

The Five "Confucian" Classics, by Michael Nylan

Endnotes

Page ¶ Chapter 1— Introduction to the Five Classics

- 1 1 "...the Chinese system"—In Korea, a national university dedicated to classical education in Chinese was established in AD 372 in Koguryô, one of the Three Kingdoms absorbed into Unified Silla, but it was not until the fourteenth century that the Yi dynasty designated Zhu Xi's teachings as Korea's official state ideology (for 500 years). In Japan, elements of Chinese-style classicism were first promoted by the fourth and fifth shoguns of Tokugawa (from 1651), and fully systematized only in Meiji. See Kurozumi Makoto (1994). In Vietnam, Van Mieu, a university on the Chinese model, with classes conducted in Mandarin Chinese, was in operation after AD 1070. For more information on Vietnam, see Alexander Woodside (1971). For Zhu Xi (1130-1200), see below in the introduction and Key Terms.
- 2 1 "...well worth revisiting"—Thomas Wilson (Hamilton College, private communication) reminds us that the modernists disputed the view that the world is inherently moral; the postmodernists, that the world is intelligible. For the phrase "real science of men," see Charles Calia (1998), p. 139.
- 2 1 "...squander their riches"—Of course, Zhu Xi once scoffed at this ardent desire, which he ascribed to the Han classical masters, to fully comprehend the Supreme Sage: "Short of recalling Confucius's soul (hun) so that he can explain in person, I do not know what is to be done" about interpreting the past. See ZZYL 83, no. 44 (VI, p. 2155). But Zhu Xi was not the first to ridicule such attempts. HFZ 19:50:351 remarks, "Confucius and Mozi both speak of Yao and Shun, but what they have taken or rejected [from them] differs, though each claims to represent the 'true' Yao and Shun. As Yao and Shun do not come to life again, who will ascertain the truth of the matter?" Perhaps any such attempts, including my own, are folly.
- 3 1 "...Japan, and Vietnam"—This is certainly not to deny the evidence of mutual influence among the various state orthodoxies in East Asia. For example, Yi Hwang (T'oegye; 1501-1570), one of the greatest Confucian scholars in Korea, exerted a major influence in Japan. Toya Motoda, the scholar who drafted the Meiji Imperial Rescript on Education, for example, termed himself an inheritor of Yi's philosophy, which he knew through a ten-volume extract written in Japanese. Yi, late in life, compiled Ten Diagrams of Confucian Studies. In July 1926 the Shangte Women's College in Peking reprinted those diagrams in ten different minutely illustrated plates and sold them to raise funds, believing that the diagrams revealed the core values of Confucian teaching.
- 3 2 "...interpretations and emphases"—Steven van Zoeren (1991) has shown how the Odes changed in commentaries by Zheng Xuan (127-200), Kong Yingda (574-648), Ouyang Xiu (1010-72), and Zhu Xi (1130-1200). Michael Nylan (1983) has reviewed successive readings of the "Hong fan" chapter. Richard Lynn, in his new translation of the Yijing, describes the basic problem, not only with the Changes, but also with all the other four Classics: "There is no single Classic of Changes but rather as many versions of it as there are different commentaries on it" (p. 8).
- 3 2 "...subject of it"—As will be seen below, this text also generally avoids using the terms "Confucianism" and neo-Confucianism, for reasons that have been listed by Elman (forthcoming): (a) their lack of historical specificity, (b) their poor correspondence to usual terms that so-called Confucians used to describe themselves and their teachings, and (c) the difficulty of demarcating twentieth-century trends — such as the "New Confucianism" — from premodern currents of classical learning.

- 3 3 " ...English term 'Confucianism'"—See Anne Birdwhistell (1996), pp. 31-32. The term "Confucian" was a neologism in 1698, when it appeared in Phillippe Couplet's *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*; the term "Confucianism" is later still. Both Lionel Jensen (1997) and Willard Peterson (1999), in his review of Jensen's work, cite James Legge, the translator, as the man who coined the term "Confucianism," but earlier works, at least as far back as 1830, use the term. I thank Thomas Wilson for that information.
- 3 3 "...body of doctrines"—On the confusion between "Confucian" and "classicism" (both are common translations of *Ru*), see Michael Nylan (1999) and *Keyy Terms*. For the evolving meaning of the term *Ria* (usually mistranslated as "schools"), see Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan (forthcoming).
- 5 1 "...to its neighbors"—Tu Wei-ming (1991).
- 5 2 "...begun in AD 1241"—Song historians usually give the date 1241 for the enshrinement of the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy, but the process was hardly complete by then. Other non-Daoxue scholars (e.g., Zhang Shi and Lü Ziqian) were also enshrined during Lizong's reign, twenty years later, in AD 1261. And despite the enshrinement of Daoxue leaders in AD 1241, their teachings and commentaries did not become the basis of the state-sponsored curriculum until the Yuan. Thomas Wilson (1995), pp. 35-59, argues that the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy begins only in the fifteenth century, since that is when all graduates had to master the Cheng-Zhu teachings.
- 5 2 "...consequently less congenial"—In my comparative work, I have been inspired by many articles, including Kirill Thompson (1991). On the greater inflexibility of the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy on moral questions, see Li Xinlin, chap. 5, on *jing* vs. *zhuan*. Many scholars have noted the "great interiorization" of Cheng-Zhu learning, as compared with Han learning. See, for example, Wm. Theodore de Bary (1975), p. 14.
- 6 2 "...down by that day"—Edward Shaughnessy (1997), p. 6, cites Herrlee Creel's statement, "We simply have to accept the fact that the Zhous were a ppeople who liked to write books," though there is a vast difference between inscriptions and books. Moreover, not all the texts of the Five Classics were written down at an early date. The famous Russian scholar Vassili Kryukov (1995), p. 312, argues that Chinese culture already in the earliest written records dating to the pre-Confucian period is entirely "centred around the symbols of power and communication." That I grant. But again, that does not mean that there existed in antiquity an original text for each of the Five Classics, or a single original interpretation, from which "corrupted" texts and interpretations later proliferated. So far as we know, multiple texts with different versions circulated for each of the "classics," giving rise to numerous scholastic interpretations. See William Boltz (1995).
- 7 2 "...modern academic activity"—I have borrowed this thought from David McMullen (1989), p. 604, which describes the difficulty of reconstructing the collected works of one man, Han Yu (768-824). The comparison of "talent" (*cai*) to "timber" (*cai*) antedates Qin times, but it was perhaps not until Tang times that "timbers" became a popular metaphor for the elements of literary edifices.
- 8 2 "...once used Homer"—Tradition says that Confucius taught the odes, and some few odes now included in the received *Shijing* anthology are cited inn the *Analects*. But as the *Analects* is a sedimented text containing many late traditions, it is difficult to say whether the historical Kongzi knew the odes in either written or oral forms.

- 8 3 "...Zhou Rites (Zhouli)"—None of these three texts was transcribed much before the Han period. The Zhouli and Liji may, in fact, be Qin or Han works,, though essays not included in them are among the Guodian finds. For further information, see chapter 4. According to Bruce Brooks' s theory, as stated in WSWG papers, their very composition shows the increasingly formal character of Ru learning, with a concomitant change of emphasis from ren (as in the early Analects) to li.
- 9 1 "... (human kindness)"—Would-be Confucian Revivalists have found it very difficult to define Confucian learning, as is obvious from Tu Wei-ming (1992). Hall and Ames (1995) explains that the Ru model of self is "free of any specific goals," which gives it its flexibility and creative range; *ren* and *shu* are shaped by context, by extending one's awareness of self to others, and so treating them empathetically. Cf. LJ 10/17, which tells the noble man "to cultivate his own particular excellences."
- 9 1 "...Way of the Ancients"—This term mainly referred to the exemplary Way associated with King Wen, the predynastic founder of Zhou, and with the Duke of Zhou, regent for the second Zhou king (both eleventh century BC). As Confucius himself remarked, there was a paucity of reliable traditions regarding the Xia (trad. 2205-1767) and Shang (trad. 1766-1123) dynasties already by his own time in mid-Zhou.
- 9 2 "...spontaneous and graceful"—Julia Ching (1997), p. 69, writes, "Historically, what we know is that Confucius became greatly admired as a teacher, and for his teachings. The first to accept students without regard to their family or class backgrounds, he spread the benefits of education to commoners, and became honoured by later generations as the teacher par excellence."
- 9 2 "...Yao and Shun"—Mencius 6B/2, Lau, 172. Cf. *ibid.*, 4B/2; Lau, 136.
- 10 2 "...written by Confucius"—Robert Eno (1992), p. 199, concludes from this that "canonicity was not seen as a black and white issue."
- 10 2 "...for the Analects"—The Han foot measured some 23 cm. in length. See Tsien Tsuen-hsuei (1985), p. 32, on the fixed lengths of books in Han; also HS 30.
- 10 3 "...thought in China"—Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) wished to translate the Four Books into European languages, deeming them to be a corpus of religious materials comparable to the Bible. At the same time, Ricci was persuaded that the Cheng-Zhu reinterpretations of the Four Books, when not leading to atheism, were too heavily dependent upon borrowings from the Buddhist and Daoist pantheisms, and thus a great impediment to conversion to Catholicism. The Five Classics he regarded more as products of natural reason; they might reveal the early Chinese belief in a monotheistic God, but they did not generally qualify as religious materials. Accordingly, the earliest Chinese philosophical works to be translated into Western languages were the Four Books. Convention gives 1662 for the translation of the "Great Learning"; 1667-69 for the "Doctrine of the Mean"; 1687 for the Analects; and 1711 for the Mencius, but see Knud Lundbaek (1979). Translation of the Five Classics into Western languages began only in the late nineteenth century, though individual passages drawn from the Five Classics were discussed in earlier Western works (e.g., Father Bouvet's [1656-1730] letters from Peking to the philosopher Leibniz included information about the Yijing). For further information, see David Mungello (1985).
- 10 4 "...Mo Di (d.390 BC?)"—Mo Di, a deserter from the Ru camp, deplored its tendency to secular humanism and apolitical gentility.

- 11 2 "...Heaven and Earth"—XZYD 2/1/26-30 (Knoblock, vol. I, pp. 139-40; trans. modified from Watson, pp. 19-20). Note the curious role that music (or a Music Classic) plays here in connection with the Odes and with the Rites. As noted above, the fate of the Music classic is unknown. See chap. 4 for further information.
- 11 3 "...within human society"—This approach continued long after Xunzi, for example, with the Jingzhou school of interpretation in late Han. See Pang Pu ((1997), I, 155.
- 11 4 "...a near homophone"—See GSR 831c, 831f. The early Chinese believed that words which sounded or looked alike derived from the same origin, and so were fundamentally related. The work of William G. Boltz pays special attention to the early Chinese thinkers' propensity to rely upon paronomastic glosses in their rhetorical arguments. See also Bernhard Karlgren (1933); N.J. Girardot (1983), esp. chap. 1; Rolf Stein (1942).
- 11 4 "...transmitted by Confucius"—See Harada Masami (1984), pp. 101-102; Hiraoka Takeo (1983), chap. 1, citing bronze inscriptions. HFZ uses jing in the same manner as Xunzi. Cf. the Han dictionary Shiming 6, "Shi tian yi," p. 12a.
- 11 4 "...of its excellence"—On the classic as a constant that has stood the test of time, see Zheng Xuan's commentary to HC 3/1b (zhang 7). Consider also the writings ascribed to Dong Zhongshu, who associates the classic with constant principles, thereby opposing the classic to what he regards as secondary teachings contained in traditional commentaries and oral traditions (CCFL 43/230a). For further information, see Anne Cheng (1985), esp. chap. 1; Xiong Shili (1960), p. 1; Kao Ming (1982), p. 45. Note also the conflation of *jing* and *jing* evident in the expression *jingshi*, which appears in Zhuangzi in the sense of "passing through the ages" but comes to mean "what is constant through the ages" and also what "orders the world." I thank Hymes and Schirokauer (1993), p. 56, for pointing this out.
- 11 4 "...course of history"—Cf. CQYD 389/Chao 15/fu ii, which speaks of the "great jing of the [true] king." Cf. SSTC 16.0243 (Karlgren, p. 21, par. 9).. And because jing can also mean "to divide the land," possibly because the construction of roads and irrigation ditches imitates the grid pattern of woven material, one could also see in the Five Classics the function of precisely laying out a sacred space or pattern.
- 12 1 "...the sociocosmic fabric"—SW 13A:127b. Cf. (a) the Shiming's definition of jing, "it may be constantly employed" (6/12a); and (b) Liu Xie's definition in the "Zong jing" chapter of the WXDL: "The classic is the constant, ultimate way; the imperishable, great moral teaching." Note that the term jing also indicates "boundary" or "demarcation," a sense closely related to the notion of warp, as it also defines spatial demarcation. Note, for comparison's sake, that the Upanishads search for the threads on which the world is woven.
- 12 2 "...when citing authorities"—Ikeda Shûzô (1983), p. 67, makes an important point: Whereas we emphasize the differences (in origins, in function, in style) between the apocrypha and the Five Classics, interest in the apocrypha was instrumental to the popularity of classical learning from late Western Han times. As Xia Zengyou (d. 1924) in his textbook on Chinese history, wrote, "Anyone who undertakes to interpret the classics must at the same time accept the apocrypha, for without this the classics are incomprehensible." See Xia (1935); cf. Hummel, p. 79. LH 82:565, in fact, argues that the "canonical texts rely on their traditions for explanations" without which it would be impossible to "transmit the ideas" and "adopt the intent" of the sages.

- 12 3 "...exemplars of the past"—For the first point, see FY 8:23; for the second, FY 2:6; for the third, numerous texts; for the fourth, HHS 83:2766: "Chantting the Odes and Documents, playing the zither, to give myself pleasure"; and Nylan (1993). John Henderson (1991) has summarized six requirements for the canon; it must be (1) comprehensive and all-encompassing; (2) well-ordered and coherent; (3) self-consistent; (4) moral; (5) profound; (6) without superfluities. Kidder Smith (1993), p. 5, understands the Five Classics as "various written strategies for comprehending the Whole."
- 13 2 "...excels in governance"—CCFL 2/8b, long attributed to Dong Zhongshu, but quite possibly by a later, Six Dynasties author.
- 13 3 "...without the Five Classics"—FY 5:13; 2:5.
- 13 4 "...serve his purpose"—OYX 59/17b.
- 14 1 "...and 'rational choice'"—Over the years, certain idealists (including Northrop Frye, T.S. Eliot, and Harold Bloom) have concluded that "the existing monuments ... form an ideal order among themselves," so that neither patronage nor subjective judgment could substantially interfere with the process by which the true classic comes to be recognized as such. Critics of that position (who include Michel Foucault, James Clifford, and Pierre Bourdieu) tend to see the idealists as either stupendously naive or utterly devious; either they have been beguiled by "the humanist's fantasy of transcendence, endurance, and universality" or they cynically work to protect the current status quo, since it insures their professional authority. Taking two scholars at the opposite ends of the spectrum, Hans-Georg Gadamer believes that the idea of the classic exists today because the classics are uniquely unmediated; they "speak to us directly." Barbara Herrnstein Smith counters Gadamer's contention by arguing that a classic by definition has been so thoroughly mediated (i.e., reevaluated and reinterpreted) by the culture which upholds it that the mediation has become all but invisible to members of that culture. Occupying the middle ground are the "critical historicists" (for instance, Jerome McGann), who assert that even the greatest of masterpieces may drop out of the canon as products of particular social and historical circumstances. When John Guillory weighs in, he tries to refine the debate by showing that the early canon-makers (unlike their modern defenders, the idealists) were relatively unconcerned with the aesthetic heights or universal appeal of a given text; rather, they were concerned with how texts would measure up to the standards of a community of committed, even visionary individuals. (The very word *kanon*, after all, originally refers to a "measuring rod.") See Northrop Frye, quoted in Barbara Smith (1984), pp. 9-11.
- 14 1 "...transmits its values"—This is what Addison referred to as "Graces that arise merely from the Antiquity of an Author."
- 14 1 "...pernicious social engineering"—John Guillory (1990), p. 229.
- 14 1 "...the creative act"—Jerome Silbergeld (1998), p. 18. John Guillory (1990) argues that elite institutions didn't need to actively suppress or actively exclude works from the canon, since only certain groups were educated enough to write books that qualified for the canon. Nathan Sivin has made much the same point in a private communication to me. HS 88:3619 shows that the emperor's preferences hugely influenced would-be scholar-bureaucrats in deciding which scholastic lineages to study.
- 15 2 "...certain institutional structures"—For the identity of things Chinese and things Confucian, see Don Wyatt (1990), p. 34. For the pun *zheng* (government) = *zheng* (rectitude), see LJ 27/2. For the term "epistemological optimism," see Thomas Metzger (1990), p. 287.
- 15 2 "...in the forest"—HHS 32:1126, "explicating the Classics" implied by the context.

- 17 1 "...of Chinese history"—On the "uncrowned king" (literally, the "plain king" with no ceremonial garb), see chap. 6, on the Annals; also, Luo Mengce (1982), esp. pp. 69-87; and Wang Baoxuan (1994), esp. p. 158ff. The earliest extant occurrences known to date of the term *suwang* are to be found in Western Han texts (the *Huainanzi*, last chapters of the *Zhuangzi*, and the *Shiji*). See Morohashi 27500.335. On the elevation of Confucius's rank to a level near that of heaven, see Hall and Ames (1995), p. 201; Dull (1966), App. 2, esp. p. 520ff. Han thinkers were very interested in the question why the Supreme Sage did not become sage-king. Most sensibly concluded, along with Yang Xiong in FY 10:30, that the problem was that Confucius had had no rank or fief from which to begin his climb to power. In Song, the blame was often put upon Confucius's pure but thin *qi*, an inferior patrimony in another sense. See, for example, Zhu's *Wenji* 55/33a-b.
- 17 1 "...appeared to say"—Cf. Kermode's assertion that the classic will not be created "unless we are willing it to be capable of saying more than its author meant." See Frank Kermode (1975), p. 80.
- 17 2 "...and eternal peace"—See, e.g., HHS 29:1025; also Matsumoto Masaaki (1973), pp. 209-19. This led Ouyang Xiu centuries later to denounce the "narrowness and vulgarity of the Han Ru." He asked, "How could Confucius have written the Annals simply for the Han?" See OYX 135/3a.
- 17 2 "...the Han state"—See Iwamoto Kenji (1983), for more on Confucius's role vis-à-vis the Classics. Certainly, the foregoing discussion does not imply that the transformation of Confucius to demigod was either quick or total. The work of Michael Loewe in particular has demonstrated how long and how partial was adherence to Confucius-as-god, since a variety of other views (some new and some claiming equal classical authority) were also promoted in the Han and post-Han periods. See Loewe (1974) and (1994), for example.
- 17 2 "...of the Sage"—He Xiu, subcommentary to Duke Yin 1.
- 18 1 "...the human status"—Hence the post-Han debates over Confucius's status as *suwang*, Lu aristocrat, or teacher, for example, that in AD 485, at the court of Emperor Wu of the Southern Qi.
- 18 1 "...becoming a classic"—KCZ 5/19b, trans. after Yoav Ariel (1986), p. 54. Note the parallel conversion of the term *wen*, which originally referred to refined form or to official writings adopting past models, but which eventually came to refer more broadly to exemplary literary writings in general.
- 18 1 "...it remained open"—John Henderson (1991), pp. 49-50, remarks repeatedly on the relative openness of the Chinese canon. For the failure to separate canon and commentary even in Tang, see Carine Defoort (1996), p. 59. For an example of the conflation of canon and commentary, see SJ 31:1475; there, when Sima Qian appears to cite the Annals as authority, he actually refers to traditions attached to the Annals, which are now identified with the Zuo. For similar reasons, many references to the Changes actually refer to the apocrypha associated with the divination text. See, e.g., FSTY 5:35. As should be clear below, the elevation of commentary to Classic is the main factor in the expansion of the state-sponsored canon from Five to Thirteen Classics. Furthermore, this propensity to conflate canon and commentary becomes extremely important in the context of the Modern Script/Archaic Script controversies (discussed below). The blurring of canonical text and commentary continued through the Ming, so that the Jesuits didn't always know whether they were quoting canon or commentary. See Henry Rosement (1994). This makes sense since the ultimate goal was not the preservation of specific canonical writings, but mastering a proper way of life.

- 18 1 "...limited to five"—Some Han texts refer to the Six Classics, basing themselves on early Western Han masters like Jia Yi. In the HHS biography of Zhang Chun, there is also a mention of Seven Classics (the Six Classics plus the Analects), a term which is also used by some few authors (e.g., Quan Zuwang), but which never became popular. See HHS 35:1196.
- 18 1 "...grown to thirteen"—From the original Five Classics (Odes, Documents, Rites, Changes, and Annals), the Nine Classics were easily generated when the three Rites classics were counted as three instead of one and the Annals, the Gongyang, and Guliang traditions were counted as three. See Pi Xirui (1907), chap. 2. The Ehr-ya classical lexicon was also included in a second list for the Nine, which required that the Gongyang and Guliang commentaries be counted as one. In a third list, the Classic of Filial Piety and the Analects replaced the Gongyang and Guliang traditions. Hui Tong (1697-1758) in the Qing offers a fourth list of Nine Classics, in his enthusiasm for Han Learning: the Changes, the Documents, the Odes, the three Rites texts, the Gongyang and Guliang commentaries, and the Analects. See his *Jiujing guyi*, dated to 1773. The Thirteen Classics were the Odes, the Documents, the Changes, the three Rites classics (counted as three instead of one), the Annals and the Zuo (counted as one), the Gongyang and Guliang commentaries to the Annals (counted as two), the Erya (the earliest Chinese lexicon), the Analects, the Classic of Filial Piety, and the Mencius. For the Tang lists, see also Lu Deming (556-627) in his *Jingdian shiwen*; and for the Song list, various Song texts, including the *Yuhai* (late 13th c.) and the Song Stone Classics based partly on the *Yi wen lei zhu* by Ouyang Xun (557-641).
- 18 1 "...case in point"—Many scholars have long suspected that Wang Su (195-256) forged as many as five new classics to advance his own readings of the classics at the expense of those of Zheng Xuan (127-200), including the Family Sayings of Confucius and the Kong Family Masters' Anthology. In later times of intellectual ferment, forgeries and interpolations would continue. For example, Wang Tong in the Tang dynasty felt free to compose pieces to fill in the lost portions of the Odes and Documents, as did Liu Kai (947-1000) and Zhu Xi (1130-1200) in the Song. Zhu Xi inserted a paragraph of his own into a section on perfecting knowledge included in the text of the "Great Learning." And later, during the Jiajing reign period (1522-1566) in Ming, an attempt was made to put forward three pseudo-classical forgeries for inclusion in the corpus, two in connection with the Odes and one with the Documents. For Wang Su's probable forgeries, see Yoav Ariel (1989), contra R. Kramers (1949); Kageyama Seiichi (1970), pp. 53-56; Kaga Eiji (1964), pp. 50-187. For the Ming forgeries, see Xia Fucui (1993), pp. 191-94.
- 18 1 "...many orthodox classicists"—For an entire list of *jing* ("classics") outside the Ru tradition, see Zhou Yutong (1968); Liu Shippei (1936), p. 2355.
- 18 2 "...the historical Confucius"—There have been exceptions. Liao Ping at the turn of the century wrote in his essay "Zhi sheng pian" that all Six Classics belonged to Confucius alone. If the Six Classics were mere historical accounts of the Zhou dynasty, rather than the original creations of Confucius, then how could Confucius be considered the greatest man in all of human history? See Wang Fansen (1987), p. 96.
- 18 2 "...Supreme Sage himself"—Zhang Yiren (1991), for example, seems to argue that Confucius may have been the author of the Annals. While Confucius might have used an annals of the state of Lu (a Lu Chunqiu) to teach his disciples, it is extremely unlikely that either the Chunqiu or *Yijing* existed in their present form at the time of Confucius. The evidence from Mencius is very confusing. Zhao Qi (d. AD 201), commentator to Mencius, says that Mencius was especially well versed in the Odes and the Documents, but the Mencius text is certainly preoccupied with the Chunqiu. For further information, see Pi Xirui (1907), p. 55, n. 2.

- 19 2 "...the medieval period"—See GY 17:191 ("Chuyu"), where the young scion of a noble house is to learn the four disciplines (with the *Chunqiu* in this passage almost certainly a reference to the state archival records, not to one of the Classics), along with rhetoric, precedents, and the legal code.
- 19 2 "...founded an academy"—Beginning with Plato, the word "academy" suggests an institution fixed in a particular place with a set order of studies for all students. Confucius, determined to proselytize any lord of the land that would listen, did not enjoy the luxury of a fixed abode, so he took his best disciples with him on his journeys (e.g., Yan Hui, Ran Qiu, and Zilu). He also quite consciously varied teaching subjects and methods according to the individual requirements of each student. See Analects 11/22; Waley, 158 [renum.]. Nathan Sivin has long argued that the so-called Jixia Academy in pre-Qin times was no academy at all. It is probably only in the Han period that proper academies were founded.
- 19 2 "...without receiving instruction"— Analects 7/7 (Waley, 124).
- 19 2 "...the initial interview"—Analects 7/28 (Waley, 129). Cf. *ibid.*, 11/2, which states that none of Confucius's adherents were in public service in Chen and Cai. The Analects also suggests that Confucius found the readiest audience for his message in students outside his own family, though claims for his family's superior knowledge of Ru tradition would be made over and over again by the Kong family as soon as Confucius was worth claiming as kin.
- 19 3 "...loss in conversation"—Analects 16/13 (Waley, 207). By the Odes, I refer to the received anthology; by the odes, to the individual songs, which may not have been known primarily from a written text at the time of Confucius. See chap. 2.
- 19 3 "...of that name"—The Analects clearly cites odes now in the current anthology. It cites traditions similar to those found in the received Documents, as well. Competing versions of the Documents were in circulation long after the time of Confucius, so citations in the Analects to documents need not refer to a single, specific authoritative version of the text.
- 19 3 "...of self-cultivation"—It is clear from even one passage in the Zhuangzi (ZZYD 91/33/9) that these four subjects of learning (shi, shu, li, and yue) were associated with the classicists. Cf. CQYD 130/Xi 27/5 Zuo, which calls "rites, music, odes, and documents" the "repository of social duty." Of course, the idea of moral self-cultivation took on a soteriological dimension. See Rodney Taylor (1988).
- 20 1 "...and the Music"—Some three years after I first hazarded this hypothesis in the draft chapter of the introduction, I came upon confirmation in Liu Qiyu (1987), p. 3. Xunzi's first chapter shows that the Rites by his time was one or more texts "to be read." It seems from Xunzi's chapter that classicists were also to study a Music text. See XZYD 2/1/26-30. According to Lothar von Falkenhausen (private communication), the early history of the Music Classic is "utterly elusive." The very few quotations preserved from it do not always correspond with "Yueji" chap. (Liji), though that may simply mean that the latter text is incomplete. One hypothesis (of several) is that the Music Classic was incorporated into the Liji, where it was rechristened "Music Record" ("Yue ji"). But the "Yue ji" is so highly influenced by Five Phases thinking that it cannot date from a very early period, as a Music Classic — if it ever existed — would have. (The argument that a Music Classic is preserved as a chapter in the Shiji does not stand, since the Shiji chapter is a later addition.) In any event, a separate Music Classic seems not to have existed by early Western Han. See HS 30:1711, which lists no such classic, but only a "Music Record" in 23 pian edited by the Han scholar Liu Xiang (79-8 BC). To date, the best material on this difficult subject is Qiu Qionsun (1964). For a general overview of the place of music in a classical Chinese education, see Kenneth DeWoskin (1982); Tamaki Naoyuki (1988).

- 20 2 "...sage-kings of antiquity"—Mencius compared Confucius to the mythical unicorn, the phoenix, and Mt. Tai; he also said that "from the birth of mankind until now, there has never been one so complete [a sage] as Confucius." See Mencius 2A/2 (Lau, 80). Still, as late as Western Han, in the works of many classicists there is no hint of this transformation of Confucius into a divinity with a mission to prepare the path for the Han dynasty. Note that Mencius is the first extant author to claim Confucius as author of the Chunqiu. Mencius said nothing, however, about Confucius's writing or editing any of the other four "Confucian" Classics, as noted in Kurata Nobuyasu (1986). Nor is Confucius presented as editor/author of the Five Classics in the Xunzi or Zhuangzi.
- 20 2 "...of the aristocracy"—Contra Yü Ying-shih (1980), pp. 10-56, which seems to argue that a "philosophic breakthrough" occurred among the members of the shi group when Confucianism replaced the old educational curriculum based on the Six Arts with a new one based on the Six Classics.
- 20 2 "...all educated Chinese"—Examples that prove this point are numerous. It is clear that the so-called Legalist inscriptions on the Qin stele, for example, cite the Odes and the Documents as core elements of the imperial (not opposition) canon; cf. the work of Han Feizi, which repeatedly cites the Shi and the Shu as authorities, or the work of Mozi, which cites the Documents in the same fashion. For the Qin stele inscriptions, see Martin Kern, "The Professionals at Work: Official Scholars and Their Texts at the Ch'in Imperial Court," unpublished paper prepared for the University of Chicago Workshop (Nov. 6-7, 1999), on the "Sociology of Writing."
- 20 3 "...and human history"—It is far from clear that all of the Ten Wings had been compiled or transcribed before Han times. Du Yu (222-284) in his postface ("Hou xu") to the Zuozhuan (1a) reported that a manuscript of the Changes excavated in AD 279 from the tomb of King Xiang of Wei (d. 296 BC) did not include the "Xi ci" or other Ten Wings, though it did include a lost text of "yin/yang explanations." Li Xueqin (1992), pp. 183-88, reviews all the evidence surrounding that early find. It certainly seems, however, from recent finds at Mawangdui, Baoshan, Guodian, and elsewhere, that interpretive essays in the classicizing mode were associated with the Changes for at least two centuries prior to 221 BC. The date of late fourth or third c. BC given here derives from the Guodian manuscripts (Hubei), one of which specifically names the Changes in a list of the Five Classics. Also, unconfirmed reports tell of a Changes text [not the Mawangdui version] and certain Ru writings on ritual now in the possession of the Shanghai Museum, but these are as yet unpublished.
- 21 1 "...frame of reference"—The adoption of old terms to carry new meanings is not uncommon in China. It seems that Ru scholars borrowed the old compound *liuyi* (Six Polite Arts) in order to lend the weight of hallowed tradition to their own curriculum. The terms "Six Arts" and "Six Classics" were equally common until the second century of Han rule. For these additions to the canon, see Matsumoto Masaaki (1970), pp. 130-35.

- 21 2 "...talk of five"—The six-five distinction reflected distinct conceptual choices in early times, so that some Han texts describe the cosmic forces in terms of *taiji* (The Supreme Ultimate) whereas others speak of the Five Phases. Therefore early references to the six classics, as in Jia Yi's *Xin shu*, may seek to assert the unity and power of the entire corpus, as distinct from the authority of each of the five separate texts. (By setting the ruler among the other powers, proponents of six also implicitly proposed a certain model of the proper relations between ruler and subjects.) Note also that in Han numerology the number six signified the Shang and Qin dynasties and Huang Di, while the number five was associated with the Xia and Zhou dynasties (with the latter serving as model for classical Ruist sociopolitical visions) and with Confucius. This might explain why the term Five Classics was widely adopted only after the Han state had embraced Confucius rather than Huang Di as its primary patron. Michael Loewe, the eminent Han historian, alerted me to this possibility.
- 21 2 "...could be satisfied"—Zhuangzi in a late chapter, probably dating to Qin or Han, is the first extant text to refer to all Five Classics as a group. See ZZYD 39/14/75-77; also n. 66 above. Note that there is some question whether the Music Classic ever existed at all in written notation. See n. 56 above.
- 21 3 "...third century BC"—There is the curious statement in the Mencius 4B/21 (Lau, 131) to the effect that the odes or Odes had been "lost" (wang) by the time of Confucius. Note the looseness of the Lau translation here.
- 22 1 "...the Warring States"—The order should therefore be: (1) the oldest parts of the Odes and Documents; (2) the Rites and Music classics; and the (3) the Yijing and Annals (dated late because they only enter the canon by virtue of their commentaries, which were reputedly authored in whole or in part by Confucius). Bruce Brooks in the WSWG papers, oddly enough, dates the compilation of the Odes to about the time of compilation of the Zuo, which Brooks puts at ca. 305 BC. Note how hard the Mencius must argue for the superiority of the Annals, as it was known to have been written after the time of the sage-kings.
- 22 1 "...into the canon"—For the involvement of Xunzi and his followers with the Changes, see Li Xueqin (1992), pp. 98-109. Note also the curious fact that the Bohutong, which summarizes the results of a court debate on orthodoxy in AD 79, does not include the Annals in its list of Five Classics, presumably because a classic attributed to Confucius was not considered sufficiently ancient.
- 23 1 "...and cosmological speculations"—For prognostication in the Zuo zhuan, see Mori Hideki (1976); Hellmut Wilhelm (1959); and Kidder Smith (1989); also, chap. 5 of this book. Mori shows how unskeptical the Zuo is towards the prognostication process, since nearly all of its predictions come true, unless the text specifically tells us that the diviners manipulated the process for private gain.
- 23 2 "...break under pressure"—See Hu Shi (1930). The word Ru is etymologically related to *rou*, meaning "mild" or "pliant," which may relate to one legend that describes Confucius's weak back. See HSWC v/14; 9/18. But, Liu Shippei (1908), citing an explanation given by Liu Xin (53 BC-AD 23), suggests that the Ru were the (spiritual?) descendants of the Zhou dynasty office of Minister over the Masses (*si tu*). For other interpretations, see below. Note that many have assumed that Ru is a taunting reference to classicists as bookworms, but since the early Ru were masters of ritual, not of texts, such a taunt would be anachronistic until Eastern Han.

- 23 3 "...in 770 BC"—For these legends, recorded in the *Shiji* and the *Kongzi jiayu*, see Zhang Binglin (1910); Hu Shi (1930), both of which argue that the Ru were religious specialists who later became secular teachers in service to the ruling lineages of the Central States civilization; Rao Zongyi (1954); Martin Lu (1983), pp. 1-5. Lionel Jensen (1997), chap. 3, seems to imply that these legends were largely invented by Zhang Binglin in 1910 and by Hu Shi in 1930, but component parts of the legends can be found much earlier, as for example in CQYD 366/Chao 7/6 Zuo. On the possible origins of the legend, see Pang Pu (1997), vol. I, p. 18ff. The veracity of these legends has been criticized on good grounds by Tu Cheng-sheng (1982). Tradition also says that the father of Confucius was a fighter known for his extraordinary physical strength, whose death left his son nearly destitute (SJ 47:1909), another instance of the theme of strength in weakness. Such legends have been woven into the prize-winning novel by Inoue Yasushi (1989), which has been translated by Zheng Minqin (1990). A much inferior — if still enjoyable — account may be found in the English-language novel by Yang Shu'an (1993). Note the anachronistic character of all legends that refer to strongly centralized Shang and Zhou "empires."
- 23 3 "...suffering and dislocation"—See HS 62:2735 (Watson 1958, p. 64), for Sima Qian's famous theory, which had an enormous impact on later literary theory in China.
- 25 2 "...impress the multitudes"—MZYD 64/39/46-48 (trans. modified from Eno [1990a], p. 53).
- 25 3 "...love of learning"—SJ 121:3117; HS 88:3593.
- 25 4 "...pursued cultural refinement"—See *Analects* 11/3; cf. Uno Seiichi (1952), p. 412.
- 25 4 "...to use them"—*Analects* 5/21 (Waley, 113).
- 26 1 "...and ethical orientation"—HFZ 19:50:351 (Liao, vol. II, p. 298). The usual translation is "eight groups" of Ru, but it is by no means clear that these were well-organized groups; it seems rather that there were eight sorts of moral orientations.
- 26 1 "...and liturgical variations"—E.g., XZYD 16/6/14 (Knoblock, vol. I, p. 224).
- 23 2 "...and human orders"—See Zhou Yutong (1926) and (1968), on this; also, Qian Mu (1942).
- 26 3 "...reanimating the old"—See *Analects* 2/11 (Waley, 90), which Pound translates as "MAKE IT NEW."
- 26 4 "...exciting intellectual ferment"—According to FSTY 1:1 (Preface), which slightly expands on Liu Xin's "Qi lue," cited in the introductory remarks of Bann Gu to HS 30:1701: "Long ago, with the death of Zhongni [the courtesy name for Confucius], the subtle phrasing associated with the Way was lost. Then, with the death of his seventy direct disciples, Confucius's meaning was further distorted. The harm was multiplied over successive generations through the Warring States period, when the Horizontal and Vertical alliances [between competing kingdoms set on conquest] came into being. Minds were divided over likes and dislikes, and battles waged over truth and falsehood. As a result, the Spring and Autumn interpretive lines divided into five distinct groups; the Odes, into four. The Changes had many traditions reflecting different scholastic filiations. What's more, due to the teachings of various masters in the Hundred Scholarly Lines, utter confusion reigned, and no one knew how it had come about!" Cf. HHS 44:1500, citing a memorial of Xu Fang.
- 27 1 "...from one another"—Paul Serruys (1956). Takeuchi Yoshio (1939) has shown this for the *Analects*. Note that exact transmission is unlikely even in the case of written records.

- 28 1 "...writings on ethics"—Beginning in the fourth century BC, a number of tombs include a variety of texts. Presumably, the imperial library would have contained a very large number of texts on a wide range of subjects.
- 29 1 "...associated with them"—Legend says that the court magicians from the eastern seacoast area promised the First Emperor immortality, if he would only follow their prescriptions. Li Si is the subject of a biographical study by Derk Bodde (1938), pp. 80-84, 162-66 of which specifically address the Burning of the Books proscription.
- 29 1 "...to the ruler"—Anne Cheng (1995), following Gu Jiegang (1978), shows just how close the association between Ru (classical scholars) and fangshi (magicians) was at the time. Several works by Kanaya Osamu, including his 1992 general history, also reflect upon this connection.
- 29 2 "...a divination text"—FY 5:13. HS 88:3597 says specifically that the Changes text suffered no damage under Qin; its line of transmission was supposedly not broken.
- 29 2 "...only 29 chapters"—See LH 61.
- 29 2 "...machinery of state"—Saiki Tetsurô (1986) makes the case that many Ru (classicists) strongly supported unification under Qin.
- 29 3 "...bear close scrutiny"—Mao Zedong, for example, frequently celebrated it as a glorious event. See Kam Louie (1980). But even Wang Chong's Qin's Lunheng (chap. 81) reported, "There are some who, in talking of Qin's burning the Odes and the Documents texts, contend that the classics were not burnt." For a reasoned assessment in modern times, see CHOC, vol. I, 69-72; pp. 94-98; Ulrich Neininger (1983); and most especially, Martin Kern (2000).
- 29 3 "...them to destruction"—Admittedly, the Annals might qualify as "the history of a defeated kingdom," a category of book specifically marked for suppression. But no one could plausibly claim that the Annals history particularly glorified Lu (see chap. 6). A number of scholars decry the use of the term "feudal" to describe the Zhou empire; I find some of their objections valid but have not discovered a better term.
- 29 3 "...in general circulation"—Jia Yi writing in early W. Han, before the full-scale demonization of Qin had begun, says specifically that Qin burned the *bojia zhi shu* (a term that refers either to the old wisdom books or to the books of Warring States thinkers); he says nothing about any destruction of the Five Classics. This is significant, as Jia Yi so strongly promotes them. See XinS 1/2a. LH 82 contends that only the Documents and Annals suffered losses, since they were the only Classics based on histories of the elite, instead of on the common people's lives. For a modern critical review of this issue, see Jens Petersen (1995), which concludes that the target of the Qin proscription was the "wisdom books" that contained historical anecdotes. Petersen, unlike Nylan, assumes that both the Odes and the Documents were burned. See his p. 9.
- 30 1 "...of classical scholarship"—It should also be noted that the three main sources for early classicism (the "Rulin" accounts in SJ 121; HS 88; and HHS 79AA-B) consistently blame the massive decline of the Ru on the previous dynasty, the better to praise contemporaries who helped to reconstruct the Way. Hence the Shiji blames the wars attending the collapse of the Zhou dynasty; the Han shu, the reign of the First Emperor of Qin; and the Hou Hanshu, the regimes of the "usurpers" Wang Mang (r. AD 8-23) and Gengshi (r. 23-25). Because the Han shu account is (suspiciously) fuller than that offered by the Shiji, its version of early classicism may well have triumphed.

- 30 2 "...throughout the empire"—John Henderson (1991), p. 39. That so many titles were included later in the Western Han imperial library catalogue (whose contents are listed in HS 30) suggests that the Qin proscription against "private learning" was ineffective or at least less draconian than it is usually portrayed. Of course, members of the imperial family, as well as of the imperial bureaucracy, would have had texts in their possession. Not all texts known to the Qin court would have been housed in the Qin imperial library. Note that some scholars have theorized that the near destruction of Hebrew culture during the forty years spent wandering in the desert is said to have prompted Jews to set the Pentateuch down in writing.
- 30 3 "...transmission and memory"—The Documents, for example, are only some 17,000 characters long. Since so many of the canons had been orally transmitted, even a rupture of several decades in the written tradition should not have had a major effect on scholarship. Quite possibly, however, some few minor classics were lost at this time. Recent archaeological finds in China include certain texts that had been transcribed and disseminated in the pre-Han era but not included in the HS 30 catalogue, which purports to be a record of holdings in the Han imperial library. Note also that in oral traditions there is no such thing as verbatim repetition, though oral traditions like the Vedas represent nearly verbatim transmission. For the invention of paper (whose dating has occasioned much debate), see below.
- 30 3 "...restored under Han"—See SJ 121:3120-22; HS 88:3593.
- 30 3 "...days of Qin"—In other words, many pre-Qin texts may have been rewritten under the guise of preserving them.
- 31 1 "...Emperor Jing (r.156-141BC)—See Wang Kuo-wei (1928) 1A:19-20, for Master Shen, for the Odes; 1A:9, for Chao Cuo, for the Documents; 1A:37, for Master Huumu, for the Annals. All these masters are mentioned in SJ 121, the chapter devoted to the "Forest of Ru."
- 31 2 "...generations of readers"—See John Guillory (1990), p. 237.
- 32 1 "...other theoretical traditions"—Cf. Hall and Ames (1995), p. 210.
- 32 1 "...by that time"—SJ 121:3116. "Glossy and appealing" is my translation for the phrase *runse*.
- 32 1 "...in the capital"—SJ 121:3115 shows the Odes and the Documents as supplemental aides to the Ru course in rites and music. (Admittedly, even some Eastern Han masters, such as Han Rong, wore distinctive Ru robes, continuing older traditions.) See HHS 37:1250.) For the later anecdote, see YTL 4:19:37 (Gale, 123). Contrast also SJ 121:3116 with HHS 79A:2545, and SJ 121 on the Rulin which associates the classicists primarily with rites and music, with HS 88:3598, which stresses the importance of texts to the classicists. For further information, see Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan (forthcoming).
- 32 1 "...the canonical status"—The Wei family was definitely in charge until the Wei empress was forced to commit suicide in 91 BC in the aftermath of allegations about witchcraft. Even in the last years of his reign, Emperor Wu relied mainly upon Huo Guang, who was related to the Wei by marriage. For further information, see Michael Loewe (1974), chap. 2. Loewe has suggested that Emperor Wu enjoyed less power than is commonly thought.

- 32 2 "...state-sponsored academic activities"—Brooks in the WSWG papers correctly doubts that Sima Tan's classificatory system existed in pre-Han times; such a system was unlikely to do justice to the variety, fluidity, and possible interaction of the various viewpoints before the Han library classification system — and probably afterward. Michael Loewe (1994), p. 16, revising earlier Sinologists' overly simplistic assignment of thinkers to Confucian, Daoist, or Legalist schools, writes, "Such a simplification has given way to the acceptance that Chinese, no less than other thinkers, could draw eclectically on existing theories and contribute by formulating a synthesis of ideas to suit the times and circumstances in which they lived." Put another way, historical evidence reveals persons applying considerable intellect and initiative to arrive at conclusions germane to their circumstances. We have no idea whether Sima Tan's bibliographical categories were imposing an order or reflecting a preexisting order. The *Shiji* by Sima Tan and Sima Qian is the first to mention Confucius as author/editor of the Five Classics. See, e.g., SJ 130:3296-98. However, a relatively late chapter in the *Zhuangzi* says that Confucius "put in order" Six Classics (*liu jing*), the Five Classics plus a music text. See ZZYD 39/14/75-77. A.C. Graham dates this chapter 14 to the second century BC, about the time of Sima Qian. For later texts claiming Confucius as author/editor of the Five Classics, see, e.g., CIS, II, 42. Nemoto Makoto (1971) argues that something like the Five Classics must have been used by Confucius to teach his disciples, but there is no reason to believe that Confucius's curriculum relied primarily on texts.
- 33 1 "...the Six Lines"—Note that the standard translation of "schools" for *jia* carries the wrong connotation, for it implies the existence of organized institutions of learning. In the pre-Han period there were no standard schools or academies, and the term *jia* indicated specialists in a specific line of scholastic filiation. Perhaps "interpretive lineage" comes closest to the real meaning of *jia*; hence my translation here. For further information, see Czikszenmihalyi and Nylan (forthcoming).
- 33 2 "...improve upon them"—SJ 130:3290.
- 33 4 "...the scholars perished"—Those patrons included in their number Lü Buwei in Qin, and in Han such aristocratic patrons as Liu An, King of Huainan; Liu Pi, King of Wu; and Liu De, King of Hejian. Yü Ying-shih has shown that at least five aristocratic patrons of letters were active at the beginning of Emperor Wu's reign. See Yü Ying-shih (1980), pp. 85-86; cf. Ch'ü T'ung-tsu (1972a), pp. 127-30, 133-35, 188, 412-418.
- 33 4 "...and usable past"—J.H. Plumb (1970), p. 41.
- 34 1 "...the Han throne"—The Wei family was known for its love of mammoth projects and its imperial pretensions. Dong's vision may also have flattered the young emperor, who was anxious to flex his political muscles.
- 34 1 "...supreme moral authority"—This promotion campaign would take two forms, one associated with the Modern Script School and the other with Ban Biao's "On the Destiny of Kings" (*wang ming*) theory, but both forms emphasized the legacy of accumulated virtues of the Liu clan.
- 34 1 "...possibly do so?"—HS 56:2504-5. The *Shiji* mentions Zhao Wan and Wang Zang as the prime movers behind the changes, but the *Hanshu* focuses instead on Dong Zhongshu, perhaps because Zhao and Wang had died in disgrace. Both the *Shiji* and *Hanshu* acknowledge the important role of Tian Fen in persuading Wudi to have the HuangLao proponents dismissed from important positions at court and to reserve the Academicians' posts for masters of the Five Classics. Tian Fen's actions can be explained by Tian's fierce factional struggle with members of the Dou clan, chief ideological backers of HuangLao theory.

- 35 1 "... the royal domain"—See Gary Arbuckle (1987) and Sarah Queen (1991), for Dong's interest in omenology.
- 35 2 "...by current events"—HS 56:2500, HS 56:2502, HS 56:2509, HS 56:2515. For Dong's related elaboration of the Three Ages theory, see Fung Yu-lan (19953), vol. II, pp. 81-87. Much later, in the Song, the Imperial Seminar lecturer Fan Ziyu (1041-1098) advanced somewhat similar arguments to the effect that the Song dynasty was exempt from the forces of historical decay because of the moral excellence of its founders. See Michael Freeman (1974), p. 58.
- 35 3 "...prestigious official careers"—Pre-Qin imperial sources mention the existence of academicians (boshi) in some of the Eastern Zhou states, but academicians apparently received appointment as court officials (guan) only under Qin. On the role of the earlier boshi (Academicians) at the Qin imperial court, see Kanaya Osamu (1992), 230-57. The order by Emperor Wu, then, would have reinstated the office while perhaps changing the focus of its charge.
- 36 1 "...throne's interpretive monopoly"—To this end, they carefully reserved imperial favor for selected commentaries of the Classics; they lectured on the Classics while overseeing instruction at the Imperial Academy; they had scholars such as Liu Xiang "regulate texts" (*zhishu*) in the imperial collection; they actively discouraged private patronage; they convened periodic court conferences to establish norms and conventions.
- 36 2 "...of course, Dong Zhongshu"—Dong Zhongshu is often called the "father of classicism" (*Ru fu*) or "ancestor of classicism" (*Ru zong*), but a more interesting assessment (perhaps quite cynically) gives this honor to Shusun Tong.
- 36 2 "...the Five Classics"—See SJ 121:3119; HS 30:1701. Note, however, that there may well have been no written examinations on the Five Classics under Emperor Wu, or indeed for two centuries afterward. In AD 132, in a major policy reform, Zuo Xiong convinced Emperor Shun to require a written exam of all Filial and Pious (*xiaolian*) candidates for office. Even that exam may have been intended simply to assure the state that all candidates for office could write the minimum of 900 Chinese characters required for routine bureaucratic duties. Students at the Imperial Academy were to be regularly tested in writing on their knowledge of one or more of the Five Classics, in order to ascertain (a) their basic literacy and (b) their abilities in four discrete areas of study, including the nature of cosmic-social relations and the proper framing of rhetorical arguments. Benjamin Elman (1994a) has shown that in late imperial China candidates for the state examinations could pass if equipped with knowledge of only a single text of the Five Classics, though they needed greater familiarity with the Four Books.
- 36 3 "...of state policies"—SJ 121:3121; HS 65:2863.
- 36 3 "...of state power"—For example, the Gongyang commentary touted by Dong Zhongshu maintained that even the lowest of the king's envoys should outrank the the highest-ranking lords of the land (Duke Xi 8), an idea that Emperor Wu immediately put into effect. The commentary asserted that the lords had no rights in the disposition of land, since "there was no land that was not the king's land" (Duke Huan 1); furthermore, it proposed the death sentence for any lord arrogating powers to himself (Duke Zhuang 4). For further information, see Pu Weizhong (1995), chap. 2.1.
- 37 1 "...credenda of government"—For the classicists' function in "storing and preserving documents," see HS 30:1701, which states that Emperor Wu "established official positions, the sole purpose of which was to write things down in document form ... to fill the imperial archives." Dong Zhongshu himself was said to be good at verbal debate and at drawing up documents (HS 88:3617). For one example of the Ru as masters of symbolic and ritual action, see SJ 121:3117, on Shusun Tong.

- 37 1 "...parlaying false doctrines"—For Dong's imprisonment, see SJ 121:3128. Emperor Wu's personal interests — especially in old age — inclined more to xian (immortality) theories, while his public persona favored Legalistic administrative and penal practices.
- 37 2 "...committed to doing so"—Martin Kern, in both his German dissertation and a forthcoming article, shows that the "Hymns for suburban sacrifice" (Jiao si ke) commissioned by Emperor Wu not only include almost no references to the Five Classics, but differ radically from their "natural" model, the hymns included in the Odes anthology. (At the same time, Kern argues for the presence of self-conscious classicism at the very outset of the Han, since both Qin Shihuang's stele inscriptions and Han Gaozu's ancestral hymns strongly rely on traditional political language derived from the bronzes, the Documents, and the Ya and Song sections of the Odes.) According to Fukui Shigemasa (1994) and (1995), references to the existence of Five Classics Academicians under Emperor Wu may be later interpolations, since the historical records do not mention the Five Classics Academicians from 124 BC until 51 BC, when Emperor Xuan invites the Five Classics boshi to participate in debates at the Shiqu Pavilion. But this merely proves the relative unimportance of the Academicians at court until late Western Han. Certainly a memorial presented by Ban Biao to the throne in ca. AD 50 (HHS 40A:1328) insists that Ru learning and Ru institutions had yet to be fully implemented.
- 37 2 "...each successive emperor"—HS 30:1701 shows that Emperor Wu stored copies of the ancient writings in secret archives. The imperial treasury provided funds for the Imperial Academy under the nominal direction of the court Academicians, so when certain rulers, Emperor An (r. 107-125) of Eastern Han, for instance, professed little interest in supporting scholastic pursuits, educational standards along with the physical plant of the Academy sharply deteriorated.
- 37 2 "...on their grounds"—See HHS 78:1606, 109A:2547; Hans Bielenstein (1976), p. 68ff.; and Tjan (1949), p. 164. For example, Xuandi (r. 73-49 BC) was impatient with "the vulgar Ru who do not understand what is appropriate for the time" with respect to state policy (HS 9:277). Of course, a comparable lack of support for Ru endeavors (especially textual practice) would be less common in late imperial China. Charles Holcombe (1989) and David McMullen (1988) intimate that imperial support for classicism in the supposedly anti-Ru Dark Ages of Wei-Jin and Tang was often at a level roughly comparable with that under Han.
- 38 1 "...Confucian masters advocated"—Which the empire then either failed to attain (as Zhu Xi believed) or failed to sustain (following the dynastic histories' account).
- 38 1 "...his own mind"—FSTY 4:31.
- 38 2 "...officials and masses"—XY A/8b (Ku, 89). Some scholars mistakenly ascribe this sort of thinking to the Legalists, but it represents the position of the "accommodating officials" (*xunli*), many of them famous classicists, rather than that of the harsh officials. On the antithetical impulses to follow precedents or to administer flexibly, see Xing Yitian (1987), pp. 333-411. On the Han admiration for *quan* ("weighing conflicting moral priorities"), see Li Xinlin (1989), chap. 5; also XY A/5 (Ku, 77), which advises the reader to "adapt to the world and weigh moral priorities."
- 38 2 "...with the state"—The belief that Confucian ethical teachings were corrupted by their close association with a state intent upon wealth and power is found in many Han texts, including SJ 121 and FY chaps. 1-2. Filial piety is a pre-Confucian virtue, which Confucius recognized as the base or foundation for the more developed virtues of cultivated men, such as *ren* (humaneness). See Analects 1/2; 1/6; 1/11; 2/5-7.

- 38 2 "...the patriarchal family"—One example, drawn from Qing (1644-1911) dynasty history, should suffice to clarify this idea: Ordinary Chinese in pre-Qing times did not wear the queue; only convicts underwent any shaving of the head, such as was later required for the queue. After the Manchu conquest, however, Chinese were required to wear the queue as a sign of submission to the foreign dynasty. In the early days of the Qing, some Chinese committed suicide rather than accept this humiliation. Over time, however, as Chinese males in the Qing period saw their fathers and grandfathers wearing the queue, that hairstyle became an outward expression of their filial piety. After the downfall of the Qing, therefore, when the new Republic forbade the wearing of the queue, some men committed suicide rather than give up the "traditional" practice. Much can be learned from this: for example, that the same object or activity can mean different things in different settings; also that tradition can be invented and reinvented within a surprisingly short period (in some cases, less than a generation) without a conscious reordering of mental constructs.
- 39 2 "...the state teachings"—For one scholarly example of this propensity to treat all Three Teachings as common illuminations of the Way, see the writings of Jiao Hung (1540?-1620), as detailed in Edward Ch'ien (1986). The term "hegemonic" comes, of course, from the writings of Antonio Gramsci. Arif Dirlik (1995b), p. 35, "It is possible to speak of a 'Confucian discourse' that for a limited group in Chinese society provided a way of speaking about philosophical and political issues, but even that is subject to temporality." Michel Strickmann (1977) and (1979) assert that religious Daoism, as China's oldest indigenous religious tradition, is closer to the center of traditional Chinese culture than classicism. Such arguments are useful, at least, as a corrective to many prevailing assumptions.
- 39 2 "...to Qing (AD 960-1911)"—More Han officials probably entered officialdom through the *ren* privilege (by which close relatives of high officials could be appointed to junior office) or by some other avenue. Still, the most prestigious route to Han government service was either study of the Five Classics or nomination to the "Filial and Incorrupt" category, which supposedly represented Ru values. See Hans Bielenstein (1980), pp. 96-97. In Song times, the examinations became the chief basis for government appointment. See Thomas Lee (1989), esp. p. 108.
- 39 2 "...any unwelcome newcomers"—Social groups identified as unclean (e.g., the Tanka under Tang) were prohibited from sitting the examinations. Those officially assigned merchant or salt merchant status were also forbidden to sit the examinations before Ming, on the grounds that pursuit of profit was antithetical to pursuit of the community good. But in both Song and Ming, a great many of those engaged in trade, along with their sons, were eligible to sit the exams, since the local tax registers listed them as *minji* (commoner status). For the complexities of the Ming tax system, see Ray Huang (1974). (I thank Ben Elman for this reference.) This does not mean that no poor ever advanced through the examination system. Early Western Han in particular records many cases of officials who rose from (comparative?) poverty through their scholarship. And even in AD 242, in a period of reinfudation, when the Wu state appointed Kan Ce tutor to the heir apparent, it was book learning that raised Kan from impoverished farmer to high official. Similarly Huangfu Mi (215-282) was so poor that he had to study while ploughing.
- 40 2 "...of the throne"—Ronguey Chu (1998) discusses four later episodes in which Ming classicists contested imperial power by invoking the superior authority of the Five Classics. As often in such cases, their motivations are difficult to reconstruct..
- 40 2 "...showered with approbation"—FSTY 5:41, trans. after Nylan (1982), pp. 478-84.

- 41 2 "...seen his face"—SJ 121:3127 (Watson, vol. II, p. 410). I am reminded of George Orwell's observation in *Down and Out in Paris and London* that the better the restaurant, the more likely it was that the dishes would be passed from sous-chef to sous-chef, becoming ever more gummy in the process.
- 41 2 "...was not unusual"—HHS 35:1207.
- 42 2 "...residing in heaven"—Peter Boodberg (1940); John deFrancis (1984), pp. 1-22; Mary Erbaugh (1995); cf. J. Unger (1990).
- 42 2 "...possibilities for misinterpretation"—Richard Kunst (1985), pp. 25-35, for example, traces many scholastic disputes on the Classics to the structure of Chinese language. There are interesting parallels with the early transmission of the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament. Prior to the establishment of the Masoretic Old Testament (AD 6th-7th c.), the Hebrew Bible had been written in a script that indicated only consonants, but no vowels or accent marks, allowing rival schools to arrive at different interpretations based on their insertions of different vowels and diacritical marks. Cursive Greek used no punctuation or spaces between words, engendering similar controversies. Written Hebrew, unlike classical Chinese, was at least inflected, and the cursive Greek used numerous particles that helped to punctuate the text.
- 42 3 "...review the facts"—For the Modern Script/Archaic Script debate, see Nylan (1994). Most Han texts were written in "clerical script" (*li shu*), which was a further simplification of the standard Qin period script; archaistic script forms were seldom used. The major portion of what most now call the Old Text version of the Documents did not appear until the fourth century AD, sometime between 317 and 322. See chapter 3. Beginning with the first Stone Classics (see below), some steles repeated the same text in three distinct script styles, one of which was Archaic Script, which shows that the early classical scholars did not confuse "text" with "script" as badly as moderns have done. See HHS 79A:2547. It is entirely possible, of course, that the Archaic Script texts were in the main simply different recensions of texts already known from the Modern Script versions. Such recensions would have employed variant characters (often homonyms or near homonyms to characters found in the comparable Modern Script text or characters written with nearly identical graphs). The Fuyang Odes seems to support this supposition, as does a careful review of passages from the Archaic Script Documents cited in Sima Qian's Archival Records (*Shiji*). See Li Zhoulong (1971); Nylan (1993). Note that many modern scholars, like classicists of imperial China (including the historian Gu Yanwu, writing in "Yin xue wu shu xu"), have mistakenly assumed that the older the text, the more reliable its picture of the past. This is to ignore the potential for rhetorical, even polemical texts in early times.
- 44 2 "...and ancient phrases"—See Hu Nianyi (1981), p. 1, citing HS 30.
- 45 1 "...canon and commentary"—To cite but two examples: throughout the Han, when scholars cited the authoritative Annals, they were often referring not too the text of the Annals classic itself, but to one of its three commentaries: the Gongyang, the Guliang, or the Zuo zhuan, as in SJ 31:1475. Many citations of the Changes actually refer to associated apocryphal traditions, as in FSTY 5:35.
- 45 1 "...in Eastern Han"—Since the Zuo zhuan achieved virtual canonical status, I do not consider it to be a commentary here.
- 45 2 "...to high rank"—See QFJ 7b.
- 45 2 "...weakening the branches"—HHS 36:1236. Cf. A similar statement to the effect that the "lesson of the Zuo resides at base in the respect for the sovereign and the father, while the Gongyang emphasizes adjustment and adaptation to circumstances." See HHS 36:1237.

- 46 3 "...their scholastic lines"—The rosy picture of Chinese academic debates comes from Hall and Ames (1995), p. 209. A second, less idealized derives from HHS 44:1500, which cites a memorial submitted by Xu Fang to the emperor in AD 71. The third example, cited in the footnote to this passage, comes from HHS 79A:2553. This is not to say that all academic debates on classicism lacked civility and wit. One exemplary disputation was the so-called Four-Seven Debate on the nature of the emotions and principle, carried out in late sixteenth-century Korea. See Edward Chung (1995).
- 46 3 "...and accept them"—HNZ 19:242, 244.
- 47 2 "...line in a Classic"—LJAL 1/18a.
- 47 2 "...older textual traditions"—Later critics were to discern in Wang Anshi's (1021-1086) decision to prescribe a set of three of his own commentaries to the classics a devious design for destroying all of traditional Chinese culture. See Nylan (1993), chap. 3; James T.C. Liu (1988).
- 47 2 "...of explication"—See Yan Shigu's commentary to HS 30:3129, which speaks of a 300,000 phrase explication for the four characters that begin the Canon of Yao chapter in the Documents. Another, later text cites the incredible figure of more than one hundred thousand characters in length for a single commentary to a single Documents chapter, the Canon of Yao. See WXD 18, "Lun shuo."
- 47 3 "...by age thirty"—HS 36:1969; also HS 30:1723, based upon Liu Xin's Qi lue (HS 30:1701).
- 47 3 "...unity easily dissipated"—In this sense, oral transmission could be more stable than written transmission. Others have argued also that oral transmission is no more liable to error than written transcription, but certainly it has been widely perceived as less reliable.
- 48 1 "...most iconoclastic fashions"—HHS 49:1629. For the invention of paper, a subject of some controversy, see Tsuen-hsuei Tsien (1985); and Ji Xianlin (1982), pp. 44-50, 484-86. Wang Chong studied at some point with a recognized master, Ban Gu, but he certainly diverged from many of Ban Gu's cherished opinions.
- 48 2 "...the [approved] interpretive lines"—See Honda Shigeyuki (1927), pp. 160-66. Apparently, however, the imperial emphasis on preserving the purity of interpretive traditions was too erratic, as material cited in Liu Qiyu (1987), pp. 37-38, demonstrates.
- 49 1 "...about AD 260"—See Jin 92/9a-11b; trans. in Mather (1978), p. 37.
- 49 1 "... (begun in 938)"—Part of the Stone Chamber Stone Classics were the Meng Stone Classics commissioned in AD 944, but other classical texts were carved at later dates at the same site.
- 49 2 "...scholarly debates halted"—HHS 79A:2547 shows that competing classicists were willing to bribe the imperial libraries to change the characters in the Five Classics texts, so that those texts would seem to support their particular interpretations. For the Stone Classics, see Hong Jinshan (1973).
- 49 2 "...and for all"—Like the Stone Classics, the Zhengyi project was in theory "intended to halt the long proliferation of interpretations." Thus its wide circulation led to the disappearances of the vast exposition literature that the Zhengyi summed up and defined. See Steven van Zoeren (1991), pp. 130, 140. But there is no indication that Tang Gaozong (r. 650-683) did anything to enforce adherence to the Zhengyi interpretations whose production he had sponsored.

- 49 2 "...their sexual peccadilloes"—See Weishi chungiu, trans. in Mather (1978), p. 485, item 1, n. 1. Cao Cao later executed Kong Rong on charges of sedition.<
- 49 2 "...by classical principles"—HHS 60A:1972, said of Ma Rong (79-166). Ma Rong was said to be a polymath "who was good at playing the qin; who liked to blow the flute; who had a realized life, relying on his nature." He is the reputed author of several extant writings, including a fu rhyme prose on the flute, preserved in Wenxuan 18/1a-12a.
- 50 1 "...any such words!"—TPYL 521/6a, trans. After Mather (1978), pp. 353-54 (slightly modified). By the mid-ninth century, as David McMullen (1988), p. 34, notes, Kongzi had become the focus of "an official cult of satire and ribaldry."
- 50 2 "...chances for appointment"—Pi Xirui (1907), p. 210.
- 50 2 "...down on the farm"—The first proverb comes from HS 73:3107, circulated in Zou and Lu, the traditional centers of classical studies in China. The remark about the unfortunates relegated to farming was spoken by the classical master Xiahou Sheng, as reported in HS 75:3159. Even earlier, men like Sima Qian, following Xunzi's distinction of "vulgar Ru" and "refined Ru," had decried the rapid advancement of career-minded Ru like Gongsun Hong, whose ethical model (unlike their classical learning) left much to be desired. I cite Wei Xuancheng for the belief that men like Gongsun Hong cannot be called Confucians. See Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan (forthcoming).
- 50 2 "...its general idea"—LH 34:247.
- 51 1 "...chanting the Changes"—See FSTY 9:73-74, for both stories. For the 1923 incident, see David Kulp (1925), pp. 222-23. Earlier in Han, one might cite to the same end Mei Cheng's "Seven Stimuli" fu.
- 51 2 "...and patriarchal family"—Michael Nylan (1996).
- 52 2 "...to ethical principles"—Qian Mu (1942), p. 13. Cf. Julia Ching (1997), who writes that with the late Confucian masters "sagehood and kingship went separate ways" (p. xvi) under the influence of Chan Buddhism (p. 107). For a prime example of the failure of leaders of the Cheng-Zhu lineage to maintain an equal emphasis on state service, see Conrad Schirokauer (1960). Zhu Xi insisted that no sage-kings had ruled since the time of Xia, Shang, and Zhou. See Julia Ching (1997), pp. 246-47.
- 52 2 "...dregs of the sages"—For the "Classics as history," see Zhang Xuecheng (1796). For the classics as the dregs of the men of antiquity, see ZZYD 366/13/70, 74; 56/21/38; HNZ 12:196; and HSWZ 5/6. The best review of the transition period from Han to Wei-Jin remains Étienne Balazs (1964), pp. 173-254.
- 52 3 "...official classicism declined"—Many modern scholars seem to imagine that Confucian ethics were totally eclipsed by the commoner's interest in religious Daoism and the elite's growing interest in Buddhism. This is to overstate the case, as several major sources for the period, including the Shishuo xinyu, show plainly.
- 52 3 "...celibate monastic system"—On the introduction of Buddhism into China, see Erik Zürcher (1959); Kenneth Ch'en (1964); Paul Williams (1989); and John Berthrong (1998), pp. 62-63.
- 52 3 "...fall of the Han"—See Han Yu 11/1a-5a.

- 53 1 "...of kingly teachings"—See Charles Holcombe (1989), pp. 120, citing Emperor Ming of Wei in AD 228; also Pang Pu (1997), vol. I, pp. 149-202. The citation closely follows the wording of Fu Xuan's (213-278) advice to the throne. Nor did the medieval world easily accept that Confucius and his inner disciples "had any defects of character," according to David McMullen (1989), pp. 633-34.
- 53 1 "...built in the capital"—Thomas Wilson (forthcoming) shows that another temple dedicated to Confucius was built in the capital by the Northern Zhou in AD 580.
- 53 2 "...on Confucian terms"—David McMullen (1988), p. 250.
- 53 3 "...separate textual traditions"—See, for example, Huang Kan (1980), p. 448. Note that Zheng Xuan's approach to reconciling contradictions between canonical texts was, from the modern academic point of view, problematic. For example, he took the Zhouli — quite anachronistically — to be a faithful account of the Zhou ritual system, concluding that any departures from the Zhouli recorded in the Yili and Liji must be remnants of the still older (and to his mind outdated) systems of Yin and Xia, especially when such departures elevated the position of women or supported greater egalitarianism among men. Zheng's faith in the historicity of the Zhouli sits oddly, considering that even Mencius (d. ?289 BC), some five hundred years before Zheng Xuan, considered that the details of the Zhou system could no longer be known. See Mencius 5B/2.
- 53 3 "...for prolonged] considerations"—SP, preface.
- 53 3 "...prevent scholastic ossification"—The citation comes from Wang Liqi (1983), p. 2. My analysis responds to Alicia Ostriker (1993), p. 28, which argues that all "classics survive through a process of continual reinterpretation, satisfying the contradictory needs of individuals and society for images and narratives of both continuity and transformation; they are paradoxically both public and private, encoding both consent to and dissent from existing power structure, and they have at all times a potential for being interpreted both officially and subversively." Note that Confucians often spoke of this required play between "what is constant" (*jing*; the same word as "classic") and what requires flexibility (*quan*); the proper division between these two was a special interest of the Gongyang scholastic lineage. Conrad Schirokauer (1993), p. 208, remarks that Zhu Xi himself combined the "firm certitude of a man whose morals are his metaphysics" with a "remarkable flexibility" in dealing with specific issues in scholarship, politics, and life. People are too inclined to think of the Five Classics and Confucian scholars as entirely constant, and so dead.
- 53 3 "...in AD 189 and 311"—Hans Bielenstein (1976), p. 89; Pi Xirui (1907), p. 160.
- 54 1 "...of the commentary"—For the "highly compartmentalized" character of Tang learning, see David McMullen (1989), p. 606; for the "mechanical" aspects of the Zhengyi project, see *ibid.*, p. 644. Steven van Zoeren (1991), pp. 122-23, characterizes the Zhengyi project as the culmination of the Northern school, which did not look beyond the apparent text for a deeper, more authentic meaning, but instead adopted the systematic analysis of texts, believing them to be the "decisive and authoritative realization of their (sagely) author's intentions,.. significant even in their most seemingly trivial formal features." For the belief that too long a gap separated the sages and the latter-day exegetes, cf. HHS 79B:2590, n. 2: "A long time has elapsed since the sages, so that no one knows right and wrong"; and Zhu Xi, writing in ZZYL 83, no. 44 (VI, p. 2155): "We today do not even understand the intentions behind the court reports and appointments right before our eyes. How much less can men born a thousand and hundreds years later infer the mind of the Sage of so long ago?" (trans. after Schirokauer [1993]). Daniel Gardner (1998) would emphasize instead that the production of subcommentary "suggests that ... especially respected commentaries were regarded as almost canonical themselves." In the eighth and early ninth centuries, some prominent

classicists, including Liu Zongyuan (773-819), implicitly condemned the Zhengyi project, arguing that an excessive reliance on commentaries and subcommentaries could not facilitate true understanding of the canonical literature. See Liu ZY 9:123-33; 31:501-2. Liu Qiyu (1987), p. 56, likewise blames the Zhengyi project for the subsequent ossification of classical studies in Tang. Peter Bol (1992), chap. 3, on the other hand, sees in the project the willingness of the Tang scholars to accept the diversity of the recent past, signifying their confidence in their own ability to maintain political unity.

- 54 1 "...primary hermeneutical concern"—With this massive Wujing zhengyi project sponsored by the Tang, the state was attempting to designate a single official text and tradition for each of the Classics, in a manner that recalls to some the Han. But the Han never enshrined a single textual commentary for any of the Five Classics, and the centrality of Confucius to a set of teachings and texts may have been more important in the seventh century, despite the enshrinement of guwen texts (which nominally should have favored the Duke of Zhou over Confucius). See Michael Nylan (1999); Thomas Wilson (forthcoming), p. 19.
- 54 2 "...classicist escalated then"—Emperor Taizong (r. 627-50) ordered all counties and districts in the empire to construct temples to Confucius. From Tang through Ming images of Confucius were the focus of offering rituals performed in these temples. See Julia Murray (1992), p. 7. For a list of "honours, ranks, and titles conferred upon Confucius throughout Chinese history," see Chen Jingpang (1990), pp. 12-19.
- 54 3 "...approach had exemplified"—For example, the Song masters, beginning with Sun Fu (992-1057), borrowed eclectically from separate Five Classics traditions arguing that no single tradition can capture the entire meaning of a sacred text. See Song Yuan xue an, chap. 2, "Taishan xue an."
- 54 3 "...and cosmic realms"—Steven van Zoeren (1991), p. 154, says instead that the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi developed "for the first time in the history of China a kind of general hermeneutic, concerned not just with a particular set of problems associated with one classic, but rather with formulating an approach valid for all the canon."
- 55 1 "...central Confucian task"—Still, orthodoxy was a major issue throughout Song, which classicists could neither ignore nor easily resolve. See Wm. Theodore de Bary (1993). Peter Bol (1992), p. 3, discusses the Song turn away from the "Han hope" of guiding the world by correct practice. In effect, he argues that the True Way thinkers saw Dao operating independently of both the received Chinese culture and the natural world of Heaven-and-Earth. Their intellectualist approach may have evolved in reaction against the Tang court's preoccupation with the performative aspects of ritual. See David McMullen (1988), chap. 3.
- 55 1 "...the new mental style"—For the origins of the Cheng-Zhu learning, see James Liu (1988), chap. 7; Michael Freeman (1974). Peter Bol (1992), p. 125, applies the term "mental style" to Han Yu, but it seems to be even more applicable to the True Way thinkers. Bol argues (chap. 1) that because intellectual concerns were highly autonomous, they affected — and not merely responded to — sociopolitical developments. Steven Van Zoeren (1991), chaps. 7 and 8, puts it another way in discussing the "subjectivist" hermeneutics of the Daoxue thinkers. For an example of the Song Confucians' overwhelming preoccupation with the interior and the subjective, see CSL, chap. 3, containing the argument that the "Documents and Spring and Autumn Annals are books completely devoted to human nature."

- 55 2 "...keys to the whole"—For example, Wang Bo determined in his *Shu yi* that only part of the received text of the "Great Plan" chapter of the *Shangshu* (some sixty-five characters about the ruler's *huangji*) constituted the true classic, while the rest was merely commentary. Many of the habits which I attribute here to the Confucian masters of Song and later had their origins in the Tang. See Wang Gengsheng (1982), p. 25, on the specific case of the *Annals*.
- 55 2 "...vary in worth"—The first proto-anthology, which included only one genre, was of course the *Odes* itself. The next proto-anthology to appear was the Han period *Chuci* ("Songs of the South"). Probably anthologies comprising several genres began in Zhanguo; Lu Ji's (261-303) *Collection of Literature Divided by Genre* takes them for granted. The *Wen xuan* (compiled ca. 526) by Xiao Tong (d. 531), was then influential in popularizing the format. For further information, see David Knechtges (1982), introduction to vol. I.
- 55 3 "...True Way Learning master"—After Eno (1992), p. 208.
- 56 1 "...realm of change"—Hence their relative disdain for direct political engagement, which made political withdrawal their style of engagement, according to Robert Eno (1992), p. 214. Peter Bol (1992), p. 320ff., goes so far as to insist that for the Cheng brothers *li* (inherent pattern or principle) has no material aspect or *qi*. That seems unlikely. What is certain is that the Cheng brothers, Zhu Xi, and their followers consciously set themselves apart from others, following a distinctive curriculum whose primary goal was self-cultivation.
- 56 1 "...led to the Do"—HS 22:1027, where the roads belong to the Six Classics, later (e.g., in HS 30:1746) shown to be consonant with all learning.. This metaphor reflected the widely held belief that disparate ideologies represented fragmentary offshoots from the holistic insights of Confucius, which in turn perfectly reflected the Way of the Ancients (HS 30:1701). Cf. ZYYD 46/Xi B/3, which talks of "the same goal, [reached by] different paths; the single focus, [reached] by a hundred thoughts." Thus, HS 88:3598 tells us that the business of *Ru* is to *lun tongyi* (assess similarities and differences), so that all lines of thought may be traced back to their common source. Xu Gan in Eastern Han is one among many to bestow highest praise on those who can see what is common to different categories (chap. 8; Makeham, 150).
- 56 1 "...of all teachings"—See Thomas Wilson (1995), esp. pp. 5-12, which summarizes many of the issues regarding which *Ru* masters were awarded or demoted from honored places in the Confucian temple. See Hoyt Tillman (1992) for an account of Zhu Xi's highly partisan propagation after 1189 of the term *daotong* (transmission of the Way) and the invention by Zhu and his followers of an ad hoc genealogy of True Way Learning teachings dating from the master Zhou Dunyi (1017-73).
- 56 1 "...of so many works"—Wing-tsit Chan (1987), p. 134. Zhu Xi, confronting what he regarded as the irretrievable loss of many ancient texts and melodies, believed it better to "read-to-maturity" (*shudu*) and repeatedly recite the few texts he regarded as reliable artifacts of the distant past. Hence his approach to the Four Books and to exegesis.
- 57 1 "...its basic essence"—LYL, p. 1945.
- 57 3 "...in its original form"—Ogyu Sorai, Bendô, trans. after J.M. Unger (1990), p. 399. For the original Chinese text and an alternative translation, see Olof Lidin (1970), pp. 6-9. The passage continues, "In addition, they read the ancient style of writing as if it were the modern style, and since they were ignorant of the real referents, a rift arose between the real [referent] and their discourse, whereupon [the original] sense and reasoning took separate paths."

- 57 4 "...to study them"—GYW 3:98; trans. after John Ewell (1990), p. 27. Gu lamented that the theories of scholars like Wang Yangming were preferred, "because they are so easy to absorb." Such complaints were nothing new in Chinese history, as attested by the quotation from Wang Chong cited in the main text.
- 58 2 "...came in late Ming"—For the fundamentalist return to the Five Classics, see Miyazaki Ichisada (1964); also, Benjamin Elman (1984); John Meskill (1982). For the propensity of most Ming scholars to use the Four Books to explain the Five Classics, see Pi Xirui (1907), chap. 9; Xia Fucai (1993), pp. 187-96.
- 58 2 "...the Rites Records text"—In effect, these scholars were rejecting the standard edition of the Four Books that had served as set text for the Ming "eight-legged" examination essays since the Yongle reign-period (1403-1425).
- 58 2 "...with the Four Books"—See Benjamin Elman (1994a). For the mid-Ming foundations of evidential research, see Adam Schorr (1994), chap. 5.
- 58 2 "...as simple division!"—Arthur Smith (1899), p. 74. (Lu Xun, China's most famous modern writer, in the thirties parodied similarly ill-trained schoolmasters in his short story "Kong Yiji.") Smith had more to say on the Five Classics: "The chief, if not the exclusive sources of his [the villager's] mental alimentation have been the Chinese classics. These are in many respects remarkable products of the human mind.... But taken as a whole, the most friendly critic finds it impossible to avoid the conviction, which forces itself upon him at every page, that regarded as the sole text-books for a great nation they are fatally defective. They are too desultory, and too limited in their range.... The chief defects, as already suggested, are the triviality of many of the subjects, the limitation in range, and the inadequacy of treatment. When the Confucian Analects are compared, for example, with the Memorabilia of Xenophon, or when the "Doctrine of the Mean" is placed by the side of the writings of Aristotle and Plato, it is impossible not to marvel at the measure of success which has attended the use of such materials in China. In spite of their defects, the Classics ... have come to be regarded with a bibliolatriy to which the history of mankind affords few parallels" (pp. 95-96).
- 58 3 "...of the Confucian Classics"—See Qian Mu (1983), pp. 139-40. Many, no doubt, were influenced by John Stuart Mill's assumptions about the "despotism of custom... in China", whose eradication must come through the intervention of foreigners. See Thomas Metzger (1990), p. 264.
- 59 1 "...of Confucian classicism"—Ignoring the Five Classics can skew the best scholarship on Ru learning. For example, Bryan Van Norden (1996) in an important article writes as if the only list of cardinal virtues in China was that given by the Mencius and the exegetes of late imperial China. Had Van Norden consulted the Documents traditions, he would have found the four virtues of justice, courage, temperance, and fortitude (a list that corresponds with that found in Plato and Thomas Aquinas).
- 59 2 "...existence of humankind"—Mou Zongsan (1968-69), p. 6.
- 59 2 "...reanimate the past"—Many of these programs reflected the age-old Chinese belief that "when the storehouses and granaries are full, people will understand proper behavior and temperance." "It has never happened once, from ancient times down to the present, that people who are in want can still be controlled." See Guan Zi (SBCK 1/2a; 22/1b;23/14), trans. after Rickett, vol. I, p. 52. Cf. HS 24A:1127-28.

- 59 3 "...of a Confucian Woman"—Readers may wish to keep in mind the distinct possibility that gender polarities may have been less central to the construction of premodern identities than to our own. In the second and third volumes of *The History of Sexuality* (1985-98), Michel Foucault proposes the startling thesis that sexuality as we know it (where notions of the self are organized around well-defined gender constructions) is a distinctively modern notion, which he would date to nineteenth-century Euro-America. David Halperin (1989) in his introduction also urges that we suspend our sexual categories (especially those concerning the centrality of sex) when studying premodern societies. Of course, that does not mean that gender was unimportant; the practices for naming, for art, and for the social construction of the family all distinguish male and female.
- 60 1 "...religion of Buddhism"—This portrait is drawn primarily from Charles Hartman (1986b); David McMullen (1989). But see also James Hightower (1984).
- 60 1 "...there my teacher is"—See the second letter to Zhang Ji, cited in Charles Hartman (1986b), p. 163. David McMullen (1989) also cites a letter to Lii Yi (AD 801) which says that Ru ideals would have a teacher accept any pupil, irrespective of his social skills or background. See HCLW 3:100. Han's famous essay "On the Teacher" (Shi shuo), translated in full in *ibid.*, pp. 162-64, tries to redefine the teacher as one qualified by special knowledge, rather than by age, rank, or seniority. But as McMullen, p. 627, points out, Han Yu's essay sought "to affirm the personal rather than the institutional nature of discipleship." Han Yu, unlike some of his friends, never tried to translate his ideals into major reforms of the Tang educational institutions.
- 61 2 "...opinions on teaching"—David McMullen (1989), p. 607.
- 61 3 "...Zhu Xi (see above)"—For example, Charles Hartman (1986b), pp. 173-74, claims that Han Yu, in company with his friend Li Ao (with whom he wrote a joint commentary on the *Analects of Confucius*), not only devised many of the exegetical methods later found in the Song commentaries, but also had "worked out many of the major premises that underlay the neo-Confucian synthesis." David McMullen (1989) offers cogent reasons to question Hartman's account, however. On p. 640, for example, McMullen questions the very authenticity of the joint commentary attributed to Li Ao and Han, concluding that "serious doubts remain."
- 61 3 "...empires of antiquity"—Zhu Xi, however, was the first to employ the term *daotong* (transmission of the Way) for direct transmission of insights from one heart/mind to another. By the *daotong* theory, the Confucian Way of the Ancients had been lost to posterity after Mencius, only to be rediscovered in the Song by Chu's own intellectual forebears.
- 62 1 "...to Knowledge and action"—The secondary sources for Wang Yangming's life that I have consulted include Tu Wei-ming (1976b); Wing-tsit Chan (1963a); Julia Ching (1976); David S. Nivison (1953); Qian Mu (1933b); Chung-ying Cheng (1979); John E. Wills, Jr. (1994), pp. 200-01; Adam Schorr (1994).
- 62 1 "...not by detachment"—Wang Yangming asserted that "Buddhism claims to be free from attachment to phenomenal things, but actually the opposite is the case. We Confucians seem to be attached to phenomenal things, but in reality the opposite is true." See Wing-tsit Chan (1963a), p. 205.
- 64 3 "...courage and vision"—Tu Wei-ming (1976b), p. ix.
- 64 4 "...Ancient Way of the Sages"—On the official court verdict on Wang after his death, see Wing-tsit Chan (1962), p. 72.

- 65 1 "...of many thinkers"—The last three sentences are nearly direct quotations from Tu Wei-ming (1976b), p. 5, modified slightly to fit this context.. For the depiction of Wang as "hot-blooded" or "mad," see Qian Mu (1963) and Julia Ching (1976). Adam Schorr (1994), following previous historians' attempts to locate a single thread running through all the transformations of Wang's life and doctrines, focuses on Wang's growing ambivalence towards words (especially polished prose and poetry), an ambivalence which Schorr takes to be typical of many leading classicists of the late empire. Schorr would also date Wang's major cognitive resolution of the Cheng-Zhu dualism to a time many years into his exile or even after he had left Longchang, Guizhou (p. 240), contrary to the conventional hagiographies. The assessment that for Zhu Xi "the principles of things and the mind remained dual" is Huang Zongxi's.
- 66 1 "...developed human kindness"—See Tang Zhichun (1995), chap. 3. The best accpunt of Kang Youwei and the Hundred Days Reform is Kwong (1984).
- 66 2 "...of world evolution"—Cf. Charlotte Furth (1976), p. 147, on Zhang Binglin.
- 66 2 "...democratic universal state"—Though most scholars emphasize the Mencian origins of Kang Youwei's thought, one should not overlook the implicit borrowing from Xunzi, who asserted that it was the human capacity for successful grouping that gave humans control over all other species.
- 67 2 "...Martin Luther of Confucianism"—Liang Qichao (1936), wen ji, ce 3, juan 6:67).
- 67 3 "...of "personal disinterestedness"—Liang Shuming (1922), preface, pp. 4, 125.
- 67 4 "...his wretched poverty"—Analects 5/8, 6/5.
- 67 4 "...go home singing"—Analects 11/25.
- 68 1 "...rigid, strict schoolman"—Wing-tsit Chan (1963a), pp. 214-15.
- 68 1 "...to cherish them"—Analects 5/25.
- 68 1 "...one principal alone"—HHS 84:2781, introductory remarks to the lives of exemplary women.
- 68 2 "...the literate population"—Ch'ü Tung-tsu, (1972b), p. 267f., for example, has shown that the "Confucianization" of Chinese law was a slow process completed only in the Tang code of AD 653. A.F.P. Hulsewé (1986), p. 543, shows that rules for marriage advocated in the Ru traditions were not yet reflected in Han law. For example, in several cases Han women took the initiative to divorce.
- 69 2 "...nothing in common"—E.g., Kurata Nobuyasu (1986), p. 25ff., and (1989), show how differently the Odes and Documents define key issues associatedd with the Son of Heaven. Cf. Qian Xuanton (1926).
- 69 3 "...their lives today"—The term "Pacific Rim," of course, is "historically simplistic and politically misleading... emblematic of an international framework of trade in which the past mercantilism and economic imperialism of powerful nation-states has been tempered by inter- and intra-regional multi-national enterprises whose economic scope now exceeds the past limits of traditional political boundaries on land and at sea" (Elman, forthcoming). See Arif Dirlik (1993).
- 69 3 "...the human experience"—Simon Leys (1991), p. 60.

- 69 3 "...Chinese and in Confucius"—E.g., in Fenelon's *Dialogue des morts* (dated 1700-18), a discussion takes place between Socrates and Confucius. At the time of America's Revolution, thanks to early reports by missionaries in China and to such learned Enlightenment figures as Voltaire, practically every scrap of information about China available in print in London or Paris reappeared quickly in some form in the United States. Benjamin Franklin at the age of thirty-two published in his Philadelphia newspaper an analysis of the thought of Confucius. Thomas Paine in one tract compared Confucius and Christ as great moral teachers. And Thomas Jefferson included a Chinese book on his "must-read" list of two hundred titles. Jefferson compiled this list for his brother-in-law. Jefferson was also quite interested in Chinese architecture and garden design. In designing Monticello, he consulted his own copies of Father Attiret's *Account of the Emperor of China* and Sir William Chamber's *Design for a Chinese Garden* (1757). A Chinese book currently in the possession of the American Philosophical Society was recently unearthed in the midst of a camp of American Indians in Pennsylvania. See A.O. Aldridge (1993).
- 69 3 "...in ancient history"—The design, by Adolph A. Weinman, was authorized in 1930 and completed in 1935.
- 70 1 "...spring ad infinitum"—To some degree, these two ways parallel the two opposing positions on hermeneutics, the first represented by Friedrich Schlegel and Emilio Betti, who assert the basic autonomy of the object of hermeneutical interpretation, and the second by Hans-Georg Gadamer, who denies the possibility of making intelligible what others have said through "objectively valid interpretations." Gadamer sees the hermeneutical experience as a dialectic between the transmitted work and the interpreter's own conceptual framework, whereby the hermeneutical scholar seeks to elevate his or her own understanding of both the text and the self. See Richard Palmer (1969); Hans-Georg Gadamer (1975), pp. 162-73; Emilio Betti (1980).
- 71 1 "...only to antiquarians"—Zhang Xuecheng (1738-1801), of course, was the scholar famous for insisting that "all the Classics are history." See David Nivison (1966), pp. 98-100.