* reading here, for it is parallel with *hong* 紅 (red) in the next line.

L. 433

Sushuang 驥驪 (alternatively written as 肅爽) is the name of a fleet horse of a particular fine breed. The name Sushuang (LHan siuk-ṣaŋ) is alliterative, and thus is probably onomatopoeic in origin. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* (Dinggong 3), 54.431.

L. 434

Juezhang 蹶張 originally refers to the action of drawing a crossbow with one foot stepping on the shaft. Later the term was used to refer to someone physically strong enough to be able to draw a crossbow using his foot. See *Shi ji*, 96.2682–83.

L. 435

The *cui gai* 翠蓋 (halcyon-plume canopies), originally referring to a chariot canopy made of kingfisher plumes, is metonymy for embellished chariot. See He Ning, *Huainanzi jishi*, 1.74.

The *jinzhao* 金爪 (“golden talons”) refers to the ornament on the four corners of the chariot canopies. See Cai Yong 蔡邕, *Dudian* 獨斷, *Siku quanshu*, A.11a.

L. 436

The significance of the two terms *yuzhang* 玉帳 and *jiangong* 絳宮 is not entirely clear. Cf. Yan Zhitu's 顏之推 “Guan wo sheng fu” 觀我生賦: “We defended the Metal City-walls around

the Hot-water Moat, / And circled about the [generals'] jade-like tents at the Crimson Palace” 守金城之湯池/ 轉絳宮之玉帳. Trans. Albert Dien, *Pei Ch'i shu* 45: *Biography of Yen Chih-t'ui* (Bern: Herbert Lang, 1976), 57. Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 believes that *jianggong* and *yuzhang* were the names of some occult practices. Wang Liqi 王利器 further speculates that *yuzhang* is the kind of occult practice that involved the general setting up a jade-like military tent at his corresponding position in order to obtain victory on the battlefield. See Wang Liqi, *Yanshi jiaxun jijie*, 683.

The *jianggong* 絳宮 (Crimson temple) in religious Daoist terminology refers to the heart as the center of intellectual and emotional activity. See Liang Qiuzi's 梁丘子 *Huangdi neijing yujing zhu* 黃帝內景玉經注, 19, in *Daozang* 道藏, vol. 6, 528.

L. 437

Duhu 都護 (Protector general) refers to Zheng Ji 鄭吉 (d. 49 BCE), the first official to hold the title of protector general from 60 to 49 BCE. Zheng Ji was well versed in the affairs of the Western Regions. He participated in several major exploits in the Western Regions and acquired a reputation throughout the area. See Zheng Ji's biography in the *Han shu*, 70.3005–06. Also see Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin periods*, 722–23.

Wu Ji 戊己 refers to the Wu and Ji commandant (Wuji xiaowei 戊己校尉) who was in charge of state-owned military-agricultural land (*tundian* 屯田) in the Western Regions during the Han. The designation was established during the reign of Emperor Yuan of Han (r. 48–33 BCE). See *Han shu*, 96A.3874; 96B.3924. For a detailed explanation in English see Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*. 110. The Wu and Ji commandant here refers to Geng Gong 耿恭, who was appointed Wu and Ji commandant and stationed at Jinpu 金浦 city in Further Jushi 車師 (north of the Bogda range and west of Lake Barköl). In 75 BCE the Xiongnu laid siege to his camp. Under the siege Geng Gong's troop suffered heavy casualties due to a shortage of food and supplies. Geng Gong had established complete faith with his followers, and they were determined to hold out together to the end. In 76 BCE the court finally sent assistance and relived the Xiongnu's siege. Of the original garrison under Geng Gong, only twenty-six men left the fortress in his company, and when they reached the frontier at Dunhuang only twelve remained. Geng Gong has since been celebrated as a splendid example of courage and loyalty. See Geng Gong's biography in *Hou Han shu*, 19.720–24. Also de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms*, 251–53.

This line alludes to Dou Gu's 竇固 (d. 88) successful military expedition against the Northern Xiongnu in 74, with which the Eastern Han court was able to gain access to the Western Regions and re-install the posts of Wu and Ji commandant (Wuji xiaowei 戊己校尉) and Duhu 都護 (Protector general), first established in the Western Han. See *Hou Han shu*, 2.122. See also de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)*, 162–63.

L. 438

The “Jingshi” 荆尸 (Jing-style Formation) originally referred to a military formation commonly used in the state of Chu. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* (Zhuanggong 4), 8.61.

This line alludes to Geng Bing 耿秉 (d. 91), who joined Dou Gu to lead a combined force against the Xiongnu in 74. Geng Bing’s biography in the *Hou Han shu* describes him as strong and brave and relates that on all campaigns he rode in full armor at the forefront of the battle, and when there was a halt he would not stay in camp but kept watch at distance. See *Hou Han shu*, 19.717–18. See also de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)*, 248–49.

L. 439

The phrase *jian zao* 減竈 (reducing the cooking pits) alludes to a story that tells of how Sunzi 孫子, when serving as the commander-in-chief of the Qi troops, ordered his soldiers to dig fewer and fewer cooking pits on the ground each day on their way to attack the Wei capital to mislead the Wei general into believing that the Qi troops had already suffered heavy casualties. When the Wei general decided to launch a sudden attack on the Qi troops, thinking that they were weakened and ill-prepared, the Wei forces were subsequently crushed by the Qi army. *Shi ji*, 65.2163.

This line alludes to the strategy that Yu Xu 虞詡 (fl. 115), an eminent general of the Eastern Han, adopted when he was faced by a strong force of rebels on his way to his post. Yu Xu advanced by forced marches and had each of his men maintain two cooking pits. Thinking they were outnumbered, the rebels dared not attack. See *Hou Han shu*, 58.1868.

L. 440

“Yan army’s laying siege to walls” refers to the Yan general Yue Yi’s 樂毅 stratagem of laying a prolonged siege to two citadels of Qi without rushing into initiating an attack on them. See *Shi ji*, 80.2429. Yue Yi’s stratagem has traditionally been interpreted as the manifestation of his magnanimous moral quality. Cf. Zhang Fu 張輔, “Mingshi youlie lun” 名士優劣論 in *Yiwen leiju*, 22.409. But some modern scholars have also expressed their skepticism about this interpretation. See for example, Yang Kuan 楊寬, *Zhanguo shiliao biannian jizheng* 戰國史料編年輯證 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2016), 16.889–91.

This line probably alludes to Zhang Huan’s 張奐 (104–181) strategy in quelling the rebellion instigated by the Xiuchuge 休屠各 clan. Zhang Huan withdrew to camp outside the city when the rebels burned the camp of the general on the Liao River. He then persuaded the Wuhuan, who joined forces with the rebels, to submit once more. Using the technique of “dividing the barbarians,” he had Wuhuan agents assassinate the leader of the rebels, then attacked their followers. The rebellion was quashed. When Zhang Huan served as governor of Wuwei 武威, he reformed the tax collections and cared for refugees. He restored good order throughout the northwest. See *Hou Han shu*, 65.2139.

Cf. Yu Xin 庾信, “Ai Jiangnan fu” 哀江南賦 “With a Ch’i general cutting off the city, / The Yen army’s walls still could not be toppled” 有齊將之閉壁/ 無燕師之臥墻. See Ni Fan 倪璠, ed. and comm., *Yu Zishan ji zhu* 庾子山集注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 2.128. Trans. Graham, *The Lament for the South*, 72. These two lines perhaps should be rendered as: “While the Qi general (the defending force) cut off the city, / The Yan army (the attacking force) did not even have to lay siege to the wall.”

L. 441

The *tian jun* 田峻 is originally the title of a government official who was in charge of regulating the farmland. See Zheng Xuan’s commentary on Mao #211 “Fu tian” 甫田, *Mao shi zhengyi* 14.207. Here it probably refers to ordinary peasants. According to the *Zhou li* (4.36b–7a), the forester of preserves (*ze yu* 澤虞) was in charge of enforcing the regulations governing the “states preserves.” Also see Knechtges’ note on L. 653 of Zhang Heng’s “Western Metropolis Rhapsody,” in *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 226. The *yuze* 虞澤 probably refers to marshes and mountains in general.

This line probably alludes to Zhao Chongguo 趙充國 (ca. 137–51 BCE), a military officer who served with distinction in a campaign in the northwest. When Zhao Chongguo was dispatched to suppress the rebellion of the Qiang 羌 tribe in 61, he strongly urged the emperor to establish military colonies (*tun tian* 屯田) in the Western Regions. Zhao Chongguo argued that the establishment of military colonies, where disbanded soldiers were sent to cultivate conquered land, both to provide food for themselves and to convert the land available into arable land, could retain the force of the Chinese presence and strengthen Han control over parts of the Western Regions. See Zhao Chongguo’s biography in the *Han shu*, 69.2971–95. Also see Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (221 BC–AD 24)*, 701–03.

L. 442

The chariot attendant on the right (*Ju you* 車右) is the position usually assumed by strong and valiant soldiers who stand on the right of the general on the chariot. See Zheng Xuan’s commentary on the *Li ji zhengyi*, 3.24 (1252).

This line perhaps refers to Xu Yanshou 許延壽 (fl. 61) and Xin Wuxian 辛武賢 (fl. 61), who were appointed Qiangnu General 強弩將軍 and Po Qiang General 破羌將軍 respectively to take part in Zhao Chongguo’s campaign against the Qiang rebels in 61. See *Han shu*, 69.2977.

L. 443

Tender Willow (Xiliu 細柳) refers to a historical Han garrison located in Xiliu 細柳, southwest of modern Xianyang, Shaanxi, of which the general Zhou Yafu 周亞夫 was put in charge. On a visit to the garrison in 175 BCE, Emperor Wen of Han 漢文帝 (r. 180–157 BCE.) was deeply impressed by Zhou Yafu and how well he put the garrison in good order. See Zhou Yafu’s biography in the *Han shu*, 10.2057–58. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming cidian*, 1738.

L. 444

Tall Elm (“Changyu” 長榆) refers to the historical Han fortress named Yulin 榆林 (Elm Grove) located north of Hetao region, Inner Mongolia. The fortress was first established by a Qin general, Meng Tian 蒙恬 (d. 210 BCE), as part of the long line of defenses that he built from Lintao 臨洮 (in modern Minxian, Gansu) to Liaodong 遼東 (east of the Liao River, Liaoning). See Meng Tian’s biography in Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (221 BC–AD 24)*, 437–38. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 2671.

L. 445

This line alludes to a story recorded in the *Huainanzi* that tells of when Yang Youji 養由基, an archer known for his superb marksmanship, was about to discharge his arrow to shoot a white ape, the ape, holding onto a pillar, had already begun to wail. See He Ning, ed. and comm., *Huainanzi jishi*, 16. 1138–39.

L. 446

This line alludes to a story in the *Han Feizi* that tells of how one day a peasant from Song saw a hare die after dashing against a stump in the field. The next day the same peasant thus waited around the stump expectantly for another hare to turn up. See Zhang Jue, *Han Feizi jiaoshu*, 19.1195.

L. 448

Cf. Mao #54 “Zai chi” 載馳, *Mao shi zhengyi* 3.52: “I ride home/ I gallop” 載馳載驅. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 94.

L. 449

This line alludes to a story recorded in both *Shuo yuan* 說苑 and *Han Feizi* that tells how Qin Xiba 秦西巴 was ordered to carry a fawn that the Lord of Lu captured back to the palace. The fawn’s mother followed him and cried along the way, and Qin Xiba felt pity for them, and released the fawn without seeking permission from the lord. See Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 5.113–14. Zhang Jue, ed. and comm., *Han Feizi jiaoshu*, 7.472.

L. 450

This line alludes to a story recorded in the *Youminglu* 幽明錄 that recounts when Cheng Biao 成彪 was fishing on a lake, a big fish leaped into the boat, and looked down at the little fish that he caught. Cheng Biao was greatly moved. As soon as he released all the little fish the big fish leaped back into the lake. See *Youminglu* cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 936.2b.

L. 452

Riding a five-horse drawn carriage was a privilege only enjoyed by a regional governor (or high official of the similar rank) in the Han. Cf. “Moshang sang” 陌上桑: “The grand governor comes from the south/ His five horses stop, pacing back and forth” 使君從南來/五馬立踟躕. See *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 28.411.

L. 453

Blue Zither (Qingqin 青琴) is the name of a goddess mentioned in Sima Xiangru’s “Shanglin fu” 上林賦. See *Wen xuan*, 8.375.

Emerald Jade (Biyu 碧玉) was the King of Runan’s 汝南 concubine, whose name became a generic name for entertainment girl in poems written in the Southern Dynasties.

L. 454

Scarlet Twig (Jiangshu 絳樹) is the name of a court dancing girl whom Cao Pi mentions in his letter to Po Qin 繁欽. See *Yiwen leiju*, 43.778.

Green Pearl (Lüzhu 綠珠) was Shi Chong’s 石崇 (249–399) concubine, who was reportedly alluring in appearance and excelled at playing the flute. See *Jinshu*, 33.1008.

LL. 455–456

Wang Bao 王豹 and Mian Ju 綿駒 were two well-known singers of their times. See “Gao zi” 告子, *Mengzi zhu shu* 孟子注疏 12A.93: “Formerly, when Wang Pao settled on River Ch’i, the district to the west of the Yellow River came to be known for song; when Mian Chü settled in Kao T’ang the right part of Chi’ likewise came to be known for song” 昔者王豹處於淇,而河西善謳; 絃駒處於高唐,而齊右善歌. Trans. Lau, *Mencius*, 175.

L. 457

The *lan gang* 蘭缸 (or 釭) refers to an exquisite lamp that burned fat scented with eupatorium blossoms. See “Zhao hun” 招魂, *Chu ci buzhu* 9.7a: “Bright candles of orchid-perfumed fat light up flower-like faces that await you” 蘭膏明燭/華容備些. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 106.

L. 458

The *hebi* 合璧 (Coupled jade-discs) usually refers to the sun and the moon together. See *Han shu* 21. 976. Here the term *hebi* probably refers to the setting sun.

L. 459

Cf. Cao Zhi, “Luo shen fu” 洛神賦, *Wen xuan* 19.897. “She is dimly descried like the moon obscured by light clouds; / She drifts airily like whirling snow in the streaming wind” 髣髴兮若輕雲之蔽月/飄飄兮若流風之迴雪. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Three, 359.

L. 463

On the expression *fen Shaan* 分陝 see L. 52n.

L. 464

One cycle of the synodic revolution of Jupiter is a period of twelve years. Xiao Yi was appointed regional inspector of Jingzhou 荊州 which had its administrative seats in Jiangliang 江陵 (modern Jingzhou municipality, Hubei) in 526; he remained there until the seventh month of 539 when he was summoned back to the capital.

L. 465

Guanzi 冠字 refers to the “capping ceremony” of a young man at age twenty *sui* during which he receives a cap (*guan* 冠) and a courtesy name (*zi* 字) that signifies entry into adulthood. Xiao Yi’s first son Xiao Fangdeng 蕭方等, *zi* Shixiang 實相, was born in 528. If this piece was indeed written in 545, at that time Xiao Fangdeng was about eighteen *sui*. See Xiao Fangdeng’s biography in the *Liang shu*, 44.618–21.

L. 466

Huizhan 迴還 is a descriptive binome describing the motion of whirling or moving in circles. The *locus classicus* for the word is the “Yuansi” 怨思 of the “Jiutan” 九歎, *Chu ci buzhu* 16.11a: “Better, perhaps, to float on the Yuan and ride along its waters/ And go down the Xiang and the River, tossed and turned by the current” 寧浮沅而馳騁兮/下江湘以遭迴. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 289.

L. 468

This line alludes to an anecdote recorded in the *Hou Han shu* that recounts when Hou Ba 侯霸 (d. 37), a beloved and highly respected governor of Huaiyang 淮陽 (in modern Zhoukou 周口 *shi*, Henan), was summoned to the imperial court, local people repeatedly urged him to stay for another year by blocking his carriage or lying across the path. See *Hou Han shu*, 26.901. Later the expression *wo zhe* 臥轍 is used to allude to local people’s affection and admiration for their local official.

LL. 470–471

Cf. Pan Yue 潘岳, “Xizheng fu” 西征賦, *Wen xuan* 10.455: “Exhaling the sougning sibilance of cool winds/ Inhaling the lush luxuriance of returning clouds” 吐清風之颺戾/納歸雲之鬱蓊. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol.2, 205.

L. 474

The graph 慘 probably writes the word *shan* 搯 (to clutch). See Mao #81 “Zun da lu” 遵大路, *Mao shi zhengyi* 4.72: “If along the highroad/ I caught hold of your sleeve/ Do not hate me/ Old ways take time to over come” 遵大路兮/慘執子之袂兮/無我惡兮/不寔故也. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 55.

L. 475

This line depicts the scene of local folks trying to urge a well-liked government official to stay [for another term] by gripping the shafts of his departing carriage. It was a common trope to allude to a government official’s popularity with his people. See for example, *Hou Han shu*, 76.2473.

LL. 477–480

In 539 Xiao Yi was summoned to the capital. He was subsequently appointed protector-general and put in charge of military affairs at the Shitou Citadel near the capital. *Fengdiao* 豐貂 (lavish marten’s tail) is the hat ornament worn by close attendants of the emperor.

The *Yiwen leiju* reads *shu* 戍 for *rong* 戎.

LL. 481–482

These two lines describe the geographic location of the Shitou Citadel. *Xuanju* 贊踞 (fierce beast squatting) refers to a strategically important vantage point.

L. 482

See “Jiu ge” 九歌, *Chu ci buzhu* 2.23a: “They went out never more to return: / Far, far away they lie, on the level plain” 出不入兮往不反/平原忽兮路超遠. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 117.

L. 483

This line contains references to the dimensions for streets stipulated in the “Kaogong ji” 考工記 of the *Zhou li* 周禮. The north-south streets were supposed to be nine chariot-gauges (*jiu gui* 九軌) wide. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 41.927–28.

L. 484

According to the “Kaogong ji” of the *Zhou li*, the capital is designed to have three large gates; there was a three-lane avenue running from each gate. The *san tiao* 三條 collectively refers to these three avenues. The middle lane of each avenue, known as the *chi dao* 馳道, was reserved for the emperor. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 41.928; *Li ji zhengyi*, 4.31. Also see Chen Zhi, *Sanfu huangtu jiaozheng*, 1.17. For a more detailed note on *chi dao* and *san tiao*, refer to Knechtges, “Western Capital Rhapsody” in *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 104, LL. 46–47n.

L. 485

The *locus classicus* for the term *ji tuo* 擊柝 (struck night-watchman’s clapper) is the “Xici zhuan” 繫辭傳 of the *Zhou yi* 周易, *Zhou yi zhengyi* 8.87: “They had gates doubled and had watchmen’s clappers struck and so made provision against robbers” 重門擊柝以待暴客. Trans. Richard Lynn, *The Classic of Change*, 79. This line describes how securely guarded the capital city was.

L. 486

See Sun Chuo 孫綽, “You Tiantai shan fu” 遊天台山賦, *Wen xuan* 11.496: “Scarlet Wall, rising like rosy clouds, stands as guidepost” 赤城霞起而建標. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 247.

L. 487

Zao jing 藻井 (“figured ceiling”) is a decorative framed wooden panel on the ceiling, with a roundel sunk or painted, and often embellished by flowers. See Zhang Heng, “Xijing fu,” *Wen xuan*, 2.52: “Rooted inverted lotus stalks on the figured ceiling” 蒂倒茄於藻井. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol.1, 187. For *qiliao* 綺寮 (“ornate latticed window”) see Zuo Si, “Weidu fu” 魏都賦, *Wen xuan* 6.273: “The blazing sun encages its light in silk latticed windows” 曠日籠光於綺寮. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 445.

L. 489

The *Siku* editors deemed *qi* 耆 an error and changed it to *kan* 瞰 in the *Siku quanshu* edition of Zhang Pu’s 張溥 (1602–1641) *Han Wei Liuchao baisanjia ji* 漢魏六朝百三家集. See *Siku quanshu kaozheng* 四庫全書考證, *Siku quanshu*, 96.10b.

This line refers to Tiered-Pavilion of Falling Star (Luoxing lou 落星樓) on Mt. Falling Star (Luoxing shan 落星山) located thirty-five *li* northeast of modern Nanjing. Sun Quan built the tiered pavilion in 232 after a meteorite fell near the site. See *Taiping yulan*, 176.7b; *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, 21.16a. See also Li Shan’s comment on LL. 673–74 of Zuo Si, “Wudu fu,” *Wen xuan*, 5.230: “They count the fruits of battle at Cinnamon Grove Park/ Feast the troops at Falling

Star Tower” 數軍實乎桂林之苑/饗戎旅乎落星之樓. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 421.

Songlong 崧龍, alternatively read as *longsong* 龍嶺 (*liŋŋ-dzion), is a rhyming binome describing the loftiness of the mountain. Cf. Sima Xiangru 司馬相如, “Shanglin fu” 上林賦, *Wen xuan* 8.365: “And then the lofty mountains spire on high: arching aloft, tall and towering” 於是乎崇山矗矗/龍嶺崔巍. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 83;

L. 490

This line refers to Tiered-Pavilion of Beacon Fire (Fenghuo lou 烽火樓) at the vantage point southwest of the Stone Citadel (Shitou cheng). It was the original site of the beacon tower of Wu. See *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, 21.16a–b; 22.42b.

The rhyming binome *tiaorao* 迢遼 (*diâu-ŋiau) describes scintillating fire (*huohuo* 燿火, viz. the sun) is far and father off.

L. 493

The *locus classicus* for the term *han Xia* 函夏 is Yang Xiong’s 揚雄 “Hedong fu” 河東賦 quoted in the *Han shu*, 87A.3539: “The great Han that envelops all of China—How could they match its accomplishment” 以函夏之大漢兮/彼曾何足與比功? Later the term is used to refer to the whole imperial realm. Trans. Knechtges, *The Han Rhapsody*, 60.

L. 494

See “Yu gong” 禹貢, *Shang shu zhengyi*, 6.148: “The Yangtze River and Han River proceed to the sea, where they owe allegiance” 江漢朝宗於海.

LL. 491–494

These four lines describe the scene of the Yangzi River entering the ocean near Jingkou (in modern Zhenjiang *shi*, Jiangsu) in Xiao Yi’s time. A view of the spectacular tidal bore near Guangling (northwest of modern Yangzhou *shi*, Suzhou) is one of the seven stimuli in Mei Sheng’s “Qi fa” 七發.

LL. 495–496

Cf. *Li ji zhengyi* 22.1427: “On account of this, heaven does not hold back its way, nor does earth stint on its treasures 故天不愛其道, 地不愛其寶.

L. 497

Binlian 賓連 (continued succession tree), according to the *Bohu tong* 白虎通, is “the name of a tree which has interlacing and mutually connecting [branches]. Therefore it grows at the doors of

the king's chambers, symbolizing the continuity of his progeny" 賓連者, 木名也, 連累相承. 故在於房戶, 像繼嗣也. See Chen Li, *Bohu tong shuzheng*, 6.286. My translation is based on Tjan Tjoe Som's translation. See Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po Hu T'ung: The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*, 242, 339, n.347. This is also listed in "Fu rui" 符瑞, *Song shu* 29.862.

Zida 紫達 ("purple prevailing") is described in a lost text titled *Rui ying tu* 瑞應圖 quoted in the *Taiping yulan*. It reputedly only grew when the ruler was virtuous and proper, and when governance was tranquil and peaceful. *Taiping yulan*, 873.10a–b. Sun Rouzhi 孫柔之 (seventh century) wrote a set of notes to a work titled *Rui ying tu* 瑞應圖 in three fascicles listed in the bibliographical treatise of the *Sui shu* (34.1038). The complete text is no longer extant, but several reconstructions were done in later times. It is also mentioned in the "Fu rui" chapter of the *Song shu* 29.866. Also see Ye Dehui 葉德輝, ed., Sun Rouzhi 孫柔之, *Ruiying tu ji* 瑞應圖記, *Congshu jicheng xubian*, Vol. 84, 16.

Zida is alternatively known as *zituo* 紫脫. See Wang Rong 王融, "Sanyue sanri Qushui shi xu" 三月三日曲水詩序, *Wen xuan* 46.2063: "*Zituo* are resplendent, and *Zhuying* luxuriant" 紫脫華, 朱英秀. Li Shan cites the Han period *Li* weft text *Li dou weiyi* 禮斗威儀 which glosses *zituo* as a divine offering to a ruler whose reign is peaceful and tranquil.

L. 498

According to Xue Zong's 薛綜 commentary the flower of peace (*hua ping* 華平) is an auspicious tree. When the empire is peaceful (*ping*), its flower remains level (*ping*). If there were an uprising, the flower would face to the direction of the uprising. See Zhang Heng, "Dongjing fu," *Wen xuan* 3.126. Also see *Ruiying tu ji*, 16.

The vermillion herb (*zhu cao* 朱草) is said to be an auspicious plant, which only appears when the kingly way is carried out. See for example Su Yu, *Chunqiu fanlü yizheng*, 4.102. Chen Li, *Baihu tong shuzheng*, 6.287. Also see *Ruiying tu ji*, 14.

L. 500

The soaring hare (*feitu* 飛兔) refers to a kind of prized horse of antiquity. See Chen Qiyong, *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi*, 1233.

LL. 501–502

This line alludes to an entry in the *Shuo yuan* that recounts how during the Yellow Emperor's reign a flock of phoenixes gathered at the emperor's garden and perched on the emperor's parasol trees. See Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 18.456. This can also be the name of a palace.

L. 503

The *jiao* 郊 refers to the suburban sacrifice. The *di* 禘 refers to the grand sacrifice *daji* 大祭. See *Erya zhushu*, 6.2609. According to Xue Zong 薛綜 the *dijiao* was a ceremony of sacrifice to heaven performed in the southern suburb. See Xue Zong's commentary on L. 463 of Zhang Heng, "Dongjing fu," *Wen xuan* 3.117.

The *yuanqiu* 圓丘, also written 圜丘 (circular mound), was the altar where offerings to heaven were performed. Its shape was intended to symbolize the round shape of Heaven. See Jia Gongyan's 賈公彥 comment on the term *yuanqiu* 圓丘 in *Zhou li zhushu*, 22.789–90.

L. 504

The jadestone tablet (*yu jian* 玉簡) was a sacrificial token presented to heaven or heavenly deities in sacrifices. See Shen Yue, "Huashan guan wei guojia ying gongde" 華山館為國家營功德: "It is written with embroidered script in flying cloudlike characters/ On jadestone tablets bound together with a golden cord" 錦書飛雲字/ 玉簡黃金編. See Lu Qinli 逯钦立, *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 1660. Trans. Richard B. Mather, *The Age of Eternal Brilliance, Three Lyric Poets of the Yung-ming Era (483–493)* Vol. One (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 268.

L. 505

The copper tablet (*jin ban* 金版) was used to present a sacrificial petition to heaven or other supreme deities in sacrifices. Cf. *Zhou li zhushu* 36.882: "When they are displaying an offering to the supreme deity, they then present him with the copper tablet" 旅于上帝, 則共其金版.

L. 506

In the *Bohu tong* 白虎通 *bi* 璧 is described as "square on the inside and round outside" 方中圓外. See Chen Li, *Bohu tong shuzheng*, 8.351. According to the *Zhou li*, the cerulean jade-disc (*cangbi* 蒼璧) refers to one of six ceremonial jade vessels presented to heaven in sacrifices. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 18.762. The grand fur-garment (*daqiu* 大裘) refers to the ceremonial garment worn by the person who presides over the sacrifices to heaven. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 7.683.

L. 507

"Cloud Plumes" (*Yun qiao* 雲翹) is one of the sacrificial performances of the ceremonial repertoire. See *Hou Han shu*, "Zhi", 5.3123; 8.3182. Here I follow Kevin A. Jensen's rendering of the term. For a brief introduction of the "Cloud Plumes" dance, refer to Kevin A. Jensen, "Wei-Jin Sacrificial Ballets: Reform versus Conservation," Ph. D. diss., University of Washington, 2012, 72.

L. 508

Jianli 繭栗 (cocoon and chestnut) here describes the budding horns of a young sacrificial calf. Thus *jianli zhi niu* 繭栗之牛 refers to an immature ox. Cf. “Siyi” 祀義 Wang Chong’s 王充 *Lun heng* 論衡: “On the top of the circular mound, one ox with cocoon and chestnut shaped horns...If with these one makes offerings to Heaven and Earth, how could Heaven and Earth be satiated” 圓丘之上, 一蠶栗牛...以此食天地, 天地安能飽. Huang Hui, *Lun heng*, 25.1048.

The *Wenyuan yinghua* reads *li* 栗 (chestnut) as *su* 粟 (millet).

L. 509

In the *Bohu tong cong* 琮 is described as “round in the interior and provided with teeth outside” 圓中牙身. See Chen Li, *Bohu tong shuzheng*, 8.349. According to the *Zhou li*, the yellow jade cylinder (*huangcong* 黃琮) was used to present offerings to earth in sacrifices. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 18.762. On the *huangcong* 黃琮, see Berthold Laufer, *Jade A Study in Chinese Archeology and Religion* (New York: Dover Publication, 1974), 132–35.

L. 510

The *wang* 望 sacrifice was offered to mountains and rivers, the sun and the moon, and constellations. Cf. “Yao dian” 堯典 of the *Shu jing*: “[Shun] offered the *wang* sacrifice to the mountains and rivers, and extended the tribute to various deities” 望于山川遍于群神. See *Shang shu zhengyi*, 3.126.

The square marshland (*fangze* 方澤) was the altar where offerings to earth were performed. Cf. “Shitian” 釋天 of *Guang ya* 廣雅: “The circular mound has a raised altar; it is where the sacrifice to heaven is performed; the square marshland has sharp curves; it is where the sacrifice to earth is performed” 圓丘大壇, 祭天也, 方澤大折, 祭地也. See Wang Niansun 王念孫, *Guang Ya shuzheng* 廣雅疏證, *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, 9A. 19.b, 388

The divine region (*shenzhou* 神州) here refers to the capital of the empire. See Lü Xiang’s 呂向 commentary on Zuo Si, “Yong shi shi” 詠史詩. See *Liuchen Wen xuan* 六臣文選, *Sibu congkan*, 21.5b.

L. 511

Xianchi 咸池 (All-encompassing Pool”) is the name of an ancient musical piece reputedly from the time of Yao 堯. It was usually performed in the sacrifices to the earthy deity. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 22.788.

L. 512

Fanlu 繁露 (incrassate dew) describes the elaborate decorative fringe or clustered strung gems hanging (*liu* 旒) from the ruler's ceremonial cap. Cf. Zhu Youzeng 朱右曾, ed. and comm., *Zhou shu jixun jiaoshi* 周書集訓校釋, *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, 7.5b.

L. 513

See *Zhou li*: “The first category is called the ‘three farmers’; they cultivate the ‘nine grains’” 一曰三農, 生九穀. *Zhou li zhishu*, 2.647. Zheng Xuan citing Zheng Zhong 鄭眾 (d. 83) wrote that the “three farmers” refers to three categories of farmers who respectively cultivated crops on the plain, mountains, and marshes. Zheng Zhong also identifies the “nine grains” as “broomcorn millet, foxtail millet, sorghum, rice, hemp, broad bean, soybean, barley, and wheat” 黍稷秫稻麻大小豆大小麥. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 2.647.

L. 514

See *Zhou li*, *Zhou li zhushu*, 7.686: “At the beginning of spring, he summons the empress to lead the ladies of the palace to present seeds of *tong* and *lu* to the king” 上春, 詔王后帥六宮之人, 而生種稑之種, 而獻之于王. According to Zheng Zhong's commentary *tong* 種 grain is planted early, but ripens late; *lu* 稑 grain is planted late but ripens early.

L. 515

The master of the domain (*dian shi* 甸師) was in charge of supervising the subordinate officials at the plowing of the supreme ruler's field (*wang ji* 王籍). See *Zhou li zhushu*, 4.662–63. See Pan Yue 潘岳, “Jitian fu” 藉田賦, *Wen xuan* 7.337: “And then He orders the Master of the Domain to clear the imperial plot” 於是乃使甸師清畿. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 39. The *Wen xuan* texts reads *Dian shuai* 甸帥 instead of *Dian shi* 甸師 to avoid the taboo on the personal name of Emperor Jing 景 of Jin, Sima Shi 司馬師 (208–255). See Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 38, L.6n.

L. 516

The director of the mound (*feng ren* 封人) was in charge of building the earthen walls surrounding the altars of the soil, as well as of the border of the capital domain (*ji feng* 畿封). See *Zhou li zhushu*, 12.720. See Pan Yue 潘岳, “Jitian fu” 藉田賦, *Wen xuan* 7.337: “And then he orders.... The Director of Mounds to wall the palace/ The Director of Lodges to install the barricades” 封人壙宮/掌舍設柵. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 41.

L. 517

Cf. Pan Yue 潘岳, “Jitian fu” 藉田賦, *Wen xuan* 7.337–38: “The green altar, luxuriant, stands like a mountain peak / The azure curtains, dark, spread like clouds” 青壇蔚其嶽立兮/翠幕黝以雲布. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 41.

The supervisor of forestry and hunting (yu [ren] 虞[人]) supervised the felling of timber and all hunting and trapping activities at each major mountain region in the royal domain. *Zhou li zhushu*, 16.747–48.

LL. 519–520

These two lines describe the rites of *fluxi* 祓禊 (purgation and lustration), which was held on the first *si* 巳 day of the third month. Beginning in the Wei-Jin period, the festival always took place on the third day of the third month. On the day of the primal *si* (*shang si* 上巳), officials and commoners performed lustrations in the river to purge themselves of ill aura and disease. See *Hou Han shu zhi*, 4.3110–11. For a detailed study of this ceremony in the Later Han see Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1975), 273–88.

L. 521

The Dewy Chill (Lu han 露寒) is the name of an imperial lodge in the Sweet Springs Park of the Former Han. See *Sanfu huangtu*, 2.45.

L. 522

The Murky Shore (Meng si 濛汜) is the depression into which the sun sinks at the end of the day. Cf. “Tianwen” 天問, *Chu ci buzhi* 3.88: “[The sun] setting out from the Gulf of Brightness and going to rest in the Vale of Murk” 出自湯谷/次于蒙汜. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 127.

L. 523

This line refers to the Double Ninth (Chongyang 重陽) festival, which is associated with prolonging life by imbibing wine scented with chrysanthemum petals. For a literary survey of the theme of Double Ninth festival in early medieval China, refer to A.R. Davis, “The Double Ninth Festival in Chinese Poetry: A Study of Variations upon a Theme” in *Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities*, ed. Cezong Zhou (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 45–64.

L. 524

The “essence of the sun” refers to chrysanthemum. See Zhou Chu’s 周處 *Fengtu ji* 風土記 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 996.2a.

L. 525

The Heavenly Whip (*Tian ce* 天策) refers to a constellation where the spirit of the Shang ruler Wuding’s 武丁 minister, Fu Yue 傅說, lodged after he died. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 12.1795. The constellation is said to be in charge of the official invocators and spirit-mediums.

See *Jin shu*, 11.304. Trans. Ho Peng Yoke, *The Astronomical Chapters of the Chin Shu* (Paris, The Hague: Mouton & Co.1967), 106. Here Xiao Yi probably uses the term to refer to the imperial administrative system in general. The constellation corresponds to G Scorpii. See Sun Xiaochun and Jacob Kistemaker, *The Chinese Sky during the Han: Constellating Stars and Society* (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997), 155. Also see Edward Schafer's brief account of the Fu Yue star, Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, 127.

L. 526

The Angular Array (*Gouchen* 鈎陳) refers to a set of six stars, which were traditionally associated with the military guard. Here Xiao Yi probably uses the term to refer to the imperial guard. For a more detailed note on the term *Gouchen* refer to Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 126–27, L.242n.

L. 527

The *yudai* 玉軼 (jade axle-cap) here is metonymy for the emperor's chariot.

L. 529

According to legend, Lu'er 騶騄 was one of the eight fine horses that pulled the chariot of King Mu of Zhou. See Shen Yue, comm., *Zhushu jinian*, 竹書紀年, *Siku quanshu*, 8.8a–b. Also see *Shi ji*, 5.175.

L. 530

The *Yuzhiji*, *Liang Yuandi ji*, and *Lidai fuhui* all read *yao* 曜 as *yue* 躍. Here I follow the *yue* 躍 (leap) reading. *Cuipi*, not otherwise attested, is probably the name of a fine horse.

LL. 531–532

Cf. “Tianma ge” 天馬歌 in the *Han shu* 22.1060: “Its mettle is beyond compare/ Its spirit is uncommon, unwonted” 志倬儻/精權奇. Cf. LL. 139–40 of Yan Yanzhi 顏延之, “Zhebai ma fu” 赭白馬賦, *Wen xuan* 14.629: “Its grand mettle is beyond compare, / And its spirit is uncommon, unwonted” 雄志倬儻/精權奇兮. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Three, 75. Here, both *titang* and *quanqi* refer to fine horses.

L. 534

Rong 鞞 (alternatively written 鞞) refers to the decorative fringe of saddles. See the phrase “saddle in tweeds and fringe of variegated colors” 縷鞍采鞞 in Fu Xuan 傅玄 “Liangma fu” 良馬賦 cited in the *Taiping yulan* 359.2b. *Lü* 縷 is written *lou* 鏤 (figured saddle) in Yan Kejun 嚴可均, *Quan Jin wen*, 46.2b.

LL. 535–536

The “horse hoof” (*mati* 馬蹄), also known as the “black hoof” (*xuan ti* 玄蹄), and the *yuezhi* 月支, also known as the “white target” (*su zhi* 素支), both refer to shooting targets. See Li Shan’s commentary on Yan Yanzhi’s “Zhebai ma fu,” *Wen xuan* 14.626 For a detailed note on these two shooting targets refer to Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol.3, 70, LL. 87–88n. Also see Cao Pi 曹丕, *Dian lun* 典論, “Zi xu” 自序: “In lowering my head, I hit the “horse hoof”; / And raising my head I strike the “Yuezhi” 俯馬蹄而仰月支也. See *Sanguo zhi*, 2.89N.

Cf. Cao Zhi, “Baima pian” 白馬篇, *Wen xuan* 27.1288: “Drawing a bow he hits the target on the left; / Shooting to the right he breaks the ‘Yuezhi’./ Extending his hand he catches a flying gibbon;/ Lowering himself he dismantles the ‘horse hoof’” 控絃破左的/ 右發摧月支/ 仰手接飛猱/ 俯身散馬蹄.

L. 537

“Xun” 巽 is one of the eight trigrams of the *Zhou yi*. It represents the chicken, thus the image of “divine bird” in the line. This could also refer to the three-footed crow that lives in the sun. See Cao Dagu’s 曹大家 commentary on Ban Gu, “Youtong fu,” *Wen xuan* 14.641. See Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Three, 94, LL. 91–92n.

The “Xun” trigram also corresponds to the cardinal direction of southeast. See “Shuo gua” 說卦 of the *Yi jing*, see *Zhou yi zhengyi*, 9.94. Here Xiao Yi is referring to his next appointment as in the regional inspector of Jiangzhou 江州刺史, which was in the southeastern area of the Liang territory.

L. 538

Sinan 司南 (compass) is discussed in Joseph Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. Four (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 269–71. Here I follow their rendering of *sinan* as “south-pointer.” Wang Chong describes *sinan* as: “When a ladle which turns southwards is thrown on the ground, its handle points to the south” 司南之杓, 投之於地, 其柢指南. See Huang Hui, *Lunheng jiaoshi*, 17.759. Trans. Forke, *Lun-heng*, 320–21.

“Li” 離 is one of the eight trigrams the *Zhou yi* 周易. It corresponds to the cardinal direction of south. According to the “Shuo gua” 說卦, one of the ten commentaries to the *Zhou yi*, this trigram also evokes the image of “the sage king facing the south to listen to all under heaven and turning toward brightness to rule” 聖人南面而聽天下嚮明而治. See “Shuo gua” in *Zhou yi zhengyi*, 9.94.

L. 539

Er bi 珥筆 originally refers to the brush clipped on the official cap, so that one may jot down things any time and any place. The term is often used to describe a diligent government official, who always keeps a brush handy to jot things down. Cf. Cao Zhi, “Qiu tong qinqin biao” 求通親

親表, *Wen xuan* 37.1687: “I have taken up residence in the royal chamber, and I always have a whip in one hand and a brush in the other” 安宅京室/執鞭珥筆.

L. 541

The Luminous Hall (Mingtang 明堂) refers to ritual halls in general, where ceremonies, sacrifices, court audiences, and ritual performances were held. As a center for imperial administration during the Zhou, the Mingtang was a subject of idealization by Han scholars. Mark Edward Lewis provides a comprehensive survey of the Mingtang in archeological records and various pre-Han and Han texts, and concludes that Mingtang is “a ritual complex that combines rites to ancestors and cosmic deities; an administrative center where all officials are gathered and all policies enacted; and an educational institution in which all true teachings are presented. It is also the summation of the ritual structures of earlier dynasties.” See Mark Edward Lewis, *The Construction of Space in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 260–73. See also Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtman, “Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space” *Early China* 32 (2009): 594–644, esp. 595–602. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 114–15, L.140n. On the discussion of the Mingtang as an architectural symbol of power serving to convey ideal images of the world, refer to Hung Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 176–87. For detailed discussions of the Mingtang, refer to William Edward Soothill, *The Hall of Light: a study of early Chinese kingship* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952), 84–96. David W. Pankenier, *Astrology and Cosmology in Early China, Conforming Earth to Heaven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 342–50. Also see Hwang Ming-Chorng, “Ming-Tang Cosmology, Political Order and Monuments in Early China,” Ph.D. diss., Harvard, 1996. Zhang Yibing 張一兵, “Mingtang zhidu yanjiu” 明堂制度研究, Ph.D. diss., Jilin daxue, 2004.

LL. 541–542

The *Wenyuan yinghua* editors speculate that the *jing* 景 in the problematic line 奧重明堂地/景已乎正陽 was probably a substitute for the taboo character *bing* 丙. The practice of using *jing* 景 to replace *bing* 丙/昴 [the latter being the personal name of the father of Emperor Gaozu of Tang (r. 618–626)] is well attested in the Tang excavated texts and tomb inscriptions. See Chen Yuan 陳垣, *Shi hui ju li* 使諱舉例 (1928; rpt. Taipei: Hanwen chubanshe, n.d.), 147. *Bingsi* 丙巳 refer to the southern orientation of the Mingtang.

The *Wenyuan yinghua* writes 奧重明堂地/景已乎正陽

The *Fu yuan* writes 奧重明堂/地景正陽

The *Yuzhiji* writes 奧重明堂地/丙巳乎正陽

The *Liang Yuandi ji* writes 奧重明堂地/景已乎正陽

The *Lidai fuhui* writes 奧重明堂地景已乎正陽

LL. 543–544

See *Da Dai li ji* 大戴禮記: “The Luminous Hall...has nine chambers, each chamber has four doors and eight windows. Its roof is thatched. It opens up to a round top and a square bottom” 明堂者...凡九室, 一室而有四戶八牕. 以茅蓋屋, 上圓下方. See Wang Pinzhen, *Da Dai Li ji jiegou*, 67.149.

L. 545

See “Tianwen xun” 天文訓 of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子: “Therefore, when the burning mirror encounters the sun, it ignites tinder and produce fire. When the square receptacle encounters the moon, it moistens and produces water” 故陽燧見日, 則燃而為火. 方諸見月, 則津而為水. Gao You 高誘 glosses the *fangzhu* 方諸 as *yingsui* 陰燧 (lunar-water condenser). He explains, “When held it under the moonlight at full moon, water collects upon it” 月盛時, 以向月下, 則水生, 以銅盤受之. See He Ning, *Huainanzi jishi*, 3.172–74. Trans. John Major, Sarah Queen, Andrew Meyer, Harold Roth, *The Essential Huainanzi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 43. The *yingsui*, also known as *yingjian* 陰鑒 (lunar mirror), was used to collect dew, referred to as *mingshui* 明水 (luminous water) for sacrificial purpose. See Needham, *Physics and Physical Technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 87–89. Also see the entry “*mingshui*” in the *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目, in Chen Guiting 陳貴廷, ed. and comm., *Bencao gangmu tongshi* 本草綱目通釋 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1992), 225–26. See also *Zhou li* 周禮, *Zhou li zhushu* 36.885: “Use a mirror to collect the luminous water [for sacrificial purposes] in the moonlight” 以鑑取明水於月. *Liudian* 六典 quoted in the *Taiping yulan*, which reads: “Collect the luminous water by means of lunar-mirror” 取明水於陰鑒. See *Taiping yulan*, 229.9a

Cf. L. 208n on the *yangsui* 陽燧 (solar fire-kindler).

L. 546

Guizan 圭瓚 (jade cruse and ladle) are set out for ritual libations. See “Wenhou zhiming” 文侯之命, *Shang shu zhengyi* 20.253: “King Ping bestowed a bowl of black panicum millet wine and jade cruse and ladle on Marquis Wen of Jin, and then composed ‘Wenhou zhiming’” 平王錫晉文侯秬鬯圭瓚, 作文侯之命. Also see *Mao* #262, *Mao shi zhengyi* 18.574. For the identification of the *ju chang* 秬鬯 refer to H.T. Huang, *Biology and Biological Technology, Science and Civilization in China*, ed. Joseph Needham, vol. 6, 232.

L. 547

According to the *Zhou li*, the minister of state (*zhongzai* 冢宰, also known as *taizai* 太宰 or *dazai* 大宰), was the head of the six ministers (*liuqing* 六卿). The minister of state presided over the Ministry of State (*tianguan* 天官), most esteemed of the Six Ministries (*liu guan* 六官) of the central government in the Zhou period. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 2.7–12, 645–50. Xiao Yi is using these Zhou period administrative terms as elegant ways of designating the Liang period equivalents.

L. 548

Bianfang 辯方 should probably read *bianfang* 辨方 (distinguish directions). See *Zhou li zhushu*, 1.1, 639.

L. 549

Chen and Xiong point out that this line pertains to the common practice of using vegetables to replace sacrificial animals in offerings. The practice was promoted by Emperor Wu of Liang in the sixth year of the Tianjian reign (517). See *Liang shu*, 2.57. See Chen Zhiping and Xiong Qingyuan, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 163. For a detailed study of the history of vegetarianism in China, refer to John Kieschnick, “Buddhist Vegetarianism in China” *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics and Religion in Traditional China*, ed. Roel Sterckx (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan Press, 2005), 186–212; Emperor Wu’s promotion of vegetarianism is discussed on 198–202.

L. 551

According to Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645), quoting Ru Chun’s 如淳 commentary on the *Han shu*, the *zhizhuan* is a carriage with four horses having long limbs. In Han times, envoys’ chariots came in three hierarchical standards. Among them, *zhichuan* 置傳 was the travelling chariot set at the disposal of the highest-ranked envoys. See *Han shu*, 1.57n. Homer Dubs translates *zhizhuan* as “post carriage.” Trans. Homer Dubs, *The History of Former Han Dynasty*, vol.1 (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1938), 1.107.

L. 552

Tuigu 推轂, literally pushing the wheel-hubs forward, is a gesture on the emperor’s part to show his respect and trust when he is sending his general or minister off to assume a post outside the court. See *Shi ji*, 102.2758.

L. 553

Lamia Stream (Jiao chuan 蛟川) probably refers to a river near Xunyang 尋陽 district (administrative seat southwest of modern Huangmei 黃梅 *xian*, Hubei) where Emperor Wu of Han 武帝 (r. 141–87 BCE) shot a lamia during his tour of inspection to the south in 106 BCE. See *Han shu*, 6.196.

Converged Marsh (Hui ze 匯澤), also known as Pengze hu 彭澤湖, refers to the marshland of Lake Pengli 彭蠡, in northern Jiangxi. See *Jingzhou ji* 荊州記 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 66.2a.

L. 554

According to *Youming lu* 幽明錄, Swan Pass (Hu sai 鵠塞, also known as He sai 鶴塞) was where Tao Kan 陶侃 (267–332) went fishing when he resided southwest of Xunyang 尋陽 (in

modern Jiujiang 九江 *shi*, Jiangxi) when the state of Wu fell. Xunyang was the administrative seat of Jiangzhou 江州, where Xiao Yi served as regional inspector from 540 to 547. See Ni Fan, *Yu Zishan ji*, *Siku quan shu*, 15.58a. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 1998.

L. 555

Lichuan 蠡川 refers to Pengli Lake 彭蠡 and Tong River 通川 collectively. See Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416), *Lushan lüejì* 廬山略記, “On the left it embraces Lake Pengli, and on the right it reclines on the Tong River” 左挾彭蠡, 右傍通川. See *Lushan lüejì* 廬山略記, *Siku quanshu*, 1.1a. For an annotated version, see Zhou Luanshu 周銓書 and Zhao Ming 趙明, eds. and comm., *Lushan youji xuan* 廬山遊記選 (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmen chubanshe, 1996), 1–4. Also see Yuan Hong 袁宏 (ca. 328–ca. 376), “Dongzheng fu” 東征賦: “And then he [Zhou Yu] emerged from Sangluo (roughly corresponding to northeastern Jiujiang), came cross Tong River, backed onto Peng Marsh, and faced the Changquan” 爾乃出桑落, 會通川, 背彭澤, 面長泉. See *Yiwen leiju*, 28.439. Lake Pengli 彭蠡 is the ancient name for Lake Poyang 鄱陽. The mouth of the lake is east of Jiujiang. See Shi Weile et al., *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 2502.

L. 556

Kuang’s Mountain Nook (Kuang xiu 匡岫) refers to Mt. Lu 廬山, also known as Kuang lu 匡廬, is south of modern Jiujiang *shi*, Jiangxi. According to Huiyuan’s *Lushan lüejì*, the mountain is named after a certain recluse known as Kuang Su 匡俗 who lived at Mt. Lu during the Zhou. After he became a transcendent being, Kuang Su built a thatched hut (*lu* 廬) there. See *Lushan ji*, *Siku quanshu*, 1.1a–b. Also see *Hou Han shu*, 22. 3487.

L. 558

See Sima Xiangru 司馬相如, “Zixu fu” 子虛賦, *Wen xuan* 7.349: “The mountains: Twisting and twining, tortuously turning/ Arch aloft, precipitously piled” 其山則盤紆峩鬱, 隆崇嵒峩. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 55. See Ban Gu, “Xidu fu,” *Wen xuan* 1.18: “Precipitous and steep, peaked and sharp” 巖峻嵒峩. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 135. *Panyu* 盤紆 describes the serpentine contour of the mountain ridges. The rhyming binome *qiuzu* 嵒峩 (*ju-dzuit) describes precipitous heights.

L. 559

The binomes *yinlin* 嶷嶷 (*ʔiən-lin) and *yulü* 鬱律 (*ʔut-luit) describe the ruggedness of mountains. Cf. Zhang Heng, “Xijing fu,” *Wen xuan* 2.49: “Jagged and rough, steeply scarped” 嶷嶷鬱律. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 183.

L. 560

See “Zhong yong” 中庸, *Li ji zhengyi* 53.405: “it sends forth and nourishes all things, and rises up to the height of heaven” 發育萬物, 峻極於天. Trans. Legge, *The Doctrine of the Mean*, 422.

See also Mao # 259, *Mao Shi zhengyi* 18.297: “Mightiest of all heights is the Peak; / Soaring up into the sky” 崧高維嶽/駿極于天. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 133.

L. 562

The rhyming binome *cenqin* 岑嶽 (*tsʰim- khim) describes the steep appearance of mountains. See Zhu Qifeng, *Ci tong*, 11.81. See Sima Xiangru, “Zixu fu” 子虛賦, *Wen xuan* 7.349: “Peaked and pointed, jagged jutting” 岑峯參差. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 57.

The rhyming binome *qiyi* 崎嶇 (alt. 碣礧) (*giai-ŋiai) describes the precipitousness of mountains. Cf. “Zhao yin shi” 招隱士, “Towering and rugged/ the craggy rock, frowning” 嶽岑碣礧兮硿礧磈礧. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 120. Also Wang Yanshou 王延壽, “Lu Lingguang dian fu” 魯靈光殿賦, *Wen xuan* 11.513: “Above, steeply spiring, they are joined layer upon layer” 上崎嶇而重注. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 271.

L. 563

Wu tu 烏兔 (the crow and hare) refers to the Sun and the Moon respectively. According to legend there was a crow living the sun and a hare living in the moon. For the rabbit, see Edward Schafer “A Trip to the Moon” *JAOS* 96 (1976): 34–35. See Knechtges, *Wen xuan* Vol. One, 412, L.582n. See Zuo Si 左思, “Wudu fu” 吳都賦, *Wen xuan* 5.226: “Where they can encage the crow and rabbit in the sun and moon” 籠烏兔於日月. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan* vol.1, 413. See Sima Xiangru’s 司馬相如 “Zixu fu” 子虛賦, *Wen xuan* 7.349: “[The mountains] leave the sun and moon covered and eclipsed” 日月蔽虧. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 57.

L. 564

This line of the “Xuan lan fu” cited in the *Siku quanshu* edition of the *Jiangxi tongzhi* 江西通志 reads *huo xia* 豁聞 (gaping open) for *huo kai* 豁聞. Chen and Xiong deem *huo e* 豁聞 the correct reading. See *Jiangxi tongzhi* 江西通志, *Siku quanshu*, 146.3a. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 166.

The *Liang Yuandi ji* writes *kai* 闔 for *wen* 聞.

The *Fu yuan*, *Yuzhiji* and *Lidai fuhui* both write *kai* 開 for *wen* 聞

The binome *hanya* 嶮呀 (*gəm-ŋa) “cavernously yawning” conveys a sense of extended depth of the mountain. See *Ci tong*, 8.85–86. See Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 “Shanglin fu” 上林賦, *Wen xuan* 8.365: “Stand yawning wide, gaping open” 豁呀豁聞. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 83.

L. 566

The *Wenyuan yinghua*, *Fu yuan*, *Liang Yuandi ji*, *Yuzhiji*, and *Lidai fuhui* all write *fen* 墳 as *pen* 噴. This line probably describes a waterfall on the mountain, thus the reading *pen* 噴 (spurt) makes better sense. It also is a better parallel with *gu* 鼓 (shake) in the following line.

For *tian mo* 天末 see Zhang Heng, “Dongjing fu,” *Wen xuan* 3.126: “Gazing at the far horizon as his distant goal” 眇天末以遠期. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 299.

L. 569

The Altar Constellation (*xingshe* 星社) is the sacrificial altar to the Numinous Star (*lingxing* 靈星), which according to tradition was the ruler of agricultural affairs. See *Shi ji*, 12.479–80; 28.1380, *Han shu*, 25A.1211; 25B.1242, and *Hou Han shu*, “Zhi,” 9.3204.

The *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義, citing Jia Kui 賈逵 (30–101). identifies the Lingxing as Tiantian 天田 (celestial fields). See Wang Liqi 王利器, ed. and comm., *Fengsu tongyi jiaozhu* 風俗通義校注 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1982), 8.359. Also see *Hou Han shu*, “Zhi,” 9.3204. Wang Chong 王充 (27–100 CE) associates the Lingxing sacrifice with ancient ritual sacrifice to bring rain. See Huang Hui, *Lun heng jiaoshi*, 25.1061–65.

For an entry on the Tiantian 天田 (78, τ Virginis), refer to Xiaochun Sun and Jacob Kistemaker, *The Chinese Sky during the Han*, constellating stars and society (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1997), 171.

For recent scholarship on the Lingxing sacrifice, refer to Wang Jian 王健, “Ci Lingxing yu Liang Han nongshi sidian de jige wenti” 祠靈星與兩漢農事祀典的幾個問題, *Zhongguo nongshi* (2008: 4): 11–17; Tian Tian 田天, “Xiannong yu Lingxing: Qin Han difang nongshen jisi congkao” 先農與靈星: 秦漢地方農神祭祀叢考, *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* (2013: 8): 60–67. The Lingxing Dance was to be performed at the Lingxing sacrifice, see for example, Zhou Yi 周儀, “Handai ‘Lingxing wu’ chutan” 漢代《靈星武》初探, *Beijing wudao xueyuan xuebao* (2012: 3): 32–36. I will send you the PDF versions of these articles.

L. 571

See Wang Yanshou 王延壽, “Lu Lingguang dian fu” 魯靈光殿賦, *Wen xuan* 11.510: “How terrifying, How daunting it is!” 吁可畏乎其駭人也. See Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 267. Also see Chenggong Sui 成公綏, “Yun fu” 雲賦: “How precipitously poised are the appearance; / One gasps in amazement, lest it fall” 狀歲嵬其不安/ 吁可畏而欲落. See *Yiwen leiju*, 1.16; *Taiping yulan*, 8.9a.

L. 572

Cf. Zhang Heng, “Xijing fu,” *Wen xuan* 2.77: “Swallowed knives, exhaled fire/ Darkened the arena with clouds and mist” 吞刀吐火/雲霧杳冥. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 233.

L. 575

The rhyming binome *tiaoyao* 峯嶸 (alternatively written as 迢嶸) (*ḍiau-nau) describes the loftiness and ruggedness of mountains. See Zhu Qifeng, *Ci tong*, 7.87. See He Yan 何晏 (189?–249) “Jingfu dian fu” 景福殿賦, *Wen xuan* 11.534: “Tall and towering, like monticules they stand / Perilously poised, like peaks they rest” 峯嶸岑立/崔嵬巒居. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 299.

According to the *Xunyang ji* 尋陽記 cited in the *Shui jing zhu*, there are three stone bridges (*shi liang* 石梁) on Mt. Lu. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shui jing zhu jiaoshi*, 39.685–86. Also see Chen Shunyu 陳舜俞 (1026–1070), *Lushan ji* 廬山記, *Siku quanshu*, 3.4a.

L. 576

This line alludes to Huiyuan 慧遠 or 惠遠 (334–416), an Eastern Jin Buddhist monk, whose ancestral home was Loufan 樓煩 in Yanmen 雁門 (east of modern Guo 崞 *xian*, Shanxi.) Huiyuan was a disciple of an eminent Buddhist monk Dao'an 道安 (312–385). In 365 Huiyuan moved to Mt. Lu 廬山 and established a *vihāra* (study) with his associates at the Donglin 東林 Monastery. See *Lushan ji*, *Siku quanshu*, 2.7a–b. Also see “Huiyuan” in Knechtges and Chang, *Medieval Chinese Literature*, 410–13.

L. 577

This line alludes to an anecdote about Yu Liang 庾亮 (289–340), who was known for his strong interest in the study of the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*. It is said that he once ascended a tower south of Wuchang 武昌 (modern Wuchang, Hubei) with his entourage at night. Yu Liang asked the commoners who were about to leave to give way to him to stay. Sitting on a couch, he then started to engage in conversations on the *Laozi* with them for the entire night. See *Jin shu*, 73.1924. Also see *Lushan ji*, 1.4a–b. Although the story recorded in the *Jinlouzi* happened in Wuchang, presumably since Yu Liang was put in charge of military affairs of Jiangzhou, Xiao Yi freely associates this story with Mt. Lu. It appears that Xiao Yi did not remember the year when the story happened correctly, since the Long'an 隆安 reign began in 397 when Yu Liang was dead for more than fifty years.

L. 578

The “mirror” refers to a rock east of Mt. Lu. It was so named for its mirror-like, smooth and reflective surface. See Chen Qiaoyi, *Shui jing zhu jiaoshi*, 39.686. Also see *Lushan ji*, *Siku quanshu*, 3.3a.

L. 579

The “censer” refers to Censer Peak (Xianglu feng 香爐峰) southeast of Mt. Lu. The peak looks like an incense burner since it is constantly enveloped by fog and mist, hence the name. See Huiyuan, *Lushan lüejì*, *Siku quanshu*, 1.2b–3a.

L. 582

This line alludes to a story recorded in the *Sanguo zhi* that recounts when Emperor Wen of Wei (r. 220–226) dreamed about two tiles falling from the palace roof and turning into a couple of mandarin ducks, Zhou Xuan 周宣 (d. 240), a noted interpreter of dreams of the time, advised him that this dream meant someone in the imperial harem would die a sudden death. See *Sanguo zhi*, 29.810–11. Zhou Chu’s biography in the *Sanguo zhi* has been translated by Kenneth Dewoskin in his *Doctors, Diviners, and Magicians of Ancient China*. See Kenneth Dewoskin, *Doctors, Diviners, and Magicians of Ancient China: Biographies of Fang-shih* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 138. Also see *Wei zhi* 魏志 cited in the *Yiwen leiju*, 92, 1604. Also see *Taiping yulan*, 925.1a–b.

L. 583

See He Ning, *Huainanzi*, 13.957; and Wang Ming, *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi*, 3.49. The reference of the line is unclear. See Chen and Xiong, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu*, 169.

L. 584

The *luhua* 露華 is the name for a kind of wild duck (*wu* 鵞) that inhabits the Shu (modern Sichuan) area. See *Guang zhi* 廣志 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 919.7b. The reference of the line is unclear.

L. 585

The phrase *xian huan* 銜環 alludes to an anecdote cited in Li Xian’s 李賢 (654–684) commentary on Yang Zhen’s 楊震 (54–124) biography in the *Hou Han shu*. According to Wu Jun’s 吳均 (469–520) *Xu Qixie ji* 續齊諧記, when Yang Zhen’s father Yang Bao 楊寶 was a child he rescued a yellow sparrow in the wilderness. A man in a yellow robe then appeared to him in a dream, identified himself both as the bird that he had saved and as an envoy from the Queen Mother of the West. The man in yellow robe presented him with four jade rings and promised fortune to Yang Bao’s descendants. See *Xu Qixie ji*, *Siku quanshu*, 2a–b. Trans. Campana, *A Garden of Marvels, Tales of Wonder from Early Medieval China*, 68–69. Also see *Hou Han shu*, 54.1759. Also see Yang Bao’s biography in de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)*, 944. See also Wang Shaoying, *Sou shen ji*, 20.238.

The *dai long* 帶壘 probably alludes to the sparrows mentioned in *Wang Zinian Shi yi ji* 王子年拾遺記, which fly in a flock and carry enough earth in their beaks to make a burial mound of Shun 舜, a legendary ruler of high antiquity. See Qi Zhiping, *Shiyi ji*, 1.28. Also see *Taiping*

yulan, 922.7b. Trans., Larry Foster, “The *Shih-i chi* and Its Relationship to the Genre Known as *Chih-kuai hsiao-shuo*,” Ph.D. Diss., University of Washington, 1974, 140.

The *Wenyuan yinghua* editors document both the *he* 合 and *han* 含 readings.

The reference of the term *han cai* 含猜 is unclear. I tentatively read *qing* 情 (affection) for *cai* 猜 (suspicion).

L. 586

Yaoyang 颺颺 (*jau-jaŋ) describes the way things flutter and waver in the wind. See Zuo Si, “Wudu fu,” *Wen xuan* 5.210: “Their branches, waving and rocking in the wind/ Sough and sigh, moan and murmur” 與風颺颺/颺颺瀏瀏. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 387.

L. 587

The *lei* 鸛 is flying squirrel, a flying mammalian that in ancient Chinese taxonomy was classified as a bird. According to Read, the flying squirrel looks like a rat with fleshy wings and tail joined together with which it can flit about on rocks but it cannot fly upward. See Bernard Read, *Chinese Materia Media, Avian Drugs* (Peiking: Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1932), #289.

The rhyming binome *peisai* 陪鯉 (*bə-s(i)ə) describes the bristling features of a bird. Cf. Pan Yue 潘岳, “Shezhi fu” 射雉賦, *Wen xuan* 9.418: “Spreads the ruffled quills of its ornate plumes” 敷藻翰之陪鯉. Trans. Knechtges, Vol. Two, 157. See Zhu Qifeng, *Ci tong*, 5.26.

L. 589

This line is an allusion to a phrase from the “Jinren ming” 金人銘 (Inscription on the bronze man) cited in the “Guan zhou” 觀周 chapter of the *Kongzi jiayu*: “Rivers and seas, though lowly, hold the lead over the hundred streams, on account of their lowliness” 江海雖左, 長於百川, 以其卑也. See Chen Shike, *Kongzi jiayu shuzheng*, 3.4b. A similar passage is included in the “Jing shen” 敬慎 chapter of the *Shuo yuan*. See Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 10.258–59.

L. 590

The rhyming binome *feiwei* 沸渭 (*pus-wus) and alliterative binome *yuyi* 渝溢 (*jo-jit) both describe the movement of surging water. Cf. Mu Hua 木華, “Hai fu” 海賦, *Wen xuan* 12.547: “Sputtering and spouting, flowing and flooding” 沸潰渝溢. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 313. See Zhu Qifeng, *Ci tong*, 16.109.

L. 591

Both *liandan* 漑淡 (*kiam-dam) and *lianyan* 連延 (*lian-jaŋ) describe the motion of a vast body of water. See Zhu Qifeng, *Ci tong*, 20.106. See Mu Hua, “Hai fu,” *Wen xuan* 12.544: “Flooding

and flowing, tossing and tumbling/ It floats the sky, shoreless.” 洊洊澌澌/ 浮天無岸. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 307.

L. 592

The alliterative binome *haohan* 浩汗 (*gou-gan) describes the vastness of the water. See Zhu Qifeng, *Ci tong*, 19.18. The rhyming binome *huangyang* 滄漾 (*yuan-jan) describes the boundlessness of the water. See Zhu Qifeng, *Ci tong*, 15.72.

L. 593

The rhyming binome *hanyuan* 潺湲 (*dzian-wan) describes the swift movement of water. See “Jiuge” 九歌, *Chu ci buzhu* 2.10a: “As with trembling heart I gaze on the distance/ Over the swiftly moving waters” 荒忽兮遠望/觀流水兮潺湲. Trans. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 108.

LL. 594–595

These two lines probably allude to a line in the “Hai fu” 海賦 describing the awe-inspiring retributory power of the sea. It reads: “If a man approaches the deep laden with sin, swearing empty oaths, uttering false prayers” 負穢臨深/虛誓愆祈. See *Wen xuan*, 12.547. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*. Vol. Two, 311.

The *Wenyuan yinghua* writes *fu* 弗 as *fei* 沸.

The *Yuzhiji* writes these two lines as: 遇神飊之沸爽，彼祈報之無憊.

The *Fu yuan* writess: 遇祈飊之沸爽，彼所報之無愆

The *Liang Yuandi ji* writes: 遇神飊之沸爽，彼所報之無憊.

The *Lidai fuhui* writes: 遇祈飊之弗爽，彼所報之無愆。

LL. 596–597

These two lines allude to the “Xiaoyao you” 逍遙遊 of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子: “[When the Peng bird travels to the South Ocean] the wake it thrashes on the water is three thousand miles long, it mounts spiraling on the whirlwind ninety thousand miles high” 水擊三千里，搏扶搖而上者九萬里. See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 4. Trans. Graham, *Chuang-tzu*, 43.

L. 598

The binome *chanzhuo* 潏潏 (*daem-tsiau^c) describes the way animals (fish or ducks) roam about on the surface of the water. See Pan Yue 潘岳, “Xizheng fu” 西征賦, *Wen xuan* 10.473: “[Ducks and geese] Pitching and plunging in the startling waves” 潏潏驚波. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Two, 231. Also see Pan Yue 潘岳, “Xianju fu” 閑居賦, *Wen xuan* 16.704: “Playful fish splash and leap/ Lotus blossoms unfold and spread” 游鱗潏潏/菡萏敷披. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Three, 153.

Jiayu 嘉魚 is a kind of freshwater fish that is identified as *Varicorhinus (Scaphesthes) macrolepis*, commonly known as bleeker. See Hu Miao 胡淼, *Shi jing de kexue jiedu* 詩經的科學解讀 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2007), 289–90. Also see Qiu Jingzi 邱靜子, *Shi jing chongyu yixiang yanjiu* 詩經蟲魚意象研究 (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 2007), 115–18.

See Mao # 171 “Nanyou jiayu” 南有嘉魚, *Mao shi zhengyi* 10.151: “In the south there are fine fish; / In their multitudes they leap” 南有嘉魚/沔然罩罩. See also Zuo Si, “Shudu fu” 蜀都賦, *Wen xuan* 4.178: “Fine fish come from Bing Cavern/ Good timber crowds Bao Valley” 嘉魚出於丙穴/良木攢於褒谷. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 347. Li Shan cites Ren Yu’s 任豫 *Yizhouji* 益州記 that describes this *jiayu* as “having scales that resemble those of the barbell chub” 鱗似鱖魚.

L. 600

The “star-adorned” (*daixing* 戴星) is mentioned in *Linhai shuitu ji* 臨海水土記, cited in the *Taiping yulan*, as a fish that looks like *yuanyu* 鰲魚. According to the entry, the name comes from the white marks in the shape of a pair of girdle chimes on the back. See *Taiping yulan*, 940.5b.

The “gem bearing” (*hanshi* 含石) probably refers to a carp-like fish mentioned in Sheng Hongzhi’s *Jingzhou ji*, cited in the *Taiping yulan*. According to Sheng Hongzhi’s account, when gathered in a cluster, the fish looks like a stack of mica, and thus the name “gem fish” is given for its appearance. See *Taiping yulan*, 936.1b.

L. 601

This line probably alludes to a kind of stingray known as *puyu* 蒲魚, named after its resemblance to the shape of the cattail (*pu* 蒲). The fish looks like a pheasant with fleshy wings with which it can fly onto the rocks. See Read, *Chinese Materia Medica, Scaly and Scaleless Fish*, #183, 97–98.

The fish with pheasant physique (*zhi qu* 雉軀) is also used to describe fish in Pan Yue, “Canghai fu” 滄海賦, *Yiwen leiju* 8.154: “As for fish there are... and those with raccoon-dog pattern and pheasant physique” 其魚則有... 狸斑雉軀.

L. 601

The pearls here probably are the bubbles spurted by the fish.

L. 604

This line alludes to an immortal named Muyu 木羽. According to Muyu’s hagiographic account included in Liu Xiang’s *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳, Muyu was picked up by a carriage when he was

fifteen, and was not seen again. One day after more than twenty years, a bird delivered a fish containing a letter from Muyu to his mother. See Wang Shumin 王叔岷, ed. and comm., *Liexian zhuan jiaojian* 列仙傳校箋 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, 1995), 163–65.

L. 605

This line alludes to an immortal named Lingyang Ziming 陵陽子明, whose hagiographical account is also included in the *Liexian zhuan*. It said that Ziming discovered a short note containing a method for ingesting drugs of immortality in the belly of a white fish that he once caught. Following this method, Ziming then became an immortal and lived for over a hundred years. See Wang Shumin, *Liexian zhuan jiaojian*, 158–60.

L. 606

This line alludes to a story recorded in the *Zuo zhuan* (Yingong 5) that tells of Lord Yin going to visit Tang 堂 (north of Yutai 魚臺 *xian*, Shandong) to inspect the fish. Zang Xibo 臧僖伯 recommended against the trip on the grounds that fishing is too inconsequential to be the concern of a ruler. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 3.24.

L. 607

This line alludes to Cao Zhi's "Li zhao yan fu" 離繳鴈賦 (*Fu* on a wild goose that encountered an arrow). See *Yiwen leiju*, 91.1580. In his preface to the piece Cao Zhi explains that he wrote this *fu* as a lament for a goose that he encountered in an outing, which was shot down by a corded arrow. See Zhao Youwen 趙幼文, ed. and comm., *Cao Zhi ji jiaozhu* 曹植集校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 1.100–02. Trans., Robert Joe Cutter, *The Poetry of Cao Zhi* (Boston and Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2021), 112–15.

L. 608

This line alludes to an anecdote about Kong Yu 孔愉 (268–342) recorded in the *Sou shen ji* 搜神記 that tells of Kong Yu once having bought a captured turtle and setting it free in a nearby creek. In midstream the turtle looked back from the left four times. Later, when Kong Yu was given the title of marquis, he had his seal cast. The turtle featured on his seal also appeared to be looking back from the left. See Wang Shaoying, *Soushen ji*, 20.239. Also see *Jin shu*, 78.2051–52.

L. 609

This line alludes to a story recorded in the *Soushen ji* that tells of a man named Kuai Can 噲參 who rescued a crane in the wilderness and set it free once the crane recovered from its wound. That night Kuai Can saw a couple of cranes standing at his doorway, each holding a precious pearl in its mouth to reciprocate his kindness. See Wang Shaoying, ed. and comm., *Soushen ji*, 20.237–38. Also See *Taiping yulan*, 803.7b.

L. 613

Ju zhen 居貞, see “Yi” 頤 hexagram of the *Zhou yi* 周易, *Zhouyi zhengyi* 3.29: “Here one goes off the right path, so to abide instead in constancy will mean good fortune” 拂經, 居貞吉. Trans. Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 308.

L. 614

The “Golden Valley” (Jingu 金谷) is metonymy for Shi Chong 石崇 (249–300) owner of the Golden Valley villa located northwest of Luoyang. Shi Chong is perhaps the richest plutocrat of his time. See *Jin shu*, 33.1006–07.

L. 615

The “Stone Wicket” (Shilü 石閭) was south of modern Tai’an 泰安, Shandong. When Emperor Wu of Han went to Mt. Tai to perform the *Feng* 封 sacrifice on the mountain, he consecrated the Stone Wicket, which according to folk legend was the place where transcendent beings resided. See *Shi ji*, 28.1403; *Han shu* 25B. 1246. See also Sun Xingyan, *Han guan liuzhong*, 178.

LL. 620–621

According to the hagiographical account of Peng Zu 彭祖 in the *Shenxian zhuan*, the king of Yin, who kept practicing Peng Zu’s way of longevity, lived for three hundred years, and his breath and strength remained as vigorous as they had been when he was fifty. See Hu Shouwei, *Shenxian zhuan jiaoshi*, 1.18. Trans. Campamy, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 181.

L. 622

This line alludes to Mao # 251 “Jiong zhuo” 洞酌, *Mao shi zhengyi* 17.544: “Far off at that wayside pool we draw, / Ladle there and pour out here, / And with it we can steam our rice, / All happiness to our lord, / Father and mother of his people” 洞酌彼行潦/挹彼注茲/可以饘饠/豈弟君子/民之父母. Trans. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 182. In the poem the lord’s *de* 德 (moral potency) is compared to water ladled from the wayside pool; even though the lord might be far above the ordinary people, his people were all able to benefit from his far-reaching moral potency. See Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 182.

L. 623

This line alludes to a story recorded in the *Zuo zhuan* (Aigong 11) that recounts when the state of Wu was about to attack Qi, the heir designate of Yue, along with a large group of his retainers, came to the Wu court to present himself for audience. They presented gifts to everybody at the court from the king to the king’s guards. The people of Wu all rejoiced. Only Wu Zixu 伍子胥 (d. 484 BCE) recognized the long-term threat that Yue posed to Wu. He tried, in vain, to warn the king, saying “Obtaining our aims in Qi is like securing a field of stones; there is no way to use it. Unless Yue is made into a swamp, Wu will perish” 得志於齊, 猶獲石田也, 無所用之; 越

不為沼，吳其泯矣。 See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 58.2167. Trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition*, 1901.

L. 624

This line alludes to a story recorded in the *Za wuxing shu* 雜五行書 and *Song shu* 宋書, both cited in the *Taiping yulan*, which tells of the Princess of Shouyang 壽陽 (d. 444) taking a nap under the eaves of a palace when petals of plum blossoms fell on her forehead, which could not be brushed off for several days. Palace ladies of the time all imitated the princess' look by putting on facial ornaments inlaid with plum petals. See *Taiping yulan*, 30.1b; 970. Also see Han E 韓鄂, *Sui hua ji li* 歲華紀麗, *Mifu huihan*, 2.9b.

L. 625

“Light catkins” probably refers to another of Xiao Yi's poems on willow catkins. There is a fragment of “Lüliu shi” 綠柳詩 preserved in the *Yiwen leiju*, 89.1533.

See Zuo Si 左思, “Sandu fu” 三都賦, *Wen xuan* 6.290: “Cottons from Fangzi, / Fine silks from Qinghe” 綿纈房子/ 縑總清河. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. One, 469. Fangzi 房子 (southwest of modern Gaoyi 高邑 *xian*, Hebei) was a prefecture in the Han commandery of Changshan 常山. See *Han shu* 28A.1576. During the Western Jin it was under the administration of Jizhou 冀州 commandery. See *Jin shu*, 14.423. Also see Lu Yu's 盧毓 (183–257) *Jizhou lun* 冀州論 cited in the *Taiping yulan*, 819.4a. On the Fangzi cotton, see Wang Yinglin 王應麟, *Kunxue jiwen* 困學記聞 20.1b.

Cotton was known from at least the Han and probably grown in the South from seeds imported from Jiaozhi 交趾 and India between the Han and the Tang. South Asian cotton was introduced to China via the Western Regions from the fifth century. The entry on Qoco/ Khoco (Gaochang 高昌) in the *Liang shu* mentions a cotton plant named *baidiezi* 白疊子 (“white heap”). See *Liang shu*, 54.811. The character *mian* 棉 for cotton was modeled after *mian* 綿, the character for silk floss. See the entry of “Mian 棉 (cotton)” in Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History, A New Manual* (Cambridge and London, Harvard University Asia Center, 2012), 181. For a detailed study of the history of cotton in China, refer to Chao Ya-shu 趙雅書, “Mianhua chuanru zhongguo zhi jingguo” 棉花傳入中國之經過, *Zhongguo nongye shi lunji*, eds. Shen Tsung-han 沈宗瀚 and Chao Ya-shu 趙雅書 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979), 222–44. See also Kang Chao, *The Development of Cotton Textile Production in China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center Publications Program, 1977), 4–27.

LL. 626–627

“Moon mushroom” (*yue zhi* 月芝) is identified in the *Yiwen leiju* as a rare kind of mushroom that grows on wood. “Candlewick flower” (*denghua* 燈花) is mentioned in the *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 to treat the incessant crying of a body due to invasion of pathogenic heat into the heart. Luo Xiwen identifies it as snuff. See Luo Xiwen, *Compendium of Materia Medica*, Vol. Two

(Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2003), 855. Both the “moon mushroom” and the “candlewick flower” are general considered auspicious omens. See *Yiwen leiju*, 98.1702.

LL. 630–631

“Breaking off a Willow-branch” (“Zhe liu” 折柳) and “Plucking Lotus Blossoms” (Cai lian” 采蓮) are both designated *qu* 曲 (song-verses) of the Han *yuefu* tradition. Xiao Yi is credited with two poems titled “Zhe yangliu” and “Cai lian fu” respectively in the *Yiwen leiju*. See *Yiwen leiju*, 89.1533; 82.1040.

L. 632

The terms “seven allotments” (*qifen*” 七分) and “six days” (*liuri* 六日) are used in one particular *Yi jing* school created by Meng Xi 孟喜 (ca. 90–40 BCE). Meng Xi took four of sixty-four hexagrams, namely “Kan” 坎 “Li” 離 “Zhen” 震, and “Dui” 兌 as the four principal hexagrams, and assigned each of the remaining sixty hexagrams to a specific period of the year. He considered that there are three hundred sixty-five and a quarter days in a year. He first evenly divided the three hundred days into sixty, thus each hexagram is assigned six days (*liuri* 六日); and then he divided the remaining five and a quarter days into sixty, and each hexagram thus gets an additional 0.0875 or seven out of eighty days, which he refers to as *qifen* 七分, on top of the six whole days. See Gao Huai-min 高懷民, *Liang Han yixue shi* 兩漢易學史 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1970), 114–26. Bent Nielsen, *A Companion to Yi Jing Numerology and Cosmology*, 75–80.

L. 633

“Earth two” (*liangdi* 兩地) and “Heaven three” (*santian* 參天) first appear in the “Shuo gua” 說卦 of the *Yi jing* 易經: “In the distant past, the way the sage made the *Changes* is as follows: He was mysteriously assisted by the gods, and so initiated the use of yarrow stalks. He made Heaven three and Earth two and so provided the number with a basis” 昔者聖人之作易也, 幽贊於神明而生蓍, 參天兩地而倚數. See *Zhou yi zhengyi*, 9.93. Trans., Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 119.

L. 634

“Right-angled Triangle” (*gougu* 鉤股, also written as 勾股) original refers to two sides (or legs *catheti*) adjacent to the right angle in a right-angled triangle. *Gou* 鉤 refers to the shorter leg between two, and *gu* 股 refers to the longer one. The term *gougu* is also used to refer to the *Gougu* Rule, the Chinese equivalent of Pythagoras’ Theorem. See Shen Kangshen and John N. Crossley and Anthony W. C. Lun, *The Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art* (Oxford: University Press 1999), 3, 459.

L. 635

Yanzhu 剡注 and *sanlian* 參連 are two of the five ceremonial shooting styles (“wu she” 五射 performed at the “She li” 射禮 (archery ceremony). Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 quotes Zheng Zhong 鄭眾 (d. 83) who identifies them as (1) “*baishi* 白矢, (2) *sanlian* 參連, (3) *yanzhu* 剡注, (4) *xiangchi* 襄尺, and (5) *jingyi* 井儀 respectively. See Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, ed. and comm., *Zhou li zhengyi* 周禮正義 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 26.1012. Édouard Biot translates these terms as (1) la flèche blanche (white arrow), (2) trois flèches réunies (three arrows joined together), (3) la pointe tombante (the sloping tip), (4) le pied cédé (the foot yielded), and (5) la figure du puits (figure of the well). Trans. Édouard Biot, *Le Tcheou-li ou Rites des Tcheou* (1851; rpt. Taipei: Ch’eng Wen, 1969), 1: 297; n5. The English translation of these five terms are provided by Professor David R. Knechtges.

LL. 638–639

“Yunqi” 雲氣 (Cloudy Vapor), “Zhiying” 芝英 (Mushroom Bloom), “Xuanzhen” 懸針 (Suspended Needle), and “Daoxie” 倒薤 (Inverted Shallot) are all different styles of calligraphy mentioned in Yu Jianwu’s 庾肩吾 treatise on calligraphy called *Shu pin* 書品. See Pan Yungao 潘運告, comm. and ed., *Zhongguo lidai shulun xuan* 中國歷代書論選 (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 2007), 83–86. Also see Zhu Jianxin 朱建新, ed. and comm., *Sun Guoting Shupu jianzheng* 孫過庭書譜箋證 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), 15–19. Trans. Hans H. Frankel and Chang Ch’ung-ho, *Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 1–16. See also Zhao Zhenxin 趙貞信, ed. and comm., *Fengshi wenjian ji jiaozhu* 封氏聞見記校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 2.8. Also see *Sui shu*, 32.946.

LL. 642–643

Hexian 河獻 refers to King Xian of Hejian, Liu De 劉德 (171–130 BCE). According to his biography in the *Han shu* Liu De often sought out fine book among the people. He would have someone copy the fine books and give the copies back to the former owners, while he himself kept the original texts (*liu qizhen* 留其真. “The treasure on the sitting mat” (*xi zhen* 席珍), metonymy for Ruist scholars, originated a line in the “Ru xing” 儒行 chapter of the *Li ji*. In referring to Ruist scholars’ moral quality, the line reads: “The Ruist scholars have treasures placed on the sitting mat, with which they wait to be received respectfully and to take up an official position” 儒有席上之珍以待聘. See *Li ji zhengyi*, 59.1668. Liu De’s biography also mentions that he was often keen to recruit worthy Ruist scholars to his court. See *Han shu*, 23.2410.

The *Yiwen leiju* reads *yu* 于 for *ru* 儒.

L. 644

Xia shi 下士 alludes to a line in the *Laozi* 41: “When the superior man hears the Dao, he diligently practices it. He has the will to do so. When the average man hears the Dao, sometimes he retains it, sometimes he forgets it. When the inferior man hears the Dao, he laughs loudly at

it” 上士聞道，勤而行之。中士聞道，若存若亡。下士聞道，大笑之。 See Gao Ming, *Boshu Laozi jiaozhu*, 18. Trans. Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of the Way and Virtue: A New Translation of the Tao-te ching of Laozi as Interpreted by Wang Bi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 131.

LL. 646–647

Wenyuan yinghua editors document these two lines as alternative lines for LL. 644–645. The *Yiwen leiju* records all four lines.

L. 646

“Qiu shui” 秋水 (Autumn floods) and “Zhi le” 至樂 (Ultimate joy) are two chapters of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子.

L. 647

This line alludes to a line in the *Laozi* 20: “The multitude are joyous / As if partaking of the *t'ai lao* offering/ Or going up to a terrace in spring” 眾人熙熙/如享太牢/如春登臺. See Gao Ming, *Boshu Laozi jiaozhu*, 318. Trans. Lau, *Tao Te Ching*, 29. The Spring Terrace (Chun tai 春臺) here probably refers to palace pavilions where officials strolled and relaxed. Cf. Pan Yue 潘岳, “Qiu xing fu” 秋興賦, *Wen xuan* 13.588: “Merry and joyful, they climb a spring terrace/ Their gold and sable caps resplendent and bright” 登春臺之熙熙兮/珥金貂之炯炯. Trans. Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, Vol. Three, 19.

L. 648

This line alludes to another line in the *Laozi* 11: “Cut out doors and windows in order to make a room/ Adapt the nothing therein to the purpose in hand, and you will have the use of the room” 鑿戶牖以為室，當其無，有室之用。故有之以為利，無之以為用. See Gao Ming, *Boshu Laozi jiaozhu*, 272. Trans. Lau, *Tao Te Ching*, 17.

L. 649

“Wooden goose” (*mu yan* 木雁), or a goose that does not cackle, is used here as a metaphor for person of no talent. This line refers to a story, mentioned in the *Zhuangzi*, that one day a friend of the master was asked which of the two geese, one that can cackle and one that cannot, to kill for dinner. The master ordered the one that cannot cackle killed. See Guo Qingfan, ed. and comm., *Zhuangzi jishi*, 667.

The *locus classicus* of the term *jianchen* 兼陳 is the “Jie bi” 解蔽 of *Xunzi*: “[The sage] lays out all the myriad things and in their midst suspends his scales” 兼陳萬物而中縣衡焉. See *Xunzi*, *Sibu beiyao*, 15.6b. Trans. Hutton, *Xunzi*, 227.

L. 651

As the very last line of the “Xuan lan fu,” this line simply evokes the belief that the unicorn appears when a sage-king is on the throne or a sage is present to recognize it. The *locus classicus* of the term *huolin* 獲麟 (obtaining a unicorn) is *Chunqiu* (Ai gong 14). It is with this entry that Confucius is believed to have drawn the *Chunqiu* to a close. In the preface to his commentary on the *Chunqiu Zuo shi zhuan* 春秋左氏傳, Du Yu 杜預 explains the reason that Confucius laid down his brush at this point is that “the unicorn and phoenix are [two of] the five numinous things. They are all auspicious omens for rulers. Now, however, the unicorn appears at an untimely moment, and it is bereft of that which it corresponds to, and thus lacks a proper place to which it belongs.” 麟鳳五靈, 王者之嘉瑞也。今麟出非其時, 虛其應而失其歸。See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 1.1708. The preface is also included in the *Wen xuan*, 45.2037.

The *Yiwen leiju* and *Yuzhi ji* both read *liao* 聊 for *fang* 方. The *Wenyuan yinghua* document both readings.

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