Contributions to the Study of Yang Xiong's 揚雄 *Fayan* 法言

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1. INTRODUCTION

The present work offers several contributions to the study of the Western Han 漢 thinker Yang Xiong 揚雄 and in particular of his work entitled *Fayan* 法言. Completed in the first years of the first century AD, most likely in AD 9, the work presents a series of short aphorisms and dialogues modeled on the famous *Analects* of Confucius, *Lunyu* 論語. Yang Xiong's ideas and particularly this text have enjoyed wide circulation in the following centuries and helped shape the emerging orthodox version of Confucianism as well as the traditional conceptions of historiography and classical exegesis. The last century and in particular the last few decades have seen a renewed interest in Yang Xiong's work, with numerous studies and translations dedicated to the *Fayan*. Against this background the present study takes up three issues which have received comparatively little attention despite their importance: the textual history of the *Fayan*; the three major commentaries that have shaped and continue to shape its reception; and the logic of the text's composition and the way this was perceived in the Han dynasty.

1.1 Yang Xiong and the *Fayan*

Yang Xiong (53 BC – AD 18) is the most important intellectual at the end of the Western Han and one of the most important thinkers involved in the formation of Confucianism in the Han. His life, his oeuvre, and his reception all present interesting, even unique characteristics.

Yang Xiong was born in Shu 蜀 (in present-day Sichuan 四川) of a family which, by his own account, had immigrated from the north first to Chu 楚 and then to Chengdu 成都[1]. It is difficult to date precisely his move to the imperial

[1] Cf. for a short biography Loewe 2000. His biography is in *Hanshu* 漢書 87. A translation in Knechtges 1982.

court in Chang'an 長安, but it occurred undoubtedly relatively late in his life[2]. Little is known about the intellectual life of Sichuan at the time, but Yang Xiong himself evokes in his writings several intellectuals with whom he studied, including, notably, two important Daoist masters, Zhuang Zun 莊遵 and Li Zhongyuan 李仲元[3], both associated with several themes that were to be important in Yang Xiong's career as well: interest in divination, in philology, and a reluctance to occupy (important) official positions.

In Chang'an Yang Xiong received a low position but was appreciated both for his literary talent and for his scholarship. As a result he came into close contact with several important intellectuals and influential personalities: he served initially as Gentleman (*lang* 郎) together with Dong Xian 董賢 and Wang Mang 王莽; he collaborated with Liu Xiang 劉向 and Liu Xin 劉歆 in their collation work in the Imperial Library; he knew Ban Zhi 班稚, grandfather of the future historian Ban Gu 班固; and the slightly younger Huan Tan 桓譚 became his admirer and disciple. In his autobiography, Yang claims to have retired from official positions during Emperor[4] Ai's reign, as Wang Mang was pushed out of his functions and power was seized by (other) in-law families. He returned nevertheless with Wang and remained in service all through the establishment of the *Xin* 新 "New" dynasty in AD 9 and up to his death at age 71. Although he was promoted by Wang Mang on account of seniority, he never occupied any positions of consequence, unlike, for instance, his colleague Liu Xin.

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[2] The *Hanshu* biography specifies that he was already forty years old at the time, which would put it around 12 BC. However, like all details in this text, this information requires careful critical analysis: the text was written by Yang Xiong himself with the purpose of staging his public persona and taken over without much critical discussion and with minimal additions by Ban Gu. Cf. Nylan 2013 for a discussion. In this particular case, both Xu 1975 (pp.312-13) and Knechtges 1976 (pp. 113-16) point to problems of chronology. Vervoorn 1998-99 points out that forty is the symbolic age at which "men with eremitic inclinations" go into the world. At the very least, the advanced age is meant to show that Yang was formed at a distance from the corruption of the capital.

[3] On these cf. Vervoorn 1990; 1998-99.

[4] I capitalize 'Emperor' when it is part of the title, such as here, but otherwise simply write 'emperor'.

Yang Xiong's work matches, in its strangeness, his unusual biography, his productions being, seemingly without exception, composed in imitation of illustrious models. Despite suffering from a speech impediment, Yang was a prolific writer of poetic expositions, *fu* 賦, all inspired by earlier masterpieces of the genre: by Qu Yuan 屈原, Jia Yi 賈誼, or Sima Xiangru 司馬相如. According to his own account he was more and more attracted by poetic expositions as a means of exercising moral critique of the court and particularly of the emperor from a Confucian perspective. Yet, disappointed with the ineffectiveness of his efforts, he gave up the genre altogether and moved to imitate the Confucian classics themselves: during his retirement during Emperor Ai's reign he composed the *Taixuan* 太玄, a manual of divination equivalent to the *Yijing* 易經 but following a different system of 81 tetragrams (instead of the 64 hexagrams)[5]. After Wang Mang's return, probably in AD 9, he composed the *Fayan*, in direct imitation of the *Lunyu*, consisting of Yang's pronouncements and exchanges with unnamed interlocutors in 13 chapters. Not mentioned in Yang's autobiography is his philological work, which also follows classical models: the *Cangjie pian* 倉頡篇 and the *Erya* 爾雅 for his *Cangjie shunzuan* 倉頡順纂 and *Fangyan* 方言[6] respectively.

From a modern perspective, the history of reading Yang Xiong's work, including the *Fayan,* appears to be shaped by a non-reading: following the Cheng 程 brothers, Zhu Xi 朱熹 curtly dismissed Yang as a loyal follower of the 'usurper' Wang Mang[7] and effectively relegated him to the dustbin of the Confucian canon for several centuries. Yet, an examination of the historical evidence reveals a more complex picture, Yang's posterity being shaped less by the personal preferences of individual commentators than by institutional factors.

Prior to the Song 宋 dynasty, the most important cut-off line is represented by the establishment of the enduring model of the Confucian canon in the Eastern

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[5] Cf. Michael Nylan's overview in Loewe 1993: 460-466; Nylan 1993.
[6] Cf. Hua 2011 for a recent study; Knechtges 1977-78 for a translation and discussion of the interesting correspondence between Yang Xiong and Liu Xin attached to the *Fangyan.*
[7] From the ethical point of view of later Confucianism, Yang not only served two dynasties, but the second happened to be one later deemed illegitimate. Cf below 3.3 for an analysis of Sima Guang's discussion of these issues.

Han: a corpus of canonical texts accompanied by exegetical literature. Some of this exegetical literature was itself canonized, while some was accepted and transmitted as variant, alternative. However, the fact that the proper form that reflection on and development of Confucian ideas had to take was that of the commentary was not challenged after the Eastern Han. In this context, the pre-commentatorial and decidedly experimental form that Yang Xiong's work has taken (imitation of the classics) has led to a mixed reception: there is no continuous tradition of exegesis, with only occasional enthusiasm, which appeared mostly in times of reshuffling of the canon.

One of the most active periods in this respect has been precisely the Song, when Yang found an enthusiastic supporter in Sima Guang 司馬光. While Sima awarded Yang special attention, placing him ahead of both Xunzi 荀子 and Mengzi 孟子, almost on a par with the Sages[8] of antiquity[9], and dedicating commentaries to both the *Fayan* and the *Taixuan*, the mainstream opinion settled on a slightly different configuration: from the end of the 11th century onwards, it was the *Mengzi* which gained the upper hand and was canonized, while Yang was included in a select group of "Four Masters" *Sizi* 四子[10], together with Laozi 老子, Zhuangzi 莊子, and Xunzi, which accompanied the "Nine Classics" in officially sponsored editions meant for the preparation of imperial examinations[11]. It is against this mainstream ranking that Zhu Xi directed his efforts, producing and promoting an alternative set of texts, initially also dubbed the 'Four Masters', and later canonized under the Yuan 元 as the 'Four Books'[12].

As Zhu Xi's orthodoxy gradually lost its grip, there was renewed interest in the Masters, as evidenced in the republication of collections such as the 'Four

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[8] I capitalize 'Sages' and 'Sage' as they refers to a specific group pf people and to Confucius respectively. Otherwise I write 'sagely' or 'sage' as an adjective.
[9] Cf. below, ch.3.2.
[10] I capitalize 'Masters' when it refers to a specific group of philosophers of antiquity, otherwise I write 'masters'.
[11] Cf. Liu 2010:65; Cherniak 1991:19.
[12] The four texts selected by Zhu Xi were meat to highlight the ideas of four early *ru* 儒: Confucius (*Analects*), Mencius (*Mengzi*), Zisi (*Zhongyong*), and Zengzi (*Daxue*). Cf. Gardner 1984:57.

Masters' or 'Six Masters' (including, in addition to the four, Liezi 列子 and Wenzhong zi 文中子) already in the late Ming[13]. However, from this new iconoclastic perspective Yang Xiong probably appeared as too orthodox, so that the next important scholarly work on the *Fayan* would only appear in the early 20th century, almost a millennium after Sima Guang[14].

Prior to the exegetical revolution of the Eastern Han, Yang Xiong's status and his works seem to have enjoyed an altogether different kind of appreciation. Yang belonged to a small but influential group of intellectuals, who, over several generations, from Yang's own time and to the end of the Eastern Han, managed to decisively reshape Confucianism. Within this context his ideas and works have enjoyed attention and prestige. These have not been univocal or uniform, ranging from Huan Tan's claim that Yang Xiong was no less than a Sage (on a par with Confucius himself) to Liu Xin's dismissal of the *Taixuan* as irrelevant. Nevertheless, Ban Gu's assessment of the *Fayan* as having wide circulation and great influence can be taken as mainstream[15]. In fact it seems that even as with the advent of commentaries his works were superseded, his ideas were taken over and read into the classical texts themselves. Indeed, an examination of some of the major works of the following centuries shows his influence: Ban Gu's own appraisals of historical characters in the *Hanshu* adheres to the evaluations or judgments Yang Xiong articulated in the *Fayan*; Zhao Qi's arguments about the status and structure of the *Mengzi* are very similar to some of Yang Xiong's claims about the *Fayan* itself; Wang Bi's treatment of the *Zhouyi*, *Lunyu* and *Laozi* cannot be unrelated to Yang Xiong's own ideas and terminology[16].

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[13] Cf. Bibliography for a list, including scholarship on the Masters. It is interesting to note that in this period the *Fayan* is never the subject of an independent study, but only gets commented upon as part of the Masters collections.

[14] As the Masters collections were gradually expanded, they came to include Yang Xiong too and the *Fayan* thus came to the attention of the great Qing philologists. Their efforts, however, only materialized in short philological notes to select passages.

[15] Hanshu: 3585.

[16] Yang Xiong was the first to assign a prominent role to the term *xuan* 玄 and was the first to take an interest in the set of texts on which Wang Bi later wrote commentaries: besides the *Taixuan* and *Fayan*, there is a *fu* on *xuan* attributed to Yang Xiong, running 5000 characters, the same length as the *Laozi* (although the authenticity is disputed, cf. Knechtges 1976). In the decades preceding Wang Bi, scholars gathered at the Jingzhou

From this perspective an investigation of Yang Xiong's thought within its original context is highly relevant for the reconstruction of Han intellectual history. And indeed, in part also because of the influence of Western philological models, modern scholarship has moved increasingly in the direction of contextualizing and historicizing early texts.

1.2 The contributions of the present study

The past decades have seen a growing interest in Yang Xiong as well as in the *Fayan*, with an ever-increasing number of editions, translations, and studies being published. Thus, Wang Rongbao's commentary has been issued in a punctuated edition in 1987 and new (critical) editions were prepared by Han Jing and in the ICS Concordance series; in addition several historical editions have been reprinted[17]. Starting with Erwin von Zach's German translation from 1939, the *Fayan* has been translated and retranslated in modern languages several times[18], including most importantly a Chinese translation by Han Jing in 1999, a French translation by L'Haridon in 2010 and an English version by Michael Nylan in 2013. Yang Xiong and the *Fayan* have been the subject of a number of studies, including several dissertations[19], a translation of Yang Xiong's biography in the *Hanshu* by Knechtges, as well as biographies and book-length studies of his thought[20].

The present study aims to contribute to the current revival of Yang Xiong studies by taking up three areas that have been neglected by modern scholarship:

Academy had already taken an interest in Yang Xiong and his works, with commentaries and essays being produced (including on the *Fayan*, e.g. by Song Zhong). These works are now lost, cf. below Ch.2.2 for an overview of the traces this commentary has left in book catalogs. It was there that, building on Yang's ideas, the *Zhouyi*, *Lunyu*, and *Laozi* were (re-)established as the core group of lead texts. Cf. below Ch.3.1 for a brief overview.

[17] Cf. Bibliography for a complete list.

[18] Cf. Bibliography for a complete list.

[19] Knechtges 1968, Doeringer 1971, Barnett 1983, Lan 1989, Schilling 1998, 2006, Colvin 2001, L'Haridon 2005, 2006, Guo 2006.

[20] Xu 1975, Lan 1989, Chen 1993, Zhang 1993.

a) Textual scholarship

Despite the publication of a relatively large number of new editions, some accompanied by notes, some by translation, some listing variants, some not, there is as yet no effort to produce a critical edition, based on the newly available reproductions of historical prints. Most modern studies simply reproduce an available text, with an occasional discussion of variants. Some modern editions made progress by building on Wang Rongbao's 汪榮寶 text from 1934, such as the ICS Concordance series from 1995 and Han Jing's 韓敬 works from 1991 and 1999, but even these valuable contributions rarely go beyond the material available in Wang 1934 and if so then only to the standard editions available to Wang, the Qin Enfu 秦恩復 reprint of 1818 and the Shidetang 世德堂 text from the Ming.

In the first chapter I provide an overview of modern editions (section 1) and then proceed to survey the oldest surviving editions from the Southern Song (section 2); building on this material as well as on the information contained in the *Yinyi* 音義 appendix to the Directorate edition and in Sima Guang's commentary, I attempt to trace the transmission of the *Fayan* from the Northern Song to the Southern Song and then consider the state of the text prior to these Song editions, drawing on fragmentary evidence contained in Song and Tang *leishu* and the *Wenxuan* 文選 and its commentaries.

b) Traditional commentaries

Virtually all modern scholarship is dependent on the very detailed commentary by Wang Rongbao, compiled in 1932 and building on several earlier commentaries, particularly those by Sima Guang from the 11th century and Li Gui from the 4th century. Yet up to now there is no single study, Chinese or Western, dedicated to a critical analysis of any of these commentaries, with scholars mostly content to either follow one commentary or pick and choose from among the various solutions according to their own subjective preferences.

In the second chapter I attempt to take a first step towards a better understanding of the three commentaries mentioned above and provide a brief analysis of each, establishing the circumstances of the composition and transmission, and placing them, as far as possible, in their respective cultural

context. I then examine the commentaries themselves as well as the prefatory material (where available) in order to establish the main characteristics of each approach: their evaluation of the author's and the text's importance, their exegetical technique, their views about the structural coherence of the text.

c) Hermeneutics

Due to the peculiar nature of the text and its experimental character, it is difficult to establish with any certainty the proper way to approach and interpret it. Yet it is very clear that the *Fayan* is the product of a conscious effort to encode its message in a highly stylized textual form and that as such it requires a systematic effort to decode it. Although a good number of studies and translations have appeared recently, there has been no discussion of a reasoned approach, the various publications adopting tacitly either a traditional a-historical perspective (disregarding earlier standards of rationality and coherence, such as those to which Yang Xiong and his readers from the Han dynasty might have adhered), or, at the other extreme, a subjective, idiosyncratic perspective (originating in a long, personal involvement with Yang's writing).

The final contribution of the present study (third chapter) is the attempt to establish such a historically informed framework of interpretation by considering not only the Han dynasty cultural environment with its textual traditions, but also the claims that Yang Xiong made about himself and the status of his text, as well as the concrete direct or indirect pointers he gave his readers as to how they should approach it.

Furthermore, the text was compiled as a declared attempt to restate the main ideas of Confucian doctrine (the "model" *fa* 法 of the ancient Sages) in an orthodox form – yet very little has been done in order to establish to what extent the text constitutes such a structured and systematic exposition, as opposed to a random collection of notes[21]. In contrast to previous analyses, which attempt to extract from the text Yang Xiong's views on certain central issues of Han or

[21] A first study tackling directly the problem of structure in the *Fayan* has only been published in 2015 (Nylan 2015), as the present work was already being finalized.

Confucian intellectual history, the present study follows a number of formal clues present in the text itself and establishes a matrix of topics which underlie and shape the whole.

2. THE TRANSMISSION OF THE *Fayan*

2.1 Introduction

The interest sparked by the *Fayan* in recent decades has not extended to the transmission of the text and the impact it might have had on its shape. This situation is hardly surprising, but deeply problematic. Already in 1966, Fredson Bowers remarked sarcastically:

> Many a literary critic has investigated the past ownership and mechanical condition of his second-hand automobile, or the pedigree and training of his dog, more thoroughly than he has looked into the qualifications of the text on which his theories rest.[22]

Almost half a century later this is still an apt description of the situation encountered in the study of Yang Xiong's *Fayan*. The advent of digital humanities has meant that locating, procuring, studying, and editing texts has never been easier. Yet we still lack a truly critical edition taking into account the early printed editions which have become available lately. We even lack a critical assessment of their relationships and respective merits. In fact it is fair to say that as things stand, we lack even a reliable and complete list of these sources.

The most complete list of editions is still to be found in Yan Lingfeng's 嚴靈峯 1975 general bibliography of early Chinese texts[23]. Despite its obvious merits, Yan's enumerative bibliography[24] has certain clear limitations as well: it lists together lost and extant texts, such that Yan has seen and others he hasn't; it does not make an effort to examine critically the editions and establish the relationships between them. The result is an inflated image of the textual tradition of the *Fayan*: Yan lists no less than 79 Chinese works, several with dozens of editions and reprints; he also makes certain implicit claims that seem unsustainable

[22] Bowers 1966: 5. Cf. Greetham 1992: 3.
[23] Yan 1975: 321ff.
[24] See Greetham 1992 for a distinction between enumerative and descriptive bibliography adopted here.

in view of the actual evidence. Thus, he implies that *Fayan* editions without commentary go back to the edition listed in the *Suishu* bibliographic chapter[25], although the first such editions were printed in the Ming and evidence points to the strong probability that they were in fact based on the Song editions stripped of their commentaries. He also implies that Song Xian's 宋咸 and Sima Guang's commentaries were printed in the Northern Song, although no evidence is available[26]. Furthermore, he makes no effort to establish any filiation between the various extant Song editions.

A second valuable bibliographic contribution is made by Lan Xiulong 藍秀隆 in Chapter 2 of his 1991 study of the *Fayan*[27]. There he collects bibliographical entries from various historical catalogs, relevant material from prefaces and colophons, and draws a good list of the editions available in Taiwan.

David Knechtges compiled two bibliographic surveys. The first is in his overview of the *Fayan* in Michael Loewe's *Early Chinese Texts*[28]: here he brings some order into the picture of *Fayan* transmission, by identifying two basic editions, one with 13 *juan* and another with 10. Yet the picture he presents is oversimplified, does not rest on a critical examination of historical editions, and ignores the early prints, some of which were already available at the time. The second survey is in Knechtges' 2010 reference guide *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature*, which has an entry on the *Fayan* and a good bibliography, with a more complete and more accurate section on editions. However, some of the claims made on filiation are if not wrong at least difficult to substantiate.

The last two decades have seen the publication of several very useful descriptive bibliographies and bibliographic studies: Wang Han of the National Library in Beijing has published a general survey of *Fayan* editions in 1994 (which, however, doesn't mention Tang Zhongyou's edition) and a study of Tang Zhongyou's editorial activities in 2007 (which nevertheless does not examine the text in relation to other contemporary editions). Zhang Bing has likewise published

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[25] Cf. below, Ch.2.2.
[26] Cf. below, Ch.2.3.
[27] Lan 1989: 110-123.
[28] Knechtges 1993; another brief presentation of the text in Knechtges 1994.

an overview of *Fayan* editions in 2004 and finally in 2010 Liu Ming, also of the National Library in Beijing, has published a very useful study of the *Huzhu* edition.

As far as actual editions of the *Fayan* are concerned, the first attempt to critically approach the text of the *Fayan* after Sima Guang's edition is the work of the noted Tokugawa scholar Momoi Hakuroku 桃井白鹿 (1722-1801), otherwise known as the author of a *Laozi* commentary. His *Zoshu Yoshi Hogen* 増注揚子法言 is dated Kansei 8 (1796) and based on a 1659 Japanese reprint of the Shidetang edition, very crude and erroneous, as he himself observes. This he corrects on the basis of Sima Guang's commentary and collates with Cheng Rong's 程榮 version from the *Han Wei congshu* 漢魏叢書 (which provides a better text but stripped of any commentary)[29].

The most important modern contribution is Wang Rongbao's monumental work, the *Fayan yishu*, the result of a lifetime of preoccupation with the *Fayan*.[30] Wang's main aim was to provide a thorough philological commentary in the *kaozheng* 考證 tradition, but his textual contributions are quite important. Wang takes the Qin Enfu reprint as his base text, and provides both the text and Li Gui's commentary. In his commentary he quotes Sima Guang's commentary and draws frequently on the textual variants preserved therein, as well as on much Qing philological scholarship on the *Fayan* and on Yang Xiong, with the result of introducing some very daring readings (in the text itself). Following the observation of the *Siku zongmu* 四庫總目 editors[31] he argues against the rearrangement of the text undertaken by Song Xian in the Song and most likely followed by Sima Guang (and followed in any case in all extant editions of his commentary). Wang Rongbao inserted his commentary not interlinearly, but at

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[29] Both Momoi's edition and the Japanese Shidetang reprint of 1659 are available digitally from the HathiTrust library. For a discussion of Cheng Rong's text cf. below.
[30] Wang Rongbao is a very interesting and important intellectual of the early 20th century, co-author of the landmark dictionary of Western terminology, the *Xin Erya* (新爾雅, edited by *Wang Rongbao* 王榮寶 and Ye Lan 葉瀾, Shanghai: Guoxue she, 1903), and the main force behind the efforts to produce the first Chinese constitution. I briefly survey his career and work below, Ch. 3.4.
[31] Cf. Han Jing 1999:201.

the end of what he considered to be a meaningful unit, a paragraph or *zhang* 章, thus explicitly segmenting the text into 338 *zhang*[32].

The next original contribution is the text prepared by Han Jing 韓敬 and published twice, once in 1992 with copious notes as *Fayan zhu* 法言注 and again in 1999 with a full translation as *Fayan quanyi* 法言全譯. Han builds on Wang Rongbao's landmark edition, which he collates with the Qin Enfu 秦恩復 1818 reprint of the Directorate edition and the Shidetang edition from the Ming. His handling of the text follows a method made famous in Western philology by Bédier[33], which, even if in itself quite problematic, has a long tradition of its own in China: it consists of adopting one good historical edition and following it, with points of disagreements marked in the notes. In Han Jing's case this is the Qin Enfu reproduction, which he reprints even when he disagrees with it. His notes, however, provide a careful overview of variants and a judicious discussion of his choices. He is the first editor to number the paragraphs (*zhang* 章) of the text, which are not formally separated in traditional editions. He also provides original punctuation. In the appendices he collects relevant entries from historical bibliographies (Appendix 1) and quotes in full relevant prefaces and colophons (Appendix 2).

In 1995 the Institute of Chinese Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong published a concordance to the *Fayan* as part of its computer based concordance series, which also provides the text itself accompanied by textual notes[34]. While by its very design this is not meant to be a critical edition presenting original scholarship, due to its wide availability and the convenience of being

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[32] The segmentation is as follows: Chapter 1: 24 *zhang*; Chapter 2: 21; Chapter 3: 25; Chapter 4: 26; Chapter 5: 27; Chapter 6: 23; Chapter 7: 25; Chapter 8: 29; Chapter 9: 28; Chapter 10: 30; Chapter 11: 23; Chapter 12: 23; Chapter 13: 34. His segmentation is followed by the CHANT edition, as well as by Han Jing. Beatrice L'Haridon, who follows closely Han Jing's version adopts the same segmentation. Michael Nylan follows the CHANT text, but operates some small changes by merging several adjacent paragraphs in her translation. The most radical departure is in von Zach's translation (von Zach 1939), which frequently attempts to merge several paragraphs in extended meaningful stretches of dialogue.

[33] Han Jing 1999:201.

[34] *Fayan zhuzi suoyin* 1995.

accompanied by an electronic version[35], this text has been uniquely influential in the intervening decades, serving as the *de facto* standard text for virtually all subsequent research, especially in the West. The editors take the *Sibu congkan* edition as their base text, but following the Western tradition operate emedations, mostly based on Wang Rongbao's and Liu Shipei's scholarship. Variants are also included and in this not only standard editions are considered, but also encyclopedias and other texts containing quotations. As the concordance is based on an electronic version, some character forms are replaced by what the editors consider the standard form.

Finally two recent works must be mentioned, both translations accompanied by the Chinese text. The first is L'Haridon's French translation from 2010. The author provides a more thorough and accurate, but still by no means complete, overview of the textual history of *Fayan*[36]. In particular, the discussion of preserved historical editions[37] is incomplete and does not seem to rest on a direct examination of the documents. As far as the text printed next to the translation, the author claims to follow Wang Rongbao's edition, but gives in fact the CHANT text, with its variants. She then chooses, generally without explanation, between the variants in the Qin Enfu edition and those in the *Shidetang* edition – in an almost perfect exemplification of the method of binary stemmatic trees famously criticized by Bédier[38].

The most recent major publication on the subject, Michael Nylan's *Exemplary Sayings*[39], is an annotated translation accompanied by an annotated Chinese text[40]. The Chinese text reprints the version given in the CHANT database. Only a (apparently random) selection of alternative readings is given in the notes, on account that "the number of textual variants that can be culled from extant editions is huge"; the reader is simply referred to Wang Rongbao's 汪榮寶 edition

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[35] http://www.chant.org/
[36] L'Haridon 2010.
[37] L'Haridon 2010: xliv – l.
[38] Bédier 1928.
[39] Nylan 2013.
[40] The publication has been thoroughly reviewed, both with respect to its textual scholarship and the accompanying translation, in Wagner 2014.

"for a more complete list."[41] No effort is made to distinguish between attested variants and emendations proposed by various scholars or to justify the reading the author favored in her translation.

The textual tradition of the *Fayan*[42] is handled in a similarly cavalier manner. Thus, for instance:

- Li Gui's 李軌 "edition", in fact commentary, is dated to 335, although the date is not known (the *Suishu Jingji zhi* 隋書經籍志 lists a number of works by Li Gui, one of which is a chronicle ending in 335);
- The date of Wang Rongbao's *Fayan yishu* 法言義疏 is given as 1899, although the text was completed in 1932 and published in 1934 (Wang had started working on the *Fayan* very early and had privately circulated a draft commentary in 1899; he published a first and much shorter version in 1911 as *Fayan shuzheng* 法言疏證; but the monumental *Fayan yishu* was not completed until a few months before his death);
- several manuscripts are mentioned, although none survives; however none of the surviving historical editions is listed.

Furthermore, the author seems to deny on principle the very possibility of textual criticism, one of the highest achievements of Western (and, for that matter, traditional Chinese) scholarship:

> No scholar of classical Chinese would dare claim the she is able to recover a Western Han text or ascertain the true significance of early textual variants among manuscripts compiled several millennia ago.[43]

This position – which turns out to be an extreme form of conjecturalism[44] – does not seem to rest on a critical evaluation of the theory or methodology of the Western tradition of textual scholarship or on a critical assessment of the

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[41] Nylan 2013: xii.
[42] Nylan 2013: xi-xii.
[43] Nylan 2013: xi.
[44] Cf. Greetham 1992: 3.

limitations of the Chinese tradition. It is of course the merit of the great philologists of the 18th and 19th century to have placed Western textual criticism on a solid foundation precisely by ideally eliminating and practically strictly circumscribing and limiting the process of *divinatio*, guessing "the truth of a reading through an inspired self-identification with one's author"[45]. As a result of this fundamental distinction between documented variants and emendations, the search for an ideal *Urtext* turned out to be hopeless and had to be replaced with the more modest but also more solid aim of reconstructing an "archetype", a stage in the transmission of the text which can be securely inferred on the basis of extant witnesses[46]. The key to placing this process of reconstruction itself on a solid, objective basis was the recognition of the fact that not all variants are of equal value and that the process of accounting for all preserved variants (*recensio*) had to be complemented by a critical assessment of their relative merits (*examinatio*) – a step of great value particularly in the case of textual traditions with truly huge numbers of variants, such as the New Testament[47]. As for the Chinese tradition, whatever its theoretical shortcomings might appear to be from this perspective, its practice is surely at the highest level, both in quality and in quantity. While the work of great pre-modern and modern scholars, such as Sima Guang or Wang Rongbao in this case, can and should be superseded, it is certainly safe to say that this can only happen by building upon it and not by dismissing or simply ignoring it.

In the following three sections I present an overview of the text's transmission as evidenced in historical library catalogs, editorial notes and prefaces; I survey extant 12th century Southern Song editions; and I analyze the evidence on the state of the text in the Northern Song, based on information contained in the Song commentaries from the 11th century; and finally I review fragmentary evidence from the Song and the Tang in order to draw conclusions as to the state of the text before the 11th century.

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[45] Greetham 1992: 315.
[46] For a classic exposition of the method: Maas 1957.
[47] For a critical examination of the method, its origins and development see Timpanaro 1963.

For the transmission of the *Fayan* text up to the Tang the textual evidence is almost non-existant: no manuscripts of the text survive and the fragmentary evidence (quotations in other texts) is very limited. The richest available sources of evidence for the state of the text before the Tang are the Li Gui commentary of the mid-fourth century and the preserved fragments of Song Zhong's third century commentary. I shall discuss some of these problems below and some in the following chapter dedicated to the exegesis of the *Fayan*.

The problem of examining later editions (starting in the Ming) with respect to their base text has already been dealt with by Yan Lingfeng (who provides for each of the items in his bibliography a list of editions and reprints), but could be reopened in light of the new evidence. This I will however not undertake at the present time: on the one hand the direct availability of the earliest editions makes this a secondary, purely bibliographic concern; on the other hand I lack easy access to a rich collection, such as one of the large Asian or American libraries.

2.2 Records of *Fayan* editions

The information we have on the transmission of the *Fayan* up to the Song dynasty is very sparse. The relevant information from historical book catalogs has been collected by Han Jing[48]. These are the sources I used in the following, unless otherwise noted.

The *Hanshu Yiwenzhi* 漢書藝文志 has a record for Yang Xiong's writings in 38 *pian*, among which the *Fayan* occupies 13 *pian*. In the comments appended to Yang Xiong's biography, Ban Gu mentions that the text enjoyed wide circulation[49].

The next bibliographic record is to be found in the *Suishu jingjizhi*, more than half a millennium later[50]. Extant copies of the *Fayan* are one version in 15

[48] Han 1999: Appendix 1.
[49] *Hanshu* 87: 3585. Cf. also Knechtges 1982: 81.
[50] The text occupied a prominent place at the Jingzhou Academy, where it received a commentary by Song Zhong. It was very probably present in the Wang library. Cf. below, chapter 3.1. However, no bibliographic record of these manuscripts is preserved.

juan with one *juan* explanations, with Li Gui's commentary and another version in 13 *juan* with Song Zhong's 宋衷 commentary (late 2nd-early 3rd century, also author of a commentary on the *Taixuan* 太玄). Also noted is a version in six *juan* with a commentary by Hou Ba 侯芭. This version was still extant in the Liang but already lost in the early Tang. [51]

The *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 lists a version in six *juan* (without mention of Hou Ba), Song Zhong's commentary, but in 10 *juan*, and Li Gui's commentary in 13 *juan*.

The *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 gives the same editions (Li Gui's commentary is listed as consisting of 3 *juan*, probably an error). To this a new version in 13 *juan* is added containing the text with Liu Zongyuan's commentary.

The most detailed information on the transmission of the *Fayan* in the Song is offered in Sima Guang's preface to his commentary (*Fayan jizhu* 法言集注), dated 1081[52]:

> Secretarial court gentleman Li Gui of the Jin Ministry of rites first wrote a commentary on it, Prefect of Liuzhou Liu Zongyuan of the Tang only filled the lacunae. In the fourth year of the Jingyou era (1037) the Directorate was ordered to collate the *Fayan* of Master Yang and the edition was completed and submitted only in the second year of Jiayou (1057). Lü Xiaqing of the Palace Archive was ordered to collate it again and the edition was submitted in the first year of Zhiping (1064). And it was ordered that the drafters (of Hanlin and the Secretariat) examine it in detail and the result was submitted in the second year [of Zhiping] (1065). Only then did the Directorate print and publish it. Formerly the Assistant Editorial Director Song Xian and the Outer Gentleman of the Bureau of Honors Wu Mi had written commentaries on the *Fayan*.
> [...]I did not dare to put myself forward, so in each case I picked the best points of the various commentators and added my interpretation, calling [the resulting commentary] "collected commentaries". [...] Formerly, Song Gongxiang's family had the edition with Li's commentary and the *Yinyi*, which was the most accurate. The *Yinyi* often adduces the Tianfu edition, but it is not known what 'Tianfu' refers to. All collators have relied on this as being the correct (or: standard) one. Song and Wu also relied on

[51] Song Zhong's commentary is no longer extant either, but surviving fragments have been collected in Ma 1883.
[52] For a full annotated translation see below, ch.3.2.

> the Li version, but their text diverges from it in many instances. The *Yinyi* rejects all of them considering [these versions] vulgar editions. Now I take [the edition] published by the Directorate as the Li version, I distinguish [the readings of] Song and Wu by their surnames, in some cases I compare them with the *Hanshu*, and I establish my text based on their points of agreement. I first detail the sound and then explain the meaning. Still, what such a stupid mind as mine has settled on is definitely not correct in all instances. I hope those who come after me pick [the correct points] from them. Written in the fourth year of Yuanfeng (1081), eleventh month, by Sima Guang.

Thus: in Jingyou 4 (1037) Song Xian submitted his own edition (with Li Gui's commentary and his own parallel commentary, as outlined in his preface), which he had completed in Jingyou 3 (1036). Possibly prompted by this private edition, the court ordered the Directorate to start work on an official edition, which was completed and submitted only 20 years later, in Jiayou 2 (1057). Still later, in 1065, the *Guozi jian* published yet another edition established by Lü Xiaqing and corrected by various scholars at court (the 'drafters'). It is this later edition of the Zhiping era, which Sima Guang takes as the basis of his 1081 commentary, comparing it with the editions of Song Xian and Wu Mi[53].

It is less clear on what exactly these editions were based. It is impossible that Song Xian had used any of the Directorate editions, as they were not available at the time he completed his commentary, so he (as well as Wu Mi) must have used an unofficial edition in general circulation. It is also unclear what text Sima had used for his studies on the text since his youth. However, this was unlikely to have been either the Song Xian edition and commentary or any 'vulgar' (i.e. unofficial) edition on which it was based.

The *Yinyi* appendix, which gives textual variants and phonological glosses, quotes repeatedly the Tianfu edition, as well as a *suben* (vulgar or popular edition) and several 'old editions'[54]. Qin Enfu takes *Tianfu* to be not the Tang era (901-

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[53] This is part of a larger process of producing definitive editions of classical texts, stimulated among other things by the spread of printing: the new printed editions produced by the Department of Education were meant to replace the stone versions. Cf. Cherniack 1991:21.

[54] There have to be several, as the *Yinyi* twice refers to "all of the old editions" 舊本皆.

904) but the parallel era (906-907) used by Wang Jian as he declared himself emperor in his newly established state of Former Shu – and thus places this text in Sichuan in the early 10th century[55]. He further believes that this must be the edition owned by Song Xiang. This is, however, problematic, as Sima Guang never had direct access to the Tianfu edition, as explained below. Sima Guang himself equates the popular editions with the Song Xian and Wu Mi versions, which is also problematic. Furthermore it would appear that the *Yinyi* appendix was not compiled by the editors of the Zhiping version, but at most updated by them.

Thus, based on the available information it seems we must distinguish between the following:

- a Tianfu edition printed in 906-907 in Sichuan (a major printing center);
- an edition accompanied by the Li Gui commentary and possibly a philological appendix; Song Xiang held a copy of this edition and Sima Guang had access to it in his youth;
- parallel to it, one or more related "vulgar" editions circulated, which formed the basis of Song Xian's (and Wu Mi's) commentary;
- based on the edition with Li Gui's text, the Directorate produced two editions, a first one in 1057 and a revised one in 1065, the latter being the basis of Sima Guang's commentary.

The Directorate edition and Sima Guang's edition are the only texts that can be linked to extant editions, but the transmission is not unproblematic, as the sources are somewhat contradictory:

- In his *Tongzhi* 通志 from 1161 Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 lists an edition with Sima Guang's commentary in 10 *juan*,
- Zhao Gongwu 晁公武 (1105-1180) in his *Junzhai dushu zhi* 郡齋讀書志 lists two editions of the *Fayan*, one with Li Gui's commentary and one with Sima's commentary, but both in 13 *juan*.
- In his *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直斋書錄解題 of 1238, Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (1183-1261) lists two editions, one in ten *juan* with the chapter

[55] Cf. Qin's preface to his 1818 reprint.

summaries placed at the beginning of each chapter, and the second in thirteen *juan* plus one *juan Yinyi*. The latter he identifies as the basis of the official edition, finally published by the Directorate in 1065 and finds that it is not identical with another edition, which he calls the 建寧四注本 "the edition with four commentaries from Jianning (Fujian)" (another major printing center). It is unclear if this is the first edition in 10 *juan* with Sima's commentary. Qin Enfu believes it is a different one, a composite edition reuniting Li Gui's, Liu Zongyuan's, Song Xian's and Wu Mi's commentaries, which, while lost, served as the basis for another Southern Song edition by Mr. Yu of Chongchuan (Jiangsu), extant and preserved in the National Library in Beijing (cf. analysis below under d.). Qin believes that this new edition added Sima's commentary to the text with the other four commentaries, while preserving the division in 10 *juan,* which had been introduced by Song Xian.

- Chen Zhensun also provides the interesting information that Qian Dian 錢佃 (*jinshi* 1145) reprinted the version with Li Gui's commentary and the *Yinyi* based on the old Directorate edition (from the Zhiping era) together with the *Mengzi* 孟子, *Xunzi* 荀子 and *Wenzhongzi* 文中子 as a set of "Four books" *sishu* 四書. From the colophon of the *Huzhi* edition (cf. below under c.) we know that the Directorate of Education had printed a *jiujing sizi* 九經四子 collection, which the Fujian printing house took as basis for their improved edition.[56]
- The *Songshi* of 1346 lists three editions, all of them in 13 *juan*: one unspecified, one with Liu Zongyuan's commentary and Song Xian's

[56] The Directorate of Education had engaged in this project of providing a printed version of the nine classics as an alternative to the stone classics ever since the Wudai period. As the proscription on private printing of official Directorate editions introduced in 998 was relaxed in the Zhiping era, such editorial experiments gained traction. Cf. Cherniack 1994:41. As in the Song the list of nine classics included besides the traditional five the *Zhouli, Xiaojing, Lunyu* and *Mengzi*, the Masters included either four texts: *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, *Xunzi* and *Yangzi*; or six: the same plus *Liezi* and *Wen zhongzi*.

additional commentaries, and finally one with Sima Guang's commentary.

There is no evidence that either Song Xian's or Wu Mi's editions were ever printed. However it seems plausible that Sima Guang's edition was printed as an official Directorate edition and was thus available to serve as the basis of the later editions in 10 *juan*.

2.3 Southern Song extant editions

As already mentioned, no manuscripts of the *Fayan* survive. While the Northern Song saw original contributions on the *Fayan*, both textual and exegetical, the evidence shows that no Northern Song printing survives. We do however possess several good editions dating from the Southern Song. These I will review below.

The way in which the editors handled some small but significant portions of the text provide the main criteria for classifying the different versions:

- some editions divide the text into 13 *juan* following the division in chapters (*pian*); others group two *pian* into one *juan* in two cases, resulting in a text of 10 *juan*;
- some editions include the summaries to the individual chapters given in Yang Xiong's biography in the *Hanshu* at the end of *juan* 13; some distribute them at the beginning of the respective chapters;
- some editions include Yang Xiong's preface from *Hanshu* 87, some don't;
- finally, each edition provides a different selection of commentaries, including only Li Gui's, Sima Guang's, or a combination.

a) The Directorate text from the Zhiping era

This edition, in 13 *juan*, was originally printed in 1065 and was for a relatively short period the standard text. While this edition does not survive, it was reprinted in the Southern Song. It did not enjoy wide circulation and was soon replaced as standard text and then all but eliminated by Sima Guang's text in 10 *juan*. In

1818 Qin Enfu recovered a copy, which he reprinted in facsimile edition[57]. The original of this reprint is extant and kept in the *Guojia tushuguan* 國家圖書館 in Beijing. It has been reproduced photographically in the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊[58] and is thus widely available. It is this version that I have examined.

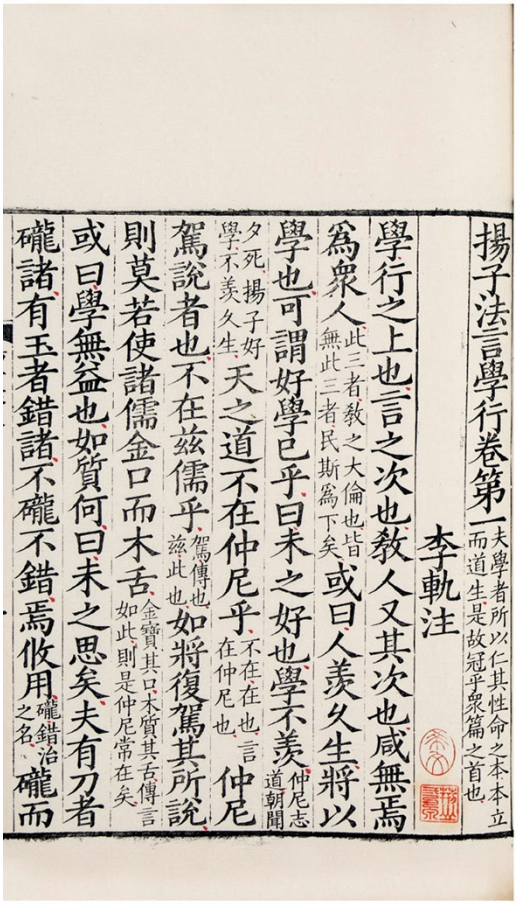
揚子法言學行卷第一 夫學者所以仁其性命之本本立而道生是故冠乎衆篇之首也
李軌注
學行之上也言之次也教人又其次也咸無焉爲衆人此三者教之大倫也皆無此三者民斯爲下矣或曰人羨久生將以學也可謂好學已乎曰未之好也學不羨仲尼志道朝聞夕死揚子好學不羨久生天之道不在仲尼乎不在在也言在仲尼也仲尼駕說者也不在茲儒乎駕傳也茲此也如將復駕其所說則莫若使諸儒金口而木舌金寶其口木寶其舌傳言如此則是仲尼常在矣或曰學無益也如質何曰未之思矣夫有刀者礱諸有玉者錯諸不礱不錯焉攸用礱錯治之名礱而

Figure 1. Qin Enfu's reprint of the Directorate edition

The Qin Enfu reprint gives the text on 10 columns with 18 characters of text to one column. The commentary is printed in smaller characters in double columns, with 23-25 characters to a column. It gives the text of the *Fayan* in 13 *juan* together with the *Yinyi* in one *juan*, accompanied by Li Gui's commentary.

[57] Qin had the cutters reproduce precisely the text he found, including the errors he spotted and which he discusses in his preface, cf. below.
[58] *Sibu congkan* 1929, *zi bu*, vol. 333.

The thirteenth *juan* contains the summaries from Yang Xiong's biography in the *Hanshu* together with Li Gui's comments on them appended at the end.

Examination of the text shows beyond any doubt that this is not the original Directorate edition of 1065, as Knechtges and L'Haridon assume[59], but most likely a Southern Song reprint (based on newly cut woodblocks).

After his preface Qin lists a number of textual errors and proposes corrections. Below I list all these cases and append the paragraph number for identification:

1.21	以其所以養	四葉前八行	衍下以字
2.7	事事辭稱則經	二葉前三四行	誤重事字
2.12	曰云姓孔而字仲尼	二葉後八行	曰當作自
5.25	名震于京師	四葉後六行	震當作振, 音義可證. 此震字依温公集注所改, 非其舊
6. 19	不亦寶乎	三葉後四五行	寶當作珍. 音義可證. 此寶字蓋依漢書所改也
6. 20	巢父洗耳	三葉後九行	洗當作灑, 注同. 音義及温公集注皆可證
7. 1	吾寡見人之好假者也	一葉前三行	假當作假, 下同. 音義可證. 此假字依温公集注所改非其舊
7.6	春木之芚	一葉後八行	注春木芒然而生温公集注云李本芚作芒按音義不出芚字是其本作芒也其實芚是芒非音義本傳寫譌耳此正文與注歧異乃初皆作芒後改未盡一
7.8	又從而繡其其鞏	二葉前八九行	誤重其字
8.8	由羣謀之故也	二葉後三行	謀當作婢
9.9	議其教化	二葉後八行	議當作謹
10.3	請問蓋	一葉後五行	注天云云當作請問蓋天正文天字誤入注中

[59] Knechtges 2010:215; L'Haridon 2010:xlvii.

10.21	始六之詔	五葉後五行六	下當有世字音義及温公集注皆可證此修板去世字非其舊
11.1	巽以揚之	一葉前四行	當衍巽字温公集注可證
11. 10	擊遼水	二葉前四行	按擊當作繫. 繫屬也. 史記云屬之遼東, 不作擊可知. 但各本皆誤. 或治平初刻已如此
11.13	實蛛蝥之劘也	二葉後四五行	劘當作靡
11.21	曰非夷		下衍齊而是柳下惠戒其子以十字
	尚容		下衍首陽爲拙柱下爲工飽食安坐以仕易農十六字
	依隱玩世		下衍詭時不逢四字
	其滑稽之雄乎	五葉前五六七行	按李本如此温公集注可證此本衍字皆温公取漢書所增而修板依之擠入非治平之舊也
12.20	人言仙者有諸乎吁	三葉後十行四葉前一行	乎當作曰
13.6	石奮石建	一葉後四行	衍下石字

In his comments and proposals Qin himself recognizes that his text is not the first printing of the Directorate edition: thus, in his comment to 11.10 he proposes that the error might have been present in the first printing: 或治平初刻已如此; in his comments to 5.25 and 7.1 he proposes that the editors of the second printing have changed the text based on Sima Guang's version.

Sima Guang, who had access to the original Directorate edition from 1065, on which he based his own text, systematically compared the text to the other editions available to him and documented the points of divergence. Some errors listed by Qin are neither to be found in Sima's text, nor acknowledged as variants in his commentary. They thus must have been introduced as the Directorate edition was recut and reprinted. Indeed they are the type of error that may creep in in the process of recutting it: for instance at 2.7 the text has 事|事辭稱則經, with the 事 repeated by mistake at the beginning of the next column; similarly at 7.8 the text has 又從而繡其|其聲, with the 其 repeated by mistake at the beginning

of the next column. At 1.21 the text has 以其所以養養之至也以其|所[以]葬葬之至也, with the 以 being lost at recarving, perhaps because the last or the first character on the column in the original print.

Not identified by Qin is the variant 陵 for 凌 in 2.19 震風凌雨, both in the *Fayan* text and in the accompanying commentary by Li Gui. The texts Sima saw all had the latter. Interestingly, the *Taiping yulan* quotes the passage twice and gives in *juan* 10 the latter (both in text and commentary) and in *juan* 401 the former (quoted without commentary). Similarly, at 8.6 Qin's reprint has 強其所劣 (also glossed in the *Yinyi*), although Sima has the variant 彊 and makes no comments on variants. (Here the *Taiping yulan* has 強, but the earliest version we have is also a reprint of the Southern Song.) At 11.4 Qin's reprint has 請孟軻之勇, whereas the texts Sima saw had 請問孟軻之勇 (the *Taiping yulan* has 或問孟軻之勇, indicating that most likely that extra character was there and was dropped in the reprint).

Furthermore, the text reproduced by Qin prints altered forms for a series of characters in order to respect the official taboo on characters used to write the emperors' private names. Most relevant from this perspective is the taboo on 慎, which was a variant character of 昚, Emperor Xiao's personal name. This indicates that the edition Qin reproduced must date from the Chunxi era (1174-1189) at the earliest[60].

Qin Enfu's reprint might not be the only witness for this text. The *Guojia tushuguan* holds three rare editions (*shanben* 善本) in 13 *juan* dated to the Song. I have not been able to examine any of these and the information provided in the library catalog is limited; however, the format is very similar, making it possible that a copy of one of these editions was found by Qin.

#09600
揚子法言 Yangzi *Fa yan*, in 13 *juan*, with Li Gui's commentary, plus one *juan Yinyi*

[60] Cf. also discussion in Liu 2010:65.

4 volumes, 10 columns, 18 characters to the column; commentary on double columns with 23-25 characters to a column.

#10419
揚子法言 Yangzi *Fa yan*, in 13 *juan*, with Li Gui's commentary, plus one *juan Yinyi*
[no information about the number of vols.], 10 columns, 18 characters to the column; commentary on double columns with 24-25 characters to a column.

#12301
揚子法言 Yangzi *Fa yan*, in 13 *juan*, with Li Gui's commentary, plus one *juan Yinyi*
[no information about the number of vols.], 10 columns, 18 characters to the column; commentary on double columns with 24-26 characters to a column.

b) The 1181 Taizhou edition by Tang Zhongyou

This is a very valuable, very rare edition, of which only one copy survives, now held in the Liaoning provincial library. Fortunately it has been reissued in facsimile editions twice, in 1988 and again 2014, of which the former I was able to examine.

a) 揚子法言 Yangzi *Fa yan*, in 13 *juan*, plus one *juan Yinyi*, with commentaries by Li Gui, Liu Zongyuan, Song Xian, Wu Mi, Sima Guang. Reprint based on Tang Zhongyou's Taizhou edition. Chengdu: Ba-Shu shushe, 1988. 2 vol. in case, oriental style.

b) 揚子法言 Yangzi *Fa yan*. Reprint based on Tang Zhongyou's Taizhou edition from the eighth year of the Chunxi era of the Song (1181), held in the Liaoning Provincial Library. Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2014. 3 vols. in case, oriental style. Part of the *Zhonghua zaizao shanben* series.

It was issued in 1181 in Taizhou, by Tang Zhongyou 唐仲友 (1136-1188). Tang, a local magistrate, became a *cause celebre*, as he was accused by Zhu Xi 朱熹 of using government money to print and distribute privately a set of editions comprising *Xunzi, Yangzi, Wen Zhongzi*, as well as Han Yu's collected works[61]. This edition of the *Fayan* is indeed part of the famous set. The *Xunzi* edition is

[61] It is interesting that Zhu initially dubbed his Four Books '*Si zi*', the 'Four Masters'.

also extant and held by the National Library in Beijing; it shows structural similarities which confirm the common origin[62].

This is essentially a composite edition: it prints the Directorate text in 13 *juan* with the *Yinyi*, but adds to it prefatory material and commentary from the Sima Guang edition. It is excluded from the lists given by L'Haridon, Knechtges, Wang Han and Zhang Bin[63]. It is simply mentioned by Liu Ming in his article on the *Huzhu* edition and by Wang Han in his article on Tang Zhongyou's editorial work. For this reason I provide a more detailed description.

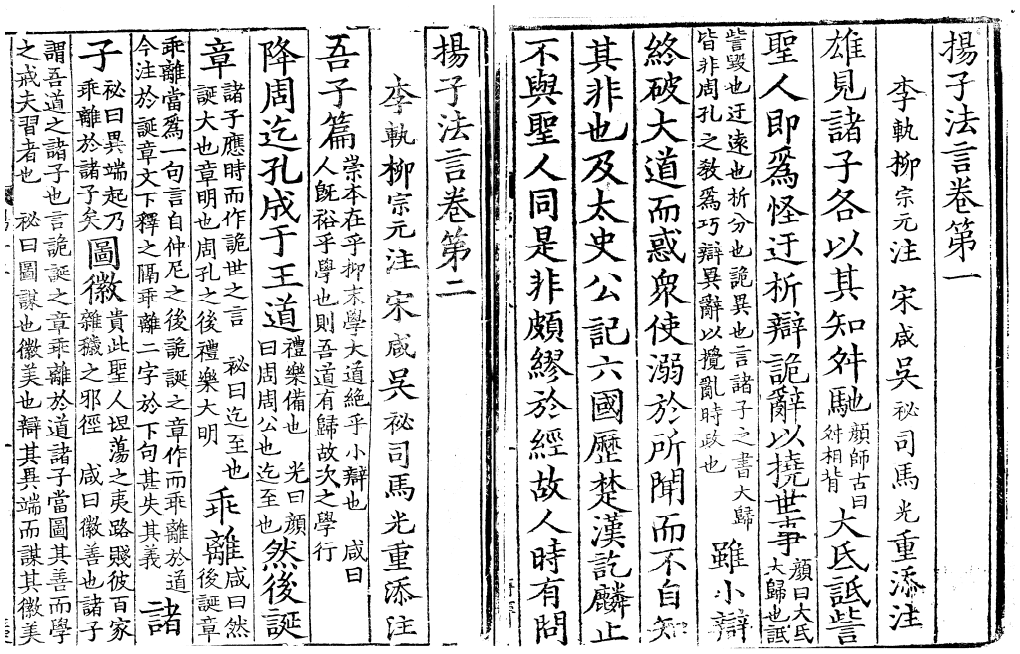

Figure 2. Two pages from Tang Zhongyou's edition.

It is a woodblock print on 8 columns, with 16 large characters to the column and 24 small characters on the double columns. The core (*ban xin*) contains one fish-tail above, followed by the characters 楊子 Yangzi, the number of the *juan*, the number of the page and at the bottom the name of the carver.

The prefatory material contains: Song Xian's *Biao* (badly damaged), a *Hou xu* by Tang Zhongyou dated Chunxi 8 (also seriously damaged), Song Xian's preface, a table of contents, Sima Guang's preface. Each chapter has on the first

[62] Tang's editorial activities are surveyed in Wang Han 2007, although only relatively little attention is paid to the *Fayan* edition.
[63] Zhang Bin 2004.

column the *juan*, on the second the commentators, on the third the title of the *pian* followed by Li Gui's commentary to the title and Song Xian's commentary to the title. On the next column begins the chapter summary (just as in Song Xian's arrangement), with the text of the chapter beginning on a new column. The first *juan* includes before the title Yang Xiong's preface from the *Hanshu*, including Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary (just like the editions in 10 *juan* – but omitting one comment by Sima Guang).

The text is followed by the commentaries in the order Li Gui, Song Xian, Wu Mi, and Sima Guang, with each commentator identified by name, save for Li Gui, just as in the 10 *juan* 五臣 *Wuchen* edition (cf. below under c.-e.). However, this is the Directorate text enhanced with additional material, Sima Guang's comments are edited, his phonological commentary being removed to the *Yinyi* section. His textual comments are eliminated and replaced with separate textual comments by the editor, registering alternative readings.

As the summaries and the corresponding comments by Li Gui are distributed at the beginning of each chapter, the thirteenth *juan* is followed directly by the *Yinyi* section (augmented with Sima Guang's comments, as detailed above).

Thus, this edition contains the full text of the Directorate edition, including the full Li Gui commentary. As the analysis of variants below will show, its readings are in some cases superior to the Qin reprint. In fact, some of the errors identified by Qin are not present in this text. In the table below I have collected the two readings and marked with an asterisk the cases in which the Taizhou edition does not contain the errors in the Qin reprint:

FY#	Qin reprint	Taizhou edition
*1.21	以其所葬	以其所以葬
*2.7	事事辭稱則經	事辭稱則經
*2.12	曰云姓孔而字仲尼	自云姓孔而字仲尼
*2.19	震風凌雨	震風陵雨

5.25	名震于京師	名震于京師
6. 19	不亦寶乎	不亦寶乎
6. 20	巢父洗耳	巢父洗耳
7. 1	吾寡見人之好假者也	吾寡見人之好假者也
*7.6	春木之芚	春木之芒
*7.8	又從而繡其其鞏	又從而繡其鞏
*8.6	強其所劣	彊其所劣
8.8	由羣謀之故也	由羣謀之故也
*9.9	議其教化	謹其教化
10.3	請問蓋	請問蓋
10.21	始六之詔	始六之詔
11.1	巽以揚之	巽以揚之
*11.4	請孟軻	請問孟軻
11.10	擊遼水	擊遼水
*11.13	實蛛蝥之劘也	實蛛蝥之靡也
11.21	曰非夷尚容依隱玩世其滑稽之雄乎	曰非夷尚容依隱玩世其滑稽之雄乎
*12.20	人言仙者有諸乎吁	人言仙者有諸乎曰吁
13.6	石奮石建	石奮石建

One possibility is of course that Tang tacitly corrected the errors, but more likely he worked on a better Directorate edition.

A number of cases shows that this text was still not the original Zhiping printing which Sima Guang saw, thus:

- at 5.25 the reading 振 for 震 is confirmed by the *Yinyi* as well as by Sima;
- at 6.19 珍 for 寶 is confirmed by the *Yinyi*;
- at 6.20 灑 for 洗 is confirmed by *Yinyi* as well as Sima;
- at 7.1 假 for 假 is confirmed by the *Yinyi*;
- at 10.3 請問蓋天 for 請問蓋 is confirmed by Sima;
- at 12.20 諸乎曰吁 for 諸乎吁 is confirmed by Sima (Qin's emendation 諸曰吁 is reasonable but not attested.)

c) The *Huzhu* edition of the Jianyang shufang

This is an edition in 10 *juan*, accompanied by Sima Guang's jizhu, i.e. the commentaries by Li Gui, Liu Zongyuan, Song Xian, and Wu Mi, to which Sima appended his own remarks. The earliest copy of this edition in 10 *juan* is held by the Guojia tushuguan and has been reviewed by Liu Ming[64].

> #07486
> 纂圖互注揚子法言
> 10 *juan*. With commentaries by Li Gui, Liu Zongyuan, Song Xian, Wu Mi, Sima Guang.
> Jianyang: Jianyang shufang. [date unclear]
> 4 vols. with illustrations, 11 columns, 19-21 characters to the column, commentary on double columns, 25 characters to the column.

In his article, Liu Ming comes to the conclusion that it must be an early Yuan reprint of a late Southern Song edition[65]. Following Yan, Knechtges[66] dates it precisely to 1260, although it is not clear on what evidence.

A reprint of this edition exists:

子部珍本叢刊. *Zi bu zhen ben cong kan*. Ed. 方勇 Fang Yong. Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2012.

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[64] Liu Ming 2010.
[65] Liu Ming 2010: 66; Knechtges 2010:215.
[66] Yan 1975: 333. Knechtges 2010.

The *huzhu* edition had enjoyed relatively wide circulation, with the result that a relatively high number of later reprints survive. The National Library in Taibei holds no less than five Ming editions, three of which have been digitized and are available online (unfortunately only from the premises of the Library). A Ming reprint of this edition has been published in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*. This is the version I was able to examine.

> 纂圖互註四子書：四十二卷 Zuantu huzhu sizishu: sishier juan
> Tainan, Liuying: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1995.
> Si ku quan shu cun mu cong shu, Zi bu ; vol. 162.

Below I show the first pages of two Ming editions, both held by the National Library in Taibei. The first is identical with the one reprinted in the *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*. The second is an entirely recut edition, with a different format and different character forms, e.g. 孝 for 學.

Figure 3. Two Ming reprints of the Huzhu edition.

This edition provides before the text: the preface by Song Xian; the *biao* 表 by Song Xian, the preface by Sima Guang; a double page presenting on one

half a cosmological chart entitled 渾儀圖 and on the other an explanatory text; another double page with a chart of the five sounds and twelve pipes 五聲十二律圖.

The text of each *juan* has on the first line the title 纂圖互注揚子法言 and the number of the *juan*; on the second line indented 李轨、柳宗元注; on the third line 宋咸、吴祕、司马光重添注. On the fourth line the title of the *pian* followed by Song Xian's comments, but omitting Li Gui's comments; after this the edition gives the summary, originally appended to the end of the thirteenth *juan* in the Directorate text. The text is followed by the commentaries of Li Gui, Liu Zongyuan, Song Xian, Wu Mi, and Sima Guang, each marked by the given name, save for Li Gui, which goes unmarked. Additionally, the editors inserted in the text additional commentaries marked 互注, 重言, 重意, which give relevant passages chiefly from the *Lunyu*, but also from the *Mengzi, Zhuangzi* and the classics. *Juan* no. 2, 5, and 6 each contain two *pian*. Besides Li Gui's comments to the chapter titles, the *Yinyi* is also omitted from this edition.

Originally this was not a standalone edition, but was published as part of a set by the commercial editors Jianyang shufang 建陽書坊 of Fujian: *Zuantu huzhu jiujing sizi* 纂圖互註九經四子– with the *zi* section including *Laozi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Xunzi*, *Yangzi*. This was in turn based on a similar set issued by the Directorate of Education[67], to which it added the 互注, 重言, 重意 sections mentioned above as well as the charts. As Cherniack notes[68], these were standard practices used by private publishers in the Song in order to make their alternative editions more attractive.

In his analysis of the exemplar in the Guojia tushuguan, Liu Ming proposes that the text of the *Fayan* in this case would be based on the Directorate text (i.e. the 13 *juan* edition of the Zhiping era or one of its successors) but with the Sima commentary added by the commercial publisher[69]. This is not an implausible scenario, as the Taizhou edition above is precisely this kind of text; however this

[67] Cf. Liu Ming.
[68] Cherniak 1994:80.
[69] Liu Ming 2010:66.

text is in 10 *juan* and the Ming version I was able to examine accords in all cases with the Sima text, unlike the Taizhou edition, which uses the 13 *juan* format and sticks with the corresponding text, altering the Sima commentary to fit it. This raises the very important question of how Sima Guang's edition had reached the public so as to serve as the basis of commercial editions such as this one and the next. The available evidence does not warrant a conclusion about the precise conditions in which Sima Guang's commentary was published[70], but it seems quite plausible to assume that the Directorate issued a second official edition based this time on Sima's text.

d) The *Wuchen* edition by Mr. Yu of Chengzhou (basis of the Shidetang *Liuzi* text)

The oldest printing of this edition in 10 *juan*, which I have not been able to examine, is held by the Guojia tushuguan:

> #12361
> 新纂門目五臣音注揚子法言
> 10 *juan*, with commentaries by Li Gui, Liu Zongyuan, Song Xian, Wu Mi, Sima Guang.
> Published by Mr. Yu 余氏 of Chongzhou 崇川.
> 4 vols. Text on 11 columns with 19 characters to the column, commentary on double columns with 27 characters to the column.

Already during the Southern Song this edition became part of a selection of Masters literature, the *Liuzi* 六子 set, comprising *Laozi, Zhuangzi, Liezi, Xunzi, Yangzi,* and *Wenzhong zi.* As such it has enjoyed the widest circulation up to Qin's reprint of the 13 *juan* version. Most notably, it was printed by Gu Chun 顧春 in 1533 in the Shidetang collection, originally in the format of 11 columns with 23 characters to the column and then reprinted by the Tongyin shushi 桐蔭書屋 in the format of 8 columns with 17 characters to the column.

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[70] Cf. Liu Ming 2010:65.

Below the first pages of the two editions side by side:

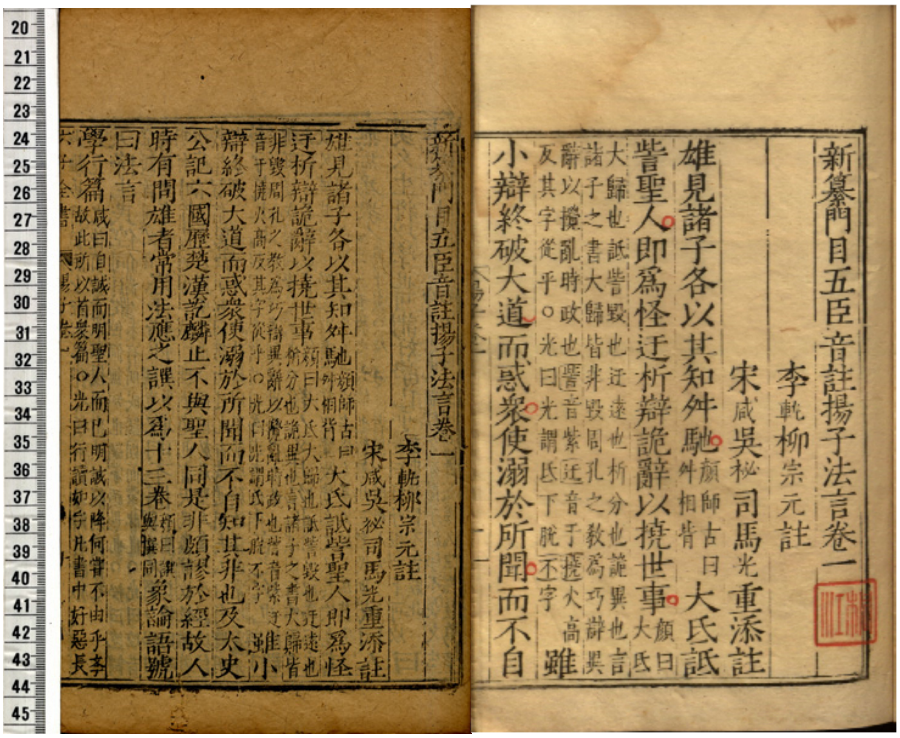

Figure 4. Two reprints of the Wuchen edition.

While the first edition is rare, the second is quite common:

- a Ming print is held by the Library of Congress, has been digitized and is available online[71];
- a reprint was reissued in 1914 and has been digitized and is available online[72];
- a recent reprint has been issued by the Jilin chubanshe and is available commercially.

[71] From the database of rare books of the National Central Library in Taibei: http://rarebook.ncl.edu.tw.
[72] From the HathiTrust database: www.hathitrust.org.

Furthermore, this version of the text has been reissued in the collection *Shizi quanshu* 十子全書 in 1804. This edition is likewise quite common, the copy held by the Bavarian State Library having been digitized and made available online[73].

The Ming reprint in the 8/17 format is very similar to the *Huzhu* edition: the prefatory material is the same, except for the omission of the charts (but the explanations to the cosmological chart are kept). The text itself is also very similar, except of course for the title 新纂門目五臣音注揚子法言 and the absence of the 互注, 重言, 重意 additions. Furthermore, the first *juan* inserts before the title of the first *pian* Yang Xiong's preface from the *Hanshu* biography. This text was commented upon by Sima so must have been included in his version; it was however not commented upon by Song Xian, so it was probably not part of his version. Just as in the *Huzhu* text, *juan* no. 2, 5, and 6 each contain two *pian*. Besides Li Gui's comments to the chapter titles, the *Yinyi* is also omitted.

Qin is of the opinion that this edition is based on an earlier edition of *sichen zhu* 四臣注, i.e. without Sima Guang's commentary, and that Sima's commentary was added later[74]. I can find no evidence of this, as the text corresponds in all details with the other versions of Sima's commentary and is consistent with the commentary itself. Furthermore, the scenario seems implausible. There is no evidence that either the Song Xian or the Wu Mi commentaries were published separately and they would have had to be available to the editor.

Knechtges is of the opinion that this edition is based on the one above (*huzhu*), but does not offer any evidence[75]. The *Huzhu* edition offers the added benefit of the *huzhu* etc. additions inserted into the text in the manner explained above, which the editors would have had to eliminate. On the other hand, should the *Huzhu* edition be derived from this one, the editors would have had to remove Yang Xiong's preface, without any good reason.

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[73] http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de.
[74] Qin preface, SBCK 333; also reprinted in Han 1999:209-212.
[75] Knechtges 2010:215.

Some of the Shidetang editions carry the title 监本五臣音注扬子法言 *Directorate edition of the Yangzi Fayan with commentaries and phonological glosses by the five officials* prompting Qing scholar Wu Zhuo 吴焯 (1676-1733) to assume that this is simply a publicity stunt, given the authoritative character of the Directorate edition[76]. As I have not been able to examine the Song edition at the Guojia tushuguan, I cannot determine whether it also has this imprint or not. However, in light of the remarks above about the transmission and publication of Sima Guang's commentary, it might turn out that this was a legitimate use of the Directorate's name.

e) The *Wuchen leiti* edition from the Shaoxing period (1131-1162)

This is a very rare edition, held by the Guojia tushuguan.

> #04888
> 纂圖分門類題五臣注揚子法言 *Zuantu fenmen leiti wuchen zhu Yangzi Fa yan,*
> 10 *juan*, with commentaries by Li Gui, Liu Zongyuan, Song Xian, Wu Mi, Sima Guang.
> [Jianyang:] 刘通判宅 Liu Tongpan zhai (仰高堂 Yanggao tang). Shaoxing (1131-1162).
> 4 vols. 10 columns, 19 characters on a column, commentary on double columns, 23 characters to a column.

It did not enjoy wide circulation, with the result that this appears to be the only extant copy. Fortunately, a reproduction has been issued in 2003 as part of the *Zhonghua zaizao shanben* series.

> 纂圖分門類題五臣注揚子法言 *Zuantu fenmen leiti wuchen zhu Yangzi Fa yan.* Reproduction based on the Song edition by Liu Tongpan zhai (Yanggao tang). Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2003. 4 vols. Part of the series *Zhonghua zaizao shanben*, Tang and Song editions, *Zi* section, vol.11.

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[76] "其题乃曰监本五臣音注， 盖世以监本为贵，故假其名以欺世耳，监本安有五臣注乎？"Cf. Zhang 2004:76.

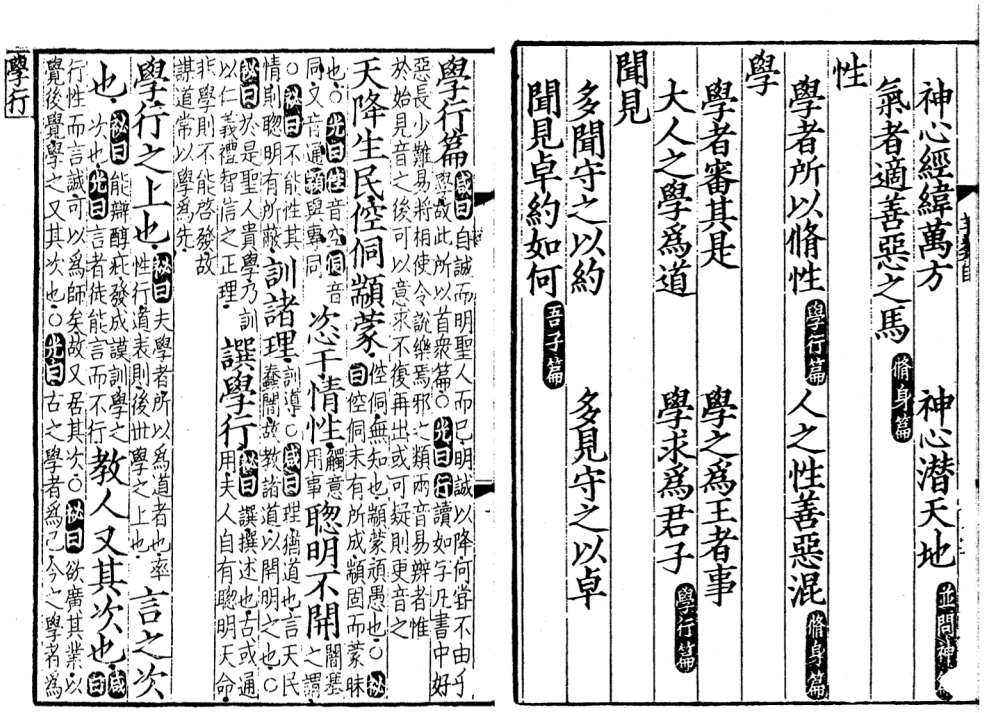

Figure 5. Two pages from the Leiti edition.

The text proper is preceded by ample prefatory material: Sima Guang's preface, Song Xian's *biao*, as well as a preface by the editor, explaining the particularity of this edition, namely the inclusion of materials about Yang Xiong collected from various sources (opinions by Ban Gu, Zuo Si, Han Yu, Wang Anshi, Su Shi, etc.) as well as Yang's ideas classified according to a long series of topics (heaven, the Sage, the *junzi*, the heart, piety, government, human nature, etc.). The text of the *Fayan* is in the format of 10 columns with 19 characters to the column and 23 characters on the double columns and follows the *Wuchen* edition above (d) with the summaries at the top of each chapter and the preface included at the beginning.

2.3 The 11th century Northern Song text

No Northern Song edition survives, but a lot of useful information can be extracted from the existing sources: on the one hand, the *Yinyi* appendix of the Directorate edition and Sima Guang's textual comments provide ample evidence as to the state of the text in the 11th century; on the other, the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, a massive

compilation ordered by Song Taizong and completed in 984 by a committee led by Li Fang 李昉 (925-996), amply quotes the *Fayan* and thus provides some clues as to the presence and shape of the text in the 10th century.

Below I have collected all the variants listed in the *Yinyi* and identified by number the *zhang* to which they refer.

1.7 不能踰也 俗本脫不字, 諸本皆有
1.8c 五石 俗本作玉石, 誤
1.21 如其富 俗本下句作如其義, 非
1.24 有教立道無心仲尼有學術業無心顏淵 天復本並作無止
2.2 景差 [礻刀][77]佳切. 舊本作景[昜差][78]
2.4 確乎 苦角反. 俗本作榷, 非
2.12 羊質而虎皮見草而[言兌][79] 音悅, 天復本作見羊而悅
2.14 述正道而稍邪哆者有矣未有述邪哆而稍正 哆昌者切, 又尺氏切. 天復本作稍正道
3.5 聖人之辭可爲也使人信之所不可爲也 天復本作不可爲也使人敬之
3.8 可以有爲 俗本作可以爲友, 非是
3.14 糟莩 李軌讀糟如字, 莩音浮, 熟也. 柳宗元曰: 熒明也. 熒魂司見之用者也. 糟當爲精莩如葭莩之莩目精之表也. 言魂之熒明曠乆則枯精之輕浮曠乆則沈. 不面日月則目之用廢矣. 以至於索塗冥行而已. 舊本亦作精莩
3.16 則賈 音古, 俗本作史, 後人改之爾, 舊本皆作賈. 謂: 賈人衒鬻過實下篇云衒玉賈石是也
3.20 引諸門乎 門本或作問
3.21 人門 俗本人作仁, 誤
4.2 或曰焉得直道而由諸 天復本無或曰二字, 焉於虔切, 下以意求之
4.2 或曰事雖曲而通諸聖 天復本無或曰二字
4.4 請問禮莫知 天復本作請問莫知
4.6 搥提 搥都回切, 舊本皆從手擲也. 提徒計切, 亦擲也.
4.7 閫然 匹庚切, 閉門也. 俗本作闇然, 誤. 諸本皆作閫
4.14 則禮由已 一本作由也.
4.15 耾耾 戶萌切. 俗本作肱, 誤. 宋玉風賦曰: 耾耾雷聲. 裨蒼曰: 耾聲皃

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[77] 初 = 初
[78] 𨐈 = 嗟
[79] 說 = 說

4.24 銛 息廉切, 本或作鈷, 誤
4.23 反目眩形 一本作反自眩刑, 眩音縣
5.1 請問之 天復本作請聞之
5.5 食其不妄 俗本作不忘, 字之誤也. 非義不妄食, 故不可得而制. 楚辭曰: 鳳亦不貪餧而妄食
5.9 譙乎 俗本作誰, 舊本皆作譙. 詩傳云: 譙殺也. 殺所戒切. 故注云酷烈
5.13 嚍嚍 音即刃切. 俗本作嚒嚒, 誤
5.26 能別似者 彼列切. 俗本作能參以似, 非是
6.7 抌也 五官切. 漢書云: 海内抌 下抌秦同. 舊本皆作抌
6.14 [言寧][80] 女耕切, 譻 . 天復本作諵諵, 音于, 又音紆, 妄言也
6.16 弋人何慕 後漢書逸民傳序引揚子作弋者何篡. 宋衷注云: 篡取也. 鴻高飛冥冥薄天雖有弋人執增繳何所施巧而取焉喻賢者深居亦不罹暴亂之害. 今篡或爲慕誤也
6.19 鬾欲 士銜切. 貪也. 俗本作利欲
6.20 累克 俗本誤作刻
7.1 好假 音遐, 本或作遐, 下同
7.6 皆[言兌] 一本[言公儿]作訟
8.6 非天下之至 天復本作天下之至德
8.8 小則敗聖如何 天復本無如何二字
8.22 聆聽 俗本作聆德, 非
9.7 不抎 于粉切. 天復本作眒, 音雲, 耳中聲也
9.22 坏 芳盃切. 未燒瓦也. 俗本作怀, 字之誤也. 注甄燥也. 俗本誤作躁坏濕也誤作怀懼也衆田音佃田侯田上田同上音下如字
10.3 幾乎 音機, 下同. 俗本作幾幾乎. 尚書舜典正義引揚子雲: 幾乎幾乎
10.7 高山 本或作商山
10.8 天王不匡 俗本作天下, 誤.
10.16 越與 音預. 俗本作興, 字誤
10.21 始六世之詔 天復本作始元之[礻刀]
10.26 韋玄 天復本作四皓韋玄成
10.26 欒布之不塗 天復本作不倍
11.1 曰寢 俗本作曰在寢, 在衍字
11.9 周之順赧 諸本皆作順赧. 順靚王, 及赧王也. 俗本作周之傾, 字之誤也.
11.13 求反 俗本脫求字
11.13 蛛蝀 俗本作蛛螽, 誤. 賈 新書曰: 蛛蝀作網蝀, 音矛
11.16 執正 俗本作政, 誤
11.17 晁錯曰愚 天復本作由忠

[80] 譻

11.21　詼達　上音恢. 舊本皆作詼達. 漢書曰:朔詼達多端不名一行. 本或作談達, 又作名字達, 皆誤
11.32　愀如　親小切. 舊本皆作俶如, 昌六切. 動色皃
12.6　牛玄騑白=　俗本作 牛騑白, 誤. 騑息營切
12.10　人以巫鼓　天復本作又以巫鼓
13.18　孰寧　天復本作孰愈

The following points must be noted:

- The variant listed for *zhang* 1.8 refers not to the text but to the commentary. If the *Yinyi* inventory of variants is exhaustive, this would mean that all sources accord overwhelmingly when it comes to the commentary. All other 55 variants refer to the text itself.
- The note to 4.6 does not present a variant, as the character 搥 already has the 手 radical. Perhaps the original version of the Directorate edition had *chui* without a radical or with a different one, but the present reading is confirmed by both the Qin Enfu text and the Taizhou text. Furthermore, Sima Guang, whose text also has 搥, does not list a variant for this passage.
- The note to 6.7 is equally meaningless. The *Fayan* text reads 抏也 in both the Qin Enfu reprint and the Taizhou edition, and the *Yinyi* text is also confirmed by both. One possibility is that the original Directorate edition had a different character in the text, but this is contradicted by Sima Guang, who saw a 抏 in the Directorate edition as well. Another possibility is that the *Yinyi* text is a misprint, and should read: 俗本作阮. Indeed Sima Guang saw 阮 in both Song Xian's and Wu Mi's texts and follows them in adopting this reading.

The *Yinyi* identifies three sources of variants: the Tianfu edition (20 variants), several 'old editions' *jiuben* (4 variants), and one (or several) 'popular edition(s)' *suben* (24 variants). In several cases 'one edition' is invoked (8 variants).

The following table presents all of these variants. Missing characters are marked by points "..."; the variants in the *suben* column marked with an asterisk are attributed to 'one edition'.

No.	舊本	天復本	俗本	音義
1.7			...能踰也	不能踰也
1.8c			玉石	五石
1.21			如其義	如其富
1.24		無止		有敎立道無心仲尼有學術業無心顔淵
2.2	景[昜差]			景差
2.4			権乎	確乎
2.12		見羊而悅		羊質而虎皮見草而[言兌]
2.14		稍正道		述正道而稍邪哆者有矣未有述邪哆而稍正
3.5		不可爲也使人敬之		聖人之辭可爲也使人信之所不可爲也
3.8			可以爲友	可以有爲
3.14	精孛			糟孛
3.16			則史	則賈
3.20			引諸問乎*	引諸門乎
3.21			仁門	人門
4.2		...焉得直道而由諸		或曰焉得直道而由諸
4.2		...事雖曲而通諸聖		或曰事雖曲而通諸聖
4.4		請問莫知		請問禮莫知
4.7		闇然		閞然
4.14			由也*	則禮由已
4.15			肱肱	耿耿
4.24			鈷*	銛
4.23			反自眩刑*	反目眩形
5.1		請聞之		請問之
5.5			食其不忘	食其不妄
5.9			誰乎	譙乎
5.13			嚍嚍	嚚嚚
5.26			能參以似	能別似者
6.7			[阮]	抏也
6.14		謣謣		[言寧]
6.16				慕 (篡)
6.19			利欲	鬼欲
6.20			累刻	累克
7.1			好遐*	好假
7.6			皆訟	皆[言兌]
8.6		天下之至德		非天下之至...
8.8		小則敗聖...		小則敗聖如何
8.22			聆德	聆聽

9.7		不眐		不扤
9.22			怔	坏
10.3			幾幾乎	幾乎幾乎
10.7			商山*	高山
10.8			天下不匡	天王不匡
10.16			越興	越與
10.21		始元之[礻刀]		始六世之詔
10.26		韋玄成		韋玄...
10.26		不倍		欒布之不塗
11.1		曰在寢		曰寢
11.9		周之傾		周之順赧
11.13			以反	以求反
11.13			蛛螫	蛛螫
11.16			執政	執正
11.17		晁錯由忠		晁錯曰愚
11.21	詼達		談達* 名字達*	詼達
11.32	俶如			愀如
12.6			玄牛騚白	牛玄騚白
12.10		又以巫鼓		人以巫鼓
13.18		孰愈		孰寧

On the face of it it might appear as if the editors adopted the strategy of siding with the majority, that is adopting the variant found in two sources against the outlier. Effectively this would mean they took as base text (one of) the old editions. However this would imply the situation that the sources never diverge three ways, which is unlikely. Furthermore, variants from the old editions are redundant. More likely it is that the editors had a separate base text, quite possibly an official print, which they contrast with the other sources. The old editions are possibly manuscripts.

The Tianfu edition is not known otherwise, but Qin Enfu's theory quoted above seems reasonable.

The question is what the popular editions are and to what extent the *Yinyi* editors proceed systematically, i.e. whether they give all variants they encountered or only those they deem relevant. Further light on these issues is cast by Sima Guang's philological comments.

Sima had at his disposal three editions: the Directorate text with the *Yinyi* (from the Zhiping era), the Song Xian text with commentary, and the Wu Mi text

with commentary. He mentions 15 variants from the Tianfu edition, but all of them come from the *Yinyi*, which is referenced explicitly. Thus we can conclude that Sima never saw the Tianfu edition. In his comments he completely ignores variants from the "old editions", even when quoted by the *Yinyi*.

Below I list all variants mentioned in Sima's commentary and identify the respective *zhang* by number.

1.7 不能踰也 ◯光曰：吳宋本作衆人所能踰. 音義曰：俗本脱不字, 諸本皆有. 今從之

1.21 如其富 ◯光曰：宋吳本作如其富如其義. 音義曰：俗本下句作如其義非. 今從之

*1.23 顔苦孔之卓也 ◯光曰：李本作顔苦孔之卓之至也. 今從宋吳本

1.24 有敎立道無心仲尼有學術業無心顔淵 ◯光曰：音義曰：天復本心作止. 今從李宋吳本

*2.1 曰：諷則已 ◯光曰：宋吳本無曰字. 今從李本

2.4 確乎 ◯光曰：宋吳本確作搉. 今從李本

*2.9 岌崖 ◯光曰：宋吳本岌崖作邐迤. 今從李本

2.12 羊質而虎皮見草而[言兌] ◯光曰：音義曰：天復本草作揚. 今從諸家本

2.14 述正道而稍邪哆者有矣未有述邪哆而稍正 ◯光曰：音義曰：天復本作稍正道. 今從諸家本

*2.19 帡幪 ◯光曰：吳本帡作幌音荒. 今從李宋本

3.5 聖人之辭可爲也使人信之所不可爲也 ◯光曰：音義曰：天復本信作敬. 今從諸家

3.8 可以有爲 光曰：宋吳本有為作為友. 今從李本

*3.14 無田甫田 ◯光曰：李本甫作圃. 今從宋吳本

3.14 糟莩 ◯祕曰：熒光, 熒魂神光. 精莩, 精之白也. 故本精作糟

*3.15 重言重行重貌重好 光曰：宋吳本言重行重貌重好重. 今從李本

3.16 則史 ◯光曰：李本史作賈音古. 音義曰：賈人 鬻過實. 今從吳宋本

3.20 引諸門乎 ◯光曰：宋本門作問. 今從李吳本

3.21 人門 ◯光曰：宋吳本人作仁. 今從李本

*4.2 或問道 光曰：宋吳本無道字. 今從李本

4.2 或曰焉得直道而由諸
或曰事雖曲而通諸聖 ◯光曰：音義曰：天復本焉得直道及事雖曲上皆無或曰二字. 今從李宋吳本

4.4 請問莫知 ◯光曰：李宋吳本皆作請問禮莫知. 音義曰：天復本作請問莫知. 今從之

4.7 閘然 ◯光曰：宋吳本閘作閔. 今從李本. 音義曰：閘匹庚切. 閉門也

4.15 耽耽 ◯光曰：宋吳本肱作紘. 今從李本

4.24 銛 ◯光曰：宋本銛作鉆. 敕淹巨淹二切. 今從李吳本

4.23 反自眩刑 ◯光曰：李本自作目. 今從宋吳本

5.1 請聞之 ◯光曰：李宋吳本作請問之. 音義曰：天復本作請聞之. 今從之

5.5 食其不妄 ◯光曰：宋吳本妄作忘. 今從李本

*5.6 或因或作 ◯光曰：宋吳本或作下更有因字. 今從李本

5.9 誰乎 ◯光曰：李本誰作譙. 今從宋吳本

*5.11 訾訾 ◯光曰：宋吳本訾作詆. 今從李本

5.13 嚘嚘 ◯光曰：宋吳本嚘作嚱. 呼陌切. 叫呼也. 今從李本

*5.25 名震 ◯光曰：李宋吳本震作振. 今從漢書

*5.26 難知 ◯光曰：李本難作艱. 今從宋吳本

5.26 能參以似 ◯光曰：李本作能別似. 今從宋吳本

6.7 阮也 ◯光曰：李本阮作抏, 五官切. 今從宋吳本

*6.9 於戲 ◯光曰：宋吳本作烏呼. 今從李本

*6.9/10 慎哉 ◯光曰：李本慎作盛, 屬下章. 今從宋吳本

6.14 諝 ◯光曰：李宋吳本諝皆作[言寧], 女耕切. 字書譻[言寧], 小聲也◯咸曰：[言寧]邪也. 音義曰：天復本作諝, 音于妄言也. 今從之. 光謂: 妄言者不知而作惑亂後生故敗俗也

6.16 弋人何篡 ◯光曰：故書篡作慕. 音義曰：後漢書逸民傳序引揚子作弋者何篡. 宋衷註云: 篡取也. 鴻高飛寃寃雖弋人執繒繳何所施巧而取焉. 今篡或為慕, 誤也. 光謂: 逆取曰篡.

6.19 毚欲 ◯光曰：宋吳本毚作利. 今從李本

6.20 累克 ◯光曰：宋吳本克作刻, 灑作洗. 今從李本

*6.22 盖其 ◯光曰：宋吳本無其字. 今從李本

*6.22 説之不合非憂邪 ◯光曰：宋吳本作非憂説之不合非邪. 今從李本

7.1 好假 祕曰：遐一本作假, 古字也

*7.1 得已則已矣 ◯光曰：宋吳本作得已則至矣. 今從李本

*7.5 辯亦 ◯光曰：宋吳本辯皆作辨. 今從李本

*7.6 苤兮 ◯光曰：李本苤作芒. 今從宋吳本

7.6 皆訟 ◯光曰：李本訟作説. 今從宋吳本

*7.6 是在 ◯光曰：宋吳本是作各. 今從李本

*7.8 通一經 ◯光曰：李本無經字. 今從宋吳本

*7.10 斯有 ◯光曰：宋吳本有作存. 今從李本

*7.13 使起之兵 ◯光曰：李本作使起之用兵. 今從宋吳本

8.6 非天下之至德 ◯光曰：李宋吳本皆無德字. 音義稱天復本有之. 今從之

8.8 小則敗聖如何 ◯光曰：音義曰：天復本無如何字. 今從李宋吳本

*8.8 不用噫者 ◯光曰：宋吳本作不用雉噫者. 今從李本無雉字

*8.17 瓏[玉靈][81] ◯光曰：瓏 宋吳本作[玉靈]瓏. 今從李本

8.22 聆德 ◯光曰：李本聆德作聆聽. 今從宋吳本

*9.1 作昞 ◯光曰：宋吳本昞作炳. 今從李本

9.7 不耾 ◯光曰：李本吳本耾皆作抎, 于粉切. 說文云: 抎有所失也. 音義曰：天復本作耾，音云，耳中聲也，. 今從之

*9.14 已矣 ◯光曰：宋吳本已作成. 今從李本

*9.19 樂天 ◯光曰：宋吳本樂下有天字. 今從李本

9.22 坏 ◯光曰：宋吳本坯作怀. 今從李木

10.3 幾乎 ◯光曰：宋吳本作幾幾乎. 今從李本

10.7 高山 ◯光曰：宋吳本高山作商山. 今從李本

10.8 天王不匡 ◯光曰：宋吳本天王作天下. 今從李本

*10.11 顯懿 ◯光曰：宋吳本顯懿作顯德. 今從李本

10.16 越與 ◯光曰：宋吳本越與作越興. 今從李本

10.21 始元之初 ◯光曰：李本作始六世之詔, 宋吳本作始六之詔. 音義曰：天復本作始元之初. 今從之

10.26 韋玄 ◯光曰：李宋吳本無成字. 音義曰：天復本作韋玄成. 今從之

10.26 欒布之不塗 [...]◯光曰：音義曰：[天復本*]不塗作不倍. 光謂: 塗當作渝, 變也

*10.28 捃欹 ◯光曰：李本無欹字. 今從宋吳本

11.1 曰寢 ◯光曰：宋吳本作在寢. 今從李本

*11.1 巽以揚之 ◯光曰：宋吳本作巽以揚之. 今從李本

*11.2 七十子 ◯光曰：宋吳本作七十二子. 今從李本

*11.5 [亻湯][82]而不制◯光曰：宋吳本[亻湯作傷, 制作剬. 介甫曰：餳古蕩字, 剬古制字. 今從李本

11.9 周之順赧 ◯光曰：宋吳本作周之傾赧. 今從李本. 音義曰：諸本皆作順赧順靚王及赧王也. 俗本作傾誤也

*11.10 而屍 ◯光曰：李本屍作死. 今從宋吳本

11.13 蛛蝥 ◯光曰：宋吳本蝥作螯. 今從李本. 蛛音誅蝥音矛靡興麋同. 音義曰：賈誼新書曰：蛛蝥作網光謂靡爛也政也

*11.15 昔在任人帝曰：難之亦才矣 ◯光曰：宋吳本作昔在任人帝而難之不以才矣. 今從李本

11.16 執正 ◯光曰：宋吳本正作政. 今從李本

11.17 晁錯曰愚 ◯光曰：音義曰：天復本愚作由忠. 今從諸家

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[81] 瓏 =玲

[82] 傷

*11.17 没齒然也　　◯光曰：李本作没齒無愁也. 今從宋吴本
*11.18 無悞　◯光曰：李本悞作悟. 今從宋吴本
*11.21 或曰：隱　　◯光曰：宋吴本或曰：作或問. 今從李本
*11.21 似哲　◯光曰：吴本哲作智. 今從李宋木
11.21　詼達　◯光曰：宋本作請問名字達. 吴本作請問名談達.　今從李本; 音義引漢書朔談達多端不名一行
*11.21 非夷齊而是柳下惠戒其子以尚容首陽為拙柱下為工飽食安坐以仕易農依隱玩世詭時不逢其滑稽之雄乎　◯光曰：李宋吴本皆云非夷尚容依隱玩世其滑稽之雄乎. 按漢書具載揚子之言恐諸家脫悞也.　今從漢書
*11.23 但聞　◯光曰：李本但作鄣音義曰：古鄣但通用. 今從宋吴本
*12.4　書倪　◯光曰：宋吴本倪作脫. 今從李本音義曰：倪佗括切
12.6　牛玄辟白　　◯光曰：宋吴本牛玄辟白作玄牛辟白, 睟作粹.　今從李本
12.10　人以巫鼓　　◯光曰：音義曰：天復本人作又
*13.11 朱輪駟馬　　光曰：宋吴本於此有受天字. 今從李本
*13.18 有始而無終與有終而無始也孰寧　　光曰：宋吴本作有始而無終歟有終而無始歟. 音義曰：天復本寧作愈. 今從李本
*13.21 則擬　◯光曰：吴本擬作凝. 今從李宋本
*13.26 芒芒　◯光曰：李本芒芒作荒荒. 今從宋吴本

The following points must be noted:

- The commentary to 2.1 is somewhat misleading: the text of the Directorate edition reads 賦可以諷乎曰諷乎諷則已, while the text in the Shidetang edition reads 賦可以諷乎曰...諷則已. This seems to be a misreading on the part of Sima Guang: either the texts of Song Xian and Wu Mi had dropped three characters 曰諷乎 or, quite plausibly, they had the same reading as the Directorate text.
- The commentary to 2.12 misspells the *Yinyi* quotation: 音義曰：天復本草作揚, in fact the *Yinyi* has 天復本草作羊.
- The Shidetang text of 7.1 has 好假, just as Sima's commentary (which quotes Wu Mi), whereas the Directorate text has 好假. The variant 遐 in Wu Mi's comment is confirmed by the *Yinyi*. This is again probably a misspelling on the part of Sima Guang, as 假 is what works in the context and synonymous with 遐.

- The commentary to 7.6 gives 芒 as the reading of the Directorate text, as opposed to 芒 as the reading of Song Xian and Wu Mi. The Qin Enfu reprint reads however 芒. The fact that the original Directorate text had indeed 芒 is confirmed by the Taizhou edition.
- The commentary to 7.13 quotes as a variant for 使起之兵 the Directorate text 使起之用兵; however, the Qin Enfu reprint has 使起之固兵, whereas the Taizhou edition has 使起之兵, same as Sima.
- The commentary to 9.19 leads to believe that Sima wanted to adopt the reading of the Directorate edition 聖人樂陶成天下之化, however the Shidetang text (as well as the *Huzhu* text) has 聖人樂天陶成天下之化, just as the Song and Wu texts which he rejects.
- The commentary to 11.21 would lead to believe that Sima's text adopted the reading 請問名曰詼達 following the Directorate text as opposed to Wu Mi's text 請問名談達, however the Shidetang text has 請問名曰談達. Whereas the characters look almost indistinguishable, the variant 談 for 詼 is signaled and rejected in the *Yinyi*. As far as 達 (U+9054) vs 达 (U+9039) is concerned, the *Yinyi* uniformly uses the former, while the Shidetang the latter, but these are purely graphical variants.
- The next passage from 11.21 together with 5.25 are the only cases in which Sima departs from all existing editions and modifies the text based on evidence from the *Hanshu*.

Below I have assembled all the information in a table. An asterisk marks the variants registered in Sima Guang's commentary but not in the *Yinyi*. The "=" sign stands for the value in the column to the left (e.g. showing that the reading of Song Xian's text is shared by Wu Mi's text). Except in two cases, Sima Guang adopts one of the readings of the editions before him, hence I have only recorded the variants rejected by Sima (i.e. the empty cells should contain the text chosen by Sima and given in the first column). Variants from the Tianfu edition are recorded even when not followed by Sima Guang, in which case I have placed them

in square brackets. In most cases there is no information on the Tianfu text, in which case I have written a dash in the respective cell.

No	Sima	Li	Song	Wu	Tianfu
1.7	不能踰也	=	衆人所能踰	=	-
1.21	如其富	=	如其富如其義	=	-
*1.23	顏苦孔之卓也	顏苦孔之卓之至也	顏苦孔之卓也	=	-
1.24	有敎立道無心仲尼有學術業無心顏淵	=	=	=	[心作止]
*2.1	曰諷則己	=	諷則己	=	-
2.4	確乎	=	搉	=	-
*2.9	岌崖	=	邐迤	=	-
2.12	羊質而虎皮見草而[說]	=	=	=	[草作揚]
2.14	述正道而稍邪哆者有矣未有述邪哆而稍正	=	=	=	[稍正道]
*2.19	帡幪	=	=	幌	-
3.5	聖人之辭可爲也使人信之所不可爲也	=	=	=	[信作敬]
3.8	可以有爲	=	為友	=	-
*3.14	無田甫田	無田圃田	無田甫田	=	-
3.14	糟莘	=	(糟?)	精	-
*3.15	重言重行重貌重好	=	言重行重貌重好重	=	-
3.16	則史	則賈	則史	=	-
3.20	引諸門乎	=	引諸問乎		-
3.21	人門	=	仁門	=	-
*4.2	或問道	=	或問	=	-
4.2	或曰焉得直道而由諸	=	=	=	-
4.2	或曰事雖曲而通諸聖	=	=	=	[無或曰二字]
4.4	請問莫知	請問禮莫知	=	=	請問莫知
4.7	閑然	=	閔然	=	-
4.15	耾耾	=	弦弦	=	-
4.24	銛	=	鉆		-
4.23	反自眩刑	自作目	反自眩刑	=	-
5.1	請聞之	請問之	=	=	請聞之

5.5	食其不妄	=	食其不忘	=	-
*5.6	或因或作	=	或作下更有因字	=	-
5.9	誰乎	誰作譙	誰乎	=	-
*5.11	訾訾	=	闇闇	=	-
5.13	嚘嚘	=	嚘嚘	=	-
*5.25	名震 (*HS)	名振	=	=	-
*5.26	難知	艱知	難知	=	-
5.26	能參以似	能別似	能參以似	=	-
6.7	阬也	抗也	阬也	=	-
*6.9	於戲	=	烏呼	=	-
*6.9/10	慎哉	盛哉(屬下章)	慎哉	=	-
6.14	謣	[言+寧]	=	=	謣
6.16	弋人何篡	弋人何慕	弋人何篡	=	-
6.19	鬾欲	=	利欲	=	-
6.20	好大累克巢父灑耳	=	好大累刻巢父洗耳	=	-
*6.22	盖其	=	盖	=	-
*6.22	説之不合非憂邪	=	非憂説之不合非邪	=	-
7.1	好假	=	(假?)	遐	-
*7.1	得已則已矣	=	得已則至矣	=	-
*7.5	辯亦	=	辨亦	=	-
*7.6	苪兮	芒兮	苪兮	=	-
7.6	皆訟	皆説	皆訟	=	-
*7.6	是在	=	各在	=	-
*7.8	通一經	通一	通一經	=	-
*7.10	斯有	=	斯存	=	-
*7.13	使起之兵	使起之用兵	使起之兵	=	-
8.6	非天下之至德	非天下之至	=	=	至德
8.8	小則敗聖如何	=	=	=	[無如何字]
*8.8	不用噫者	=	不用雉噫者	=	-
*8.17	瓏[玉靈]	=	[玉靈]瓏	=	-
8.22	聆德	聆聽	聆德	=	-
*9.1	作晒	=	晒作炳	=	-
9.7	不耘	不耘	=	=	耘
*9.14	已矣	=	成矣	=	-
*9.19	樂陶(?)	=	樂天陶	=	-
9.22	坯	=	怀	=	-
10.3	幾乎	=	幾幾乎	=	-
10.7	髙山	=	商山	=	-
10.8	天王不匡	=	=	天下不匡	-

*10.11	顯懿	=	顯德	=	-
10.16	越與	=	越興	=	-
10.21	始元之初	始六世之詔	始六之詔	=	始元之初
10.26	韋玄成	韋玄	=	=	韋玄成.
10.26	欒布之不塗？	=	=	=	[不塗作不倍]
*10.28	捃敬	捃	捃敬	=	-
11.1	曰寢	=	在寢	=	-
*11.1	巽以揚之	=	巽以揚之	=	-
*11.2	七十子	=	七十二子	=	-
*11.5	[亻湯而不制	=	傷而不剬	=	-
11.9	周之順赧	=	周之傾赧	=	-
*11.10	而屍	而死	而屍	=	-
11.13	蛛螯	=	蛛螫	=	-
*11.15	昔在任人帝曰：難之亦才矣	=	昔在任人帝而難之不以才矣	=	-
11.16	執正	=	執政	=	-
11.17	晁錯曰愚	=	=	=	[愚作由忠]
*11.17	没齒然也	没齒無愁也	没齒然也	=	-
*11.18	無悞	無悟	無悞	=	-
*11.21	或曰隱	=	或問	=	-
*11.21	似哲	=	=	哲作智	-
11.21	請問名曰詼達	=	請問名字達	請問名談達	-
*11.21	非夷齊而是柳下惠戒其子以尚容首陽為拙柱下為工飽食安坐以仕易農依隱玩世詭時不逢其滑稽之雄乎 [*HS]	非夷尚容依隱玩世其滑稽之雄乎	=	=	-
*11.23	但聞	鄆聞	但聞	=	-
*12.4	書侻	=	書脫	=	-
12.6	牛玄騂白睟	=	玄牛騂白粹	=	-
12.10	人以巫鼓	=	=	=	[人作又]
*13.11	朱輪駟馬	=	於此有受天字	=	-
*13.18	有始而無終與有終而無始也孰寧	=	有始而無終歟有終而無始歟孰寧	=	[寧作愈]
*13.21	則擬	=	=	則凝	-
*13.26	芒芒	荒荒	芒芒	=	-

This set of variants represents an excellent selection for determining the relationships between the existing editions of the *Fayan*.

a) Comparing Sima Guang's choices as outlined in the commentary with the actual text of the Shidetang edition as well as of the *Huzhu* edition, it can be established that they coincide in the overwhelming majority of cases. In fact there are only three exceptions: at 9.19 the text reads 樂天陶 instead of the expected 樂陶; and at 11.21 it reads 談 instead of 詼. Nevertheless it can be surmised that the *Xinzuan menmu* edition, on which the Shidetang edition is based is a printing of the Sima Guang text with his commentary and not a composite edition.

b) Comparing the variants attributed by Sima Guang to the Directorate edition with the Qin Enfu reprint as well as with the Taizhou edition it can be established that both of these are very close to the Directorate text: they coincide in the overwhelming majority of cases. It is only at 7.1 that the Qin Enfu text has 苘 instead of the expected 芒, which is found in the Taizhou text; and at 7.13 the Qin text has 使起之固兵 instead of the expected 使起之用兵; the Taizhou text has 使起之兵 as Sima would have it. The reading 用, besides being the only one meaningful in the context, is supported by a quotation in 裴駰 Bei Yin's *Shiji jijie*[83].

c) The text printed in the *Han Wei congshu* does not go back to a Tang or Song edition without commentary, as Yan and, following him, Zhang propose[84], but turns out on closer inspection to have been obtained by Chen Rong by stripping all commentary from the *Huzhu* edition: it preserves in all cases Sima Guang's choices of variants, places the summaries at the head of each chapter, and omits the preface.

d) Comparing divergences between Qin Enfu's text and the Shidetang edition it is possible to identify interpolations introduced by later

[83] Cf. Han 1999: 124, fn4.
[84] Yan 1975; Zhang 2004,

editors (and thus distinguish them from the variants present in the 12th century): e.g at 1.19 the Shidetang has 大人之學為道也小人之學為利也, whereas the Qin edition has 大人之學也為道小人之學也為利 and Sima doesn't make any remark on variants. Under these circumstances the Shidetang reading is not a variant but a later interpolation (or, in the best case, a tacit emendation)[85].

Using the information in the table to make inferences about earlier editions is naturally more difficult.

Sima Guang proposes that the Song and Wu editions are what the editors of the *Yinyi* supplement call the popular editions. Indeed, the three texts appear to belong to a close family, but they are by no means identical.

The variants registered in the *Yinyi* as present in the *suben* are encountered by Sima in the texts of Song and Wu. Only two exceptions: the variants for 4.14 and 11.13. In 4.14 Sima's text reads 由已 just as the Directorate text, so it means he overlooked the variant given in the *Yinyi*. In 11.13 his text reads 以反 just like the variant attributed to the *suben*, and distinct from 以求反, which is what the Directorate text has. In this case Sima would have had to ignore both the text itself and the *Yinyi*.

Furthermore, the cases in which the *Yinyi* attributes a variant to 'one edition' *yiben* correspond to cases in which Sima has found a variant in either Song or Wu or in both: the variants in 3.20, 4.24 and 11.21 (one variant) are found in Song, the variants in 7.1 and 11.21 (the other variant) are found in Wu. The variants in 4.23 and 10.7 are shared by Song and Wu. This situation would suggest that a distinction should be made between the popular edition, which might have been the base text available to both Song and Wu, and their respective texts.

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[85] By contrast, the *Taiping yulan* quotes this passage in the form: 大人之學為道小人之學為利 (cf. analysis below, 2.4), which must be recorded as a variant. Wang Rongbao records the Shidetang as a variant and ignores the *Yulan* variant; Han Jing records them both as equivalent. It is this kind of undifferentiated treatment that creates the impression of a huge number of variants.

An even more complicated problem is posed by the fact that Sima Guang's commentary lists a much higher number of variants than the *Yinyi*: 97 in all. In all of these cases, the variant attributed by Sima Guang to the Directorate text is indeed to be found in the Directorate text, with the exception of the cases in 7.1, 7.6 and 7.13, in which the Directorate text has been interpolated in the edition which Qin Enfu had, as argued above.

Thus the source of the discrepancies must be sought either in the differences between the popular edition and the Song and Wu texts or in the fact that the *Yinyi* editors did not record every variant available to them but only what they considered relevant.

Song Xian for his part does not mention any alternative sources so he must have worked on only one edition. He does propose emendations but only in his commentary, while the text he reproduces must be considered to be the text of the popular edition he had at his disposal.

Wu Mi obviously had a similar text as his base text, but clearly saw another version as well. In his commentary he lists a series of variants:

1.23　瞿然
咸曰：瞿然猶駭也. 曰：玆苦也祗其所以為樂也歟
祕曰：瞿疾視貌. 或本作懼.

2.0 (summary)降周迄孔
光曰：宋本迄作訖.　今從李吳本.
祕曰：迄至也一本作訖.

3.14
祕曰：熒光熒魂神光. 精莩精之白也. 故本精作糟.

7.1
祕曰：遐一本作假. 古字也

11.0
祕曰：聖人之道豈不大哉賢哲所得各有差品. 一本無此序

11.21
祕曰：朔之名也談也達也何為倫比談一本作詼字

13.21
祕曰：凝成也. 君子不妄動動則成於事事則成於禮凝. 一本作擬

I have summarized the information in the following table:

No.	Wu Mi	
1.23	瞿	懼 – no edition has this variant
2.0	迄	訖 = Song
3.14	精 = jiu ben	糟 = all editions
7.1	遐	假 – possibly Song
11.0		無此序 – no edition lacks this preface
11.21	談	詼字 – no edition
13.21	凝	擬 – all editions

Wu Mi could not have had at his disposal either the Directorate text or Sima Guang's text. But he seems to have seen at least two popular editions, possibly the base text of Song Xian. That he would have had access to Song Xian's commentary seems unlikely, as there is no reference to another commentary. It has to be taken into consideration that at this time printing was still prohibitively expensive, so that private scholars were more likely to have manuscript copies even of printed editions rather than the printed editions themselves[86], which accounts for some instability in the text.

Out of all the variants listed by Sima, the Song and Wu versions agree in all but 9 cases, so it is very likely that the texts on which they based their respective editions, while perhaps not identical, do come from a common source.

If we suppose that the *Yinyi* editors recorded all variants available to them, then we must assume they worked on a text very close to the *Tianfu* edition (only 21 variants) and which subsequently received numerous changes in the process of manual copying (over 50) to become the common ancestor of the base texts of both Song and Wu. We would also have to assume that the *Yinyi* editors did not have access to either Song's or Wu's versions for their edition (or did no use them).

Alternatively, if we assume the *Yinyi* editors had access to the texts prepared by Song Xian and Wu Mi, to which they collectively referred as popular editions, then we would have to admit they only selectively used them. As it happens, the editions prepared by the Directorate of education were famous for

[86] Cherniack 1994:45.

their sloppiness, being widely criticized and frequently recalled for correction; furthermore it is known that the editors had to live up to backbreaking quotas[87], so this second scenario seems more plausible and economical as far the number of editions which have to be posited.

2.4 The text before the 11th century

The *Taiping yulan*[88] is a massive compilation project ordered in 977 by Emperor Taizong of the Northern Song, at the same time as its *pendant*, the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記. They were both executed by a committee of scholars headed by Li Fang – who later was also responsible for the next compilation project, the *Wenyuan yinghua* – and submitted to the emperor in 984. The *Taiping yulan*, originally titled *Taiping zonglei*, was meant to reorganize in 1000 volumes previous major compilations such as the *Xiuwen yulan* and *Yiwen leiju*, while the *Taiping guangji* was to do the same in 500 volumes for minor forms (*xiaoshuo*, etc.). They were accompanied by a flurry of other scholarly projects, relating to the classical texts, Daoist texts, historiography, geography, medicine.

The *Taiping yulan* is a Chinese "encyclopedia", a *leishu* 類書, "book arranged by categories" or "classified writings", which, true to its title, presents excerpts extracted from a variety of sources arranged according to a system of categories. The system of categories used in *Taiping yulan* is taken over with minor modifications from is predecessor and model the *Yiwen leiju* – likewise an imperially sponsored compilation, this time of Tang Gaozu. The source of the material thus arranged was already disputed in the Southern Song, with Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (1179-1262) arguing in his *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 that the compilers couldn't have possibly quoted directly from the original sources, as these did not exist at the time in the imperial library[89]. It seems indeed more likely

[87] Cherniack 1994:68 mentions 20 full pages per day as the norm.
[88] The *Taiping yulan* as well as Taizong's other projects have been thoroughly studied. I rely in the following overview on Kurz 2007.
[89] Kurz 2007:47.

that the authors relied primarily or even exclusively on other compilations, which makes it more difficult to assess the nature of the textual material.

The *Taiping yulan* does nevertheless copiously quote the *Fayan*, so that an analysis of the material is meaningful.

Quotes come, generally speaking, in two forms: direct and indirect. Direct quotes reproduce directly the *Fayan* text; indirect quotes reproduce materials from other sources, which in turn quote the *Fayan*, either explicitly or without naming it. It is doubtful whether the direct quotations come from a text the editors possessed and thus can provide information on the state of the text in the second half of the 10th century. But it is beyond doubt that the indirect quotations can do nothing of the sort, so in the following analysis I will concentrate on the former.

For the purposes of the analysis it is necessary to mark the cases in which the text in the *Taiping yulan* diverges from the 11th century texts, but also to examine the cases in which the 11th century texts diverge among themselves and determine where the *Taiping yulan* text fits. Indeed, it is the latter which is the focus of the present investigation, as the aim is to trace back as far as possible the textual tradition of the *Fayan*. The former task has already been undertaken by Wang Rongbao, who in his commentary lists and evaluates the variants found in the *Taiping yulan*, as well as by Han Jing, who, in his 1999 edition, likewise conveniently references and discusses the *Taiping yulan* variants in the footnotes.

In the table below I list all direct quotations from the *Fayan* in the *Taiping yulan*, rearranged in the order in which they appear in the *Fayan*. The first column lists the position of the excerpt in the *Fayan*, the second, the occurrence in the *Taiping yulan*. The third column provides information on the state of the relevant textual passage in the 11th century: where an equal sign "=" appears the 11th century textual tradition is unanimous; divergences are marked with a slash "/"; the text is only quoted where it differs from the variant in the *Taiping yulan*. The fourth column provides the *Taiping yulan* variants where they diverge from at least one 11th century source.

FY#	TPYL#	Sima, etc.	TPYL
1.5	945. 蟲豸部二，蠐螬	祝之曰類我類我	祝曰類我
1.9	607. 學部一，敘學	=	=
1.10	404. 人事部四十五，師	=	=

1.11	404.人事部四十五，師	=	=
1.14	59.地部二十四，水下	=	=
1.15	188.居處部十六，窠	好斧藻其德	斧藻其德
1.17	607.學部一，敘學	=	=
1.18	897.獸部九，馬五	=	=
1.19	403.人事部四十四，道德		
1.19	53.地部十八，陵	而至于海[...]是故惡夫畫也	而**至**于海[...]是故惡夫**住**者
1.19	60.地部二十五，海	=	=
1.19	607.學部一，敘學	大人之學也為道 小人之學也為利 是獲饗已	大人之學為道 小人之學為利 是獲饗也
1.19	607.學部一，敘學	而至于海[...]是故惡夫畫也	而**歸**於海[...]是故惡夫**畫**者也
1.20	406.人事部四十七，敘交友	=	=
2.1	587.文部三，賦	=	=
2.1	816.布帛部三，縠	霧縠之組麗	霧縠之麗
2.3	944.蟲豸部一，蠅	=	=
2.9	770.舟部三，航	=	=
2.10	184.居處部十二，戶	山[山巠][...]戶哉戶哉	山徑[...]我戶哉
2.12	766.雜物部一，皮	/	見草而悅
2.12	902.獸部十四，羊	/	見草而悅
2.13	401.人事部四十二，敘聖	=	=
2.14	608.學部二，敘經典	=	=
2.14	828.資產部八，肆	=	=
2.18	403.人事部四十四，道德	有四易	有四
2.19	10.天部十，雨上	夏屋之為帡幪[...]x	夏屋之帡幪[...]震風凌雨
2.19	401.人事部四十二，敘聖	夏屋之為帡幪[...]x	廈屋之為帡[...]震風陵雨
3.14	897.獸部九，馬五	治己以仲尼仲尼奚寡矣	治己以仲尼奚寡矣
4.5	2.天部二，天部下	=	=
4.6	590.文部六，銘	=	=
4.6	605.文部二十一，筆	=	=
4.7	390.人事部三十一，言語	閉之閘然	閉之寂然
4.8	401.人事部四十二，敘聖	=	=
4.12	367.人事部八，舌	=	=
4.12	77.皇王部二，敘皇王下	=	=
4.12	605.文部二十一，筆	=	=

4.22	346. 兵部七十七，刀下	而獨加諸砥	宜加諸礪
4.22	605. 文部二十一，筆	而獨加諸砥	宜加砥削之
4.23	753. 工藝部十	/	反目眩刑
5.9	608. 學部二，敘經典	/	其書憔悴乎
5.10	2. 天部二，天部下	天俄而可度則其覆物也淺矣	天可度則覆物淺矣
5.10	608. 學部二，敘經典	天俄而可度則其覆物也淺矣	天俄而可度則其覆物也淺矣
5.17	608. 學部二，敘經典	=	=
5.25	822. 資產部二，耕	/	名振京都
6.2	2. 天部二，天部下	=	=
6.16	832. 資產部十二，弋	/	弋者何篡
6.16	916. 羽族部三，鴻	/	弋人何慕焉
6.16	915. 羽族部二，鳳	鳳鳥	鳳皇
6.19	426. 人事部六十七，清廉下	其清矣乎	其清矣
6.21	922. 羽族部九，燕	=	=
7.5	608. 學部二，敘經典	/	辨乎
7.7	390. 人事部三十一，言語	美言	至言
7.7	585. 文部一，敘文	美言	美言
7.8	691. 服章部八，鞶囊	華藻也又	華藻也又
7.8	815. 布帛部二，繡	華藻也又	華藻又
7.10	754. 工藝部十一，博	/	
7.17	771. 舟部四，楫	灝灝之海	灝灝于海
8.4	403. 人事部四十四，道德	=	=
8.6	401. 人事部四十二，敘聖	知其聖[…] 知之則[...] 逆其所順[...] /	知孔子聖[...] 若知之則[...] 逆其所從[...] 天下之至聖
8.16	401. 人事部四十二，敘聖	賢人	賢者
9.6	818. 布帛部五，帛	此謂惡政	此謂惡政也
9.13	19. 時序部四，春中	=	=
9.20	928. 羽族部十五，鳥卵	=	=
10.3	2. 天部二，渾儀	應難未幾也	未幾也
10.13	401. 人事部四十二，敘聖	=	=
10.30	608. 學部二，敘經典	=	=
11.4	437. 人事部七十八，勇五	請問孟軻之勇	或問孟軻之勇
11.23	404. 人事部四十五，師	仲元世之師也	李仲元一世之師也
12.8	403. 人事部四十四，道德	=	=
12.12	401. 人事部四十二，敘聖	=	=
13.11	849. 飲食部七，食下	亦泰矣	亦太矣
13.11	947. 蟲豸部四，蟻	無已泰乎	不以泰乎

There are thus 18 cases in which the *Taiping yulan* quotes a *Fayan* paragraph on which the 11th century texts do not agree. As these quotes are mostly brief, it can happen, however, that the problematic passage is not included. Indeed, there are only seven cases in which the *Taiping yulan* quotes a disputed variant. I list them below and compare them with the table of variants above in 2.3. a).

No	Sima	Li	Song	Wu	Tianfu	*Yulan*
2.12	羊質而虎皮見草而[說]	=	=	=	[草作揚]	見草
4.23	反自眩刑	自作目	反自眩刑	=	-	反目眩刑
5.9	誰乎	誰作譙	誰乎	=	-	憔悴乎
5.25	名震 (*HS)	名振	=	=	-	名振
6.16	弋人何篡	弋人何慕	弋人何篡	=	-	弋者何篡
7.5	辯亦	=	辨亦	=	-	[辨乎]
8.6	非天下之至德	非天下之至	=	=	至德	至聖

The following points must be noted:

- At 5.25 all Northern Song texts concur in the reading 名振; the reading 名震 is introduced by Sima Guang based on the *Hanshu*.

- At 7.5 the *Taiping yulan* does not include the passage in question, but uses 辨 throughout, so it may be posited that the base text had 辨 as well, thus siding with Song and Wu. It is in fact not clear whether the Song and Wu texts Sima saw only had 辨 in 辨亦 or throughout. The passage in its entirety uses 辨 or 辯 eight times: 或問：「《五經》有**辯**乎？」曰：「惟《五經》為**辯**。說天者莫**辯**乎《易》，說事者莫**辯**乎《書》，說體者莫**辯**乎《禮》，說志者莫**辯**乎《詩》，說理者莫**辯**乎《春秋》。捨斯，**辯**亦小矣。」

- At 6.16 it sides with Song and Wu.

- At 4.23 the *Yulan* has 反目, siding with Li.

- At 5.9 憔悴乎 differs from all 11th century texts, but is closer to Li, who has 譙.

- At 8.6 again it differs from all 11th century texts, but it has 至聖, very close to the Tianfu text, which has 至德, against Li, Song, and Wu, who lack the last character entirely.
- However at 2.12 it concurs with Li, Song, and Wu against the Tianfu version.

The analysis above warrants at least two conclusions. Most importantly, the *Taiping yulan* includes a considerable amount of text and its version, whatever the source, agrees overwhelmingly with the text of the 11th century. We may conclude that the textual tradition of the *Fayan* is extremely homogenous going back to the 10th century and possibly, depending on the sources of the *Taiping yulan*, perhaps even to the Tang. This aspect shall be briefly examined below.

Secondly, however, the text does not match neatly any of the identifiable versions of the 11th century: it concurs with all of them in some cases, but diverges in others, and in still other cases it differs from all. This may be because the editors of the *Taiping yulan* used a version different from all later recensions or because they included material from different sources. The second option seems more likely, as any version the imperial library might have possessed in the 10th century would have definitely been present in the 11th – the Song mounted a massive campaign of text collection in the 10th century, precisely in order to build up their decimated textual resources. It is more likely that they only got around to the relatively unimportant *Fayan* at the beginning of the 11th century, as Sima Guang's testimony suggests. Furthermore, internal evidence points in this direction as well, as the *Taiping yulan* sometimes quotes the same passage twice in different sections, but in different versions: *Fayan* 1.19, 4.12, 5.10, 7.7 or 13.11 are such cases[90].

Both conclusions are confirmed by an examination of earlier compilations, some which might have even served as sources for the *Taiping yulan*. When directing the Hanlin academicians to start the compilation, Song Taizong mentioned explicitly three earlier *leishu* to be taken as basis: the *Xiuwen yulan*,

[90] Of course, the possibility may not be discarded that such differences are the result of interpolations by the compilers of the *Yulan* or by editors in the transmission process.

commissioned by Gao Wei, last emperor of the Northern Wei, the *Yiwen leiju*, commissioned by Tang Gaozu, and the *Wensi boyao*, commissioned by his son Tang Taizu[91]. Of these, unfortunately, only the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 survives, but it did serve as a model for the editors of the *Taiping yulan*, who took over its system of categories and quite possibly at least some of its contents. Indeed, the *Yiwen leiju* carries a much smaller number of *Fayan* passages (only six), but these are all present in the *Yulan*.

To this we can add: the *Chuxue ji* 初學記, a major compilation from the early 8th century, carried out under the direction of Xu Jian 徐堅 (659–729), which contains four *Fayan* passages; the *Yilin* 意林, compiled by Ma Zong 馬總 (?-823), carrying eight quotations; and the *Baishi liutie* 白氏六帖, compiled by Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) and preserved only in its expanded form *BaiKong liutie* 白孔六帖 – which contains two quotations[92]. Of these, most, but not all, are included in the *Taiping yulan*.

Below I list the evidence and comment on it:

Tang *Leishu*	FY#	Remarks
初學記 - 18.1	1.1	
初學記 - 18.22	1.2	
初學記 - 18.4	1.1	
初學記 - 21.96	7.7	Concurs with later texts in reading 美言, diverges from the *Yulan*, which has 至言 in one instance.
初學記 - 21.97	2.6	Not in the *Yulan*.
意林 - 15	1.1	
意林 - 15	2.2	Not in the *Yulan*.
意林 - 15	3.15	Not in the *Yulan*. Variants recorded by Sima not covered.
意林 - 15	4.22	

[91] The entry from the *Taizong shilu* is quoted in Wang Yinglin's *Yuhai*. Cf. Kurz 2007:45.
[92] For all see Kaderas 1998.

意林 - 15	5.1	
意林 - 15	7.5	Concurs with Li (辯), against Song and Wu - and against the *Yulan*.
意林 - 15	11.23	Variants recorded by Sima not covered. Agrees with the *Yulan* in reading 志 where later texts have 意, diverges from the *Yulan* by reading 辱 where all other texts have 累.
意林 - 15	12.8	
白孔六帖 34.13	1.2	
白孔六帖 34.35	1.2	
白孔六帖 20.3	5.19	Not in the *Yulan*.
藝文類聚 - 20 (聖)	8.6	Concurs with Li, Song, and Wu (天下之至), against Sima, who follows the Tianfu edition (至德) – also against the *Yulan* (至聖).
藝文類聚 - 55 (經典)	5.17	
藝文類聚 - 55 (經典)	10.3	
藝文類聚 - 71 (舟)	2.9	Variants recorded by Sima not covered.
藝文類聚 - 90 (鴻)	6.16	Concurs with Li 慕, against Song and Wu - and against the *Yulan* (篡).
藝文類聚 - 97 (蠅)	2.3	

No text is included wholesale in the *Taiping yulan*, not even the *Yiwen leiju*. And there are disagreements between the Tang texts, the 10th century version(s) and the 11th century versions. Not enough overlap exists between the Tang texts (in fact, hardly any) to allow a conclusion as to the agreement between themselves, i.e. to allow a conclusion as to whether all the fragments quoted in the Tang *leishu* come from a single text, perhaps held by the imperial library[93].

Nevertheless, further textual evidence can be adduced to bear witness on the Tang textual tradition of the *Fayan*, originating not in a *leishu* but in the

[93] In this case too it must be emphasized that all of these sources have their own, quite complex, problems of transmission.

commentatorial tradition. Indeed, the literary collection *Wenxuan*, compiled in the early 6th century in Liang, received two voluminous commentaries in the Tang: one due to Li Shan 李善 (?-689), submitted to the throne in 658; and another by a group of five scholars, *wuchen* 五臣, submitted to the throne in 718. While the *Wenxuan* itself excludes the *Fayan*, the commentaries copiously quote from it, including from the commentaries to the *Fayan*. I count a total of 91 quotations, with a high degree of repetition: most passages are quoted more than once, several are quoted many times, e.g 1.19 and 2.1 five times each, 10.12 and 13.23 four times each. In total only 53 different *Fayan* passages are referenced. Li Gui's commentary is referenced fifteen times, in a couple of instances alone (i.e. without the *Fayan* text, as only the gloss is of interest for the authors); Song Zhong's commentary is quoted twice.

Of the set of *Fayan* paragraphs in which Sima Guang identifies variants in the sources available to him, 19 are represented in the *Wenxuan*. However, as quotations are brief, in most cases the relevant passage is not covered. Indeed, only seven instances warrant discussion. I list them below next to Sima's variants:

No	Sima	Li	Song	Wu	Tianfu	Wenxuan
*2.9	岌旎	=	邐迤	=	-	邐迤
2.12	羊質而虎皮見草而[說]	=	=	=	[草作揚]	見草
*2.19	帡幪	=	=	帲	-	帡幪
*3.15	重言重行重貌重好	=	言重行重貌重好重	=	-	重言重行重貌重好
*5.25	名震 (*HS)	名振	=	=	-	名震
6.16	弋人何篡	弋人何慕	弋人何篡	=	-	弋人何篡
*9.1	作昞	=	昞作炳	=	-	炳

The following points must be noted:

- At 2.12, 2.19 and 3.15 the *Wenxuan* agrees with Li (2.12 is quoted no less than three times in this form).
- However, at 2.9 and 6.16 it agrees with Song and Wu against Li (each quoted twice in the same form).
- At 9.1 it agrees with Wu against the rest.

- Most interestingly, at 5.25 the *Wenxuan* agrees with Sima, who in this case opts to change the text on the basis of the *Hanshu*.

2.5 Conclusion

The transmission of the *Fayan* from the Southern Song down to the present is characterized by the existence of two families of texts: one in 13 *juan* and one in 10 *juan*. The editions in 13 *juan* have their origin in the Directorate edition of 1065, which they reproduce with minimal distortions. The edition in 10 *juan* goes back not to Song Xian's commentary of 1036 (likewise in 10 *juan*), but to Sima Guang's commentary of 1081. Sima Guang followed Song Xian in organizing the text in 10 *juan* and moving Yang Xiong's summaries from the back of the text in *juan* 13 to the front of each chapter; however, he took the Directorate text as his base, with the result that by his own admission his text diverged from Song Xian's in numerous instances. All extant editions in 10 *juan* that I have been able to examine give Sima's text and not Song's. I have not been able to find any evidence that Song Xian's version was ever printed independently, i.e. not as part of Sima Guang's commentary[94]. While there is no direct evidence, I conclude that this latter edition must have been issued as a second official version by the Directorate of education and has then become the basis of the Southern Song private editions that have survived.

Both Sima Guang's edition and the Directorate edition of 1065 are in a sense critical editions, as they are built on an examination of several previous

[94] In his 2004 article, Zhang Bing claims that Song Xian's edition is reproduced in various reprints in the Ming and Qing, in the *Han Wei conshu* 漢魏叢書, *Guang Han Wei congshu* 廣漢魏叢書, *Zengding Han Wei congshu* 增訂漢魏叢書, as well and in the *Conshu jicheng* 叢書集成, first series, of the Republican period. I have not examined all possible editions, but those I have examined (the *Han Wei congshu* of 1592, held by Harvard University, its reprint of 1791, held by the University of Michigan, the *Zengding Han Wei congshu* of 1795, held by the University of Chicago, the *Conshu jicheng* of 1935-40) do not contain the Song Xian text at all, but Sima Guang's text stripped of all commentary, except for the *Zengding Han Wei congshu*, which gives in some cases glosses and brief comments from Sima's edition (without specifying the author, who can be either of the four commentators).

versions of the text. Based on the variants listed more or less thoroughly in each, we can infer a few points about the previous generation of texts. Song Xian and Wu Mi based their commentaries on unofficial ("popular") editions, which, while different, were very close. Wu Mi had access to more than one such unofficial editions (very likely manuscript copies of printed editions), one of which is very close to the version used by Song Xian. The Directorate edition is not thorough in its recording of variants found in previous editions, but, as far as it goes, the evidence suggests that the Directorate editors had access to both Song Xian's and Wu Mi's editions or perhaps to the texts on which these were based, as the variants they do list are confirmed by Sima Guang's commentary and in most cases even the points of divergence between Song and Wu are correctly marked. In addition to this, the Directorate had a printed edition of the *Tianfu* era (of the Former Shu, 906-907). While this is not explicitly stated, neither the *Tianfu* not the popular editions served as the base text of the Directorate version, so we must assume yet another (very likely printed) edition. I would surmise that this is the edition to which Sima Guang had access in his youth, as he started working on the text, which might explain why he never mentions it in his preface (as he must have considered it superseded by the Directorate text).

Furthermore, the three texts or text families (the base of the Directorate text, the *Tianfu*, and the unofficial versions) are very close so as to warrant the assumption that they are based on a common ancestor. This assumption seems to be shared by Sima Guang, who states that everybody relied on "the Li version". Indeed, the text has left ample traces in the preceding centuries, which point to a very compact textual tradition. However, they do not allow us to link any identifiable edition to the textual system we have established for the 11th century, nor do they converge in any significant way.

The evidence available at this time only warrants the reconstruction of this "Li version", the common ancestor of the Song texts known to us. Important steps in this direction have already been taken by Wang Rongbao and more recently by Han Jing. Their work can nevertheless be continued by including newly available historical editions as well as by employing a more strict methodology. In order to illustrate the potential harvest that this undertaking may yield I present in an appendix a critical text of chapters six and seven.

3. THE EXEGESIS OF THE *Fayan*

3.1 Introduction

The reading and understanding of Chinese texts is embedded in a long process of textual transmission. This process of transmission is in turn embedded in a long process of reading and understanding the texts. Of this constant remaking of the texts through the long chain of copying and recopying Edward Shaughnessy has written:

> Far more than editors, they were, in effect, the first commentators on the texts, with the critical difference that their interpretations were necessarily and almost inextricably incorporated into the text itself.[95]

The text constitutes the basis of any reading, but the reading in its turn shapes the text. In these twin processes, the editors are in a way, as Shaughnessy points out, also commentators.

It is however crucially important to point out that in the Chinese tradition the commentators function themselves – overtly or not – as editors: they modify implicitly or explicitly the text through their reading. The Chinese writing system, with its logographic principle, allows for sometimes sweeping modifications of the language under an unchanging graphical surface: not only inflectional morphological changes, such as time, mood, person, number, gender can be supplied because not marked, but derivational changes as well, turning for instance an action into its agent; and not only morphological changes, but even changes of the very stem can be legitimately undertaken, given the phenomenon of borrowing graphical forms to write similarly sounding but otherwise unrelated words. Both textual variants and alternative interpretations originate in this two-pronged process of understanding and any effort to reconstitute the text in its original form

[95] Shaughnessy 2006:93.

or reconstruct the reading which it might have received in its original context has to take it into account.

In many cases, such as Sima Guang's 司馬光 or Wang Rongbao's 汪榮寶 commentaries analyzed below, the commentators take the task of establishing (or rather: correcting) the text as belonging to their province and argue transparently their choices. In other cases this process is less transparent, with commentators operating sometimes sweeping changes to their texts, which because of the absence of alternative textual witnesses cannot be rolled back anymore. A famous case is Zhao Qi's 趙岐 Late Han *Mengzi* commentary[96]: the commentator argues for the necessity to clean the text up by eliminating interpolations, sometimes whole sections considered spurious[97]. Even where the scholarship turns out to be at the highest level, as is generally the case with the great Han commentaries, the fact still remains that, where texts have not been independently transmitted, ignoring the commentary is not possible and going against it or beyond it is a very delicate process, as the reading risks undermining its very textual foundation.

As Shaughnessy shows in his analyses, even where entirely new texts become available, such as those that were recovered from the Ji tumulus *Ji zhong* 汲冢 in the 3rd century[98] or from newly discovered tombs in the 20th century, they can only be understood by placing them within the framework of this "history of understanding"[99].

For historical reasons the modern Western philological tradition has entertained an ambivalent relation with the earlier exegetical traditions. It was not only the need to break with the conjecturalist excesses of the humanist scholars, but more importantly the effort to free biblical scholarship from the monopoly of canonical interpretations[100]. It is only in recent times that the historical importance of commentaries has been realized and admitted[101].

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[96] Zhao Qi, *Mengzi zhangju*. Reprinted in Ruan Yuan, *Shisan jing zhushu*, Ruan 1815; digitized and accessible from Scripta Sinica: http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/.
[97] Zhao, *Mengzi tici* 孟子題辭. In *Shisan jing:* 2661.
[98] Cf. Shaughnessy 2006 for an overview.
[99] Cf. Wagner 2001:5.
[100] Cf. Greetham 1992:321.
[101] Cf. Parker 2012:62.

Indeed, it is worth pointing out that from an epistemological perspective a reading attested in a commentary represents a privileged situation: we possess (at least ideally) both the statements of the reader (the commentary) and the object to which those statements refer (the text itself). Reconstructing such a reading is an endeavor with the potential of high accuracy and can constitute a solid basis from which to attempt to probe deeper into the past towards the 'original meaning' of the text[102].

The current situation in Chinese Studies is dominated by an attitude which is the product of the intersection of the Western philological distrust of commentaries with the modern Chinese *yigu* 疑古 'doubting the antiquity' orientation (itself derived from Western ideas). Concretely, three positions can be distinguished:

a) the attempt to arrive at the 'original meaning' by discarding the whole exegetical tradition.

One version of this is of course the effort to read the text against other contemporary texts, for which a legitimate argument can be made. In fact some of the commentaries in the *kaozheng* 考證 tradition of late imperial China are arguably based on such a strategy. But such attempts, which can be best qualified as experimental – and of which Christoph Harbsmeier's *Lunyu* translation in Thesaurus Linguae Sericae[103] can be taken as example, as can indeed Michael Nylan's translations from the *Fayan*[104]– run the risk of veering toward the other end of the spectrum: the intuitionist-subjective approach of improvised renderings of 'wisdom' literature based on empathy and dispensing altogether with the tradition of reading the text and in extreme cases even with the text itself. The

[102] This term has received a precise definition, of some hermeneutic value, and a fair amount of attention in recent years in American constitutional jurisprudence. Cf. Whittington 1999 for an overview and discussion.
[103] http://tls.uni-hd.de/.
[104] From the early attempts in 1997 to the recent complete translation of 2013.

following remarks of R. Merton, preceding his recreation of the *Zhuangzi* in English, may serve as an example[105]:

> I soon realized that all who have translated Chuang Tzu have had to do a great deal of guessing. Their guesses reflect not only their degree of Chinese scholarship, but also their own grasp of the mysterious 'way' described by a Master writing in Asia nearly twenty-five hundred years ago. [...] Inevitably, any rendering of Chuang Tzu is bound to be very personal. I have been a Christian monk for nearly twenty-five years, and inevitably one comes in time to see life from a viewpoint that has been common to solitaries and recluses in all ages and in all cultures, [... including Zhuangzi,] a Chinese recluse who shares the climate and peace of my own kind of solitude, and who is my own kind of person.

b) the attempt to pick from among attested alternative readings

Here too there is a legitimate form to this approach, which has a long tradition in China. Indeed, its first explicit articulation is found, as far as I can tell, in the *Fayan* itself (*Fayan* 7.6):

> 呱呱之子，各識其親；譊譊之學，各習其師。精而精之，是在其中矣。
> The crying babies – each only knows its parents; the quarreling scholars – each only repeats [what he has received from] his master. [But if you] sift and sift again, the true [interpretation] is among them.

The argument is repeated by Ban Gu in his account of Confucian schools in support of the idea that they should all be preserved[106]. Furthermore, Sima Guang's commentary *Fayan jizhu* 法言集注 seems to try to emulate this ideal in opposition to the intuitionist excesses of his contemporaries[107]. And the later Imperial China has seen the rise of the monumental collections of commentaries (such as the *buzhu* 補注 "Supplemental commentaries") – of which Wang Rongbao's commentary is a descendant. The quality of the result depends of course on the precise way in which the 'sifting' or 'refining' of previous readings is undertaken.

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[105] Merton 1965: 9. It is worth pointing out that the most popular, best-selling 'translation' of the *Laozi*, the one which most 'speaks' to non-specialists, is the product of a similar effort by S. Mitchell (Mitchell 1988).
[106] *Hanshu* 88:3621.
[107] Cf. discussion below, Ch.3.2.

Careful critical evaluation of competing interpretations has the potential to serve as the basis on which to reconstruct a reading closer to the contemporary understanding the text might have received. But all too often the result is a hotch-potch of alternative readings whose original logic and historical relationships can no longer be recovered. A famous example is Richard Wilhelm's own commentary to his translation of the *Yijing*[108].

c) the attempt to follow the reading articulated in the commentary

This is of course the standard way to approach any classical text and most traditional texts in pre-modern China. Indeed, so ingrained was the habit of reading a text through a commentary that personal readings took the form of original commentaries or of subcommentaries. Despite the rewards of this approach, which has the potential of yielding a very precise reading, as pointed out above, it has been mostly neglected by modern scholars, both Western and Chinese. Only few exceptions can be mentioned, the most important of which is Rudolf Wagner's three volume study of Wang Bi's commentary to the Laozi[109]; other attempts include: Richard Lynn's translations of Wang Bi's commentaries, Daniel Gardner's work on Zhu Xi; Joachim Gentz's work on the *Chunqiu*[110]. More important from the perspective of the present study, which will of course not attempt a full interpolative translation, are nevertheless Wagner's shorter analyses: of Kang Youwei's *Lunyu* commentary, as well as of Wang Bi's *Lunyu* commentary[111].

From the perspective of the overview above, the *Fayan* is a typical case: most modern scholarship is based on a mix of strategies a) and b) and the quality of the results spans the whole spectrum. For the purpose of exemplification I will turn again to the latest major publication on the subject, Nylan's 2013 *Exemplary Figures*.

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[108] Wilhelm 1924. Interestingly, this model is emulated explicitly by M. Nylan in *The Elemental Changes* (a commented translation of Yang Xiong's *Taixuan*): "Following the Chinese tradition, supplementary comments are appended to each tetragram in order to indicate the main lines of interpretation suggested by earlier commentators." (Nylan 1994).
[109] Wagner 2000, 2003ab.
[110] Lynn 1994. Gardner 2003. Gentz 2001.
[111] Wagner 1991, 2002, 2004.

Indeed: directly after rejecting the very possibility of textual criticism, Nylan dismissed as well the idea of critically examining alternative interpretations, of systematically "sifting" the readings:

> Frankly, two millennia after the composition of *Exemplary Figures* (i.e. her translation for *Fayan*), when multiple commentaries offer multiple readings, no translator can easily determine which variant more likely represents Yang's original argument.[112]

A *faute de mieux* solution is tentatively proposed:

> In the main there is a tendency for editions and commentators in late imperial China to inject a sort of moral purism more reminiscent of the True Way Learning (*Daoxue*) than of Han modes of thinking, so my translation reflects a general preference for earlier over later readings, unless cogent reasons militate against it.[113]

While the argument is questionable and the proposed solution even more so, no such reasoning accompanies the readings actually advanced. In fact, a good number of modern and traditional scholars, Chinese and Western, authors of commentaries or translations, published or not, are quoted and said to 'prefer' one interpretation or another. Why one is picked over another or even why sometimes all are rejected (e.g. *Fayan* 4.13[114]) is not explicitly stated. Interestingly, in several cases (e.g. *Fayan* 1.7[115]) the translation even attempts to merge several interpretations in one formulation. The idiosyncratic translation of the title is itself such a *portmanteau* construction[116].

Other similar works, such as von Zach's German translation, L'Haridon's annotated French translation or Han Jing's Modern Chinese translation and commentary[117] proceed more judiciously, but do not leave the area circumscribed above. In fact all seem to never even turn to the commentaries by Li Gui 李軌 and Sima Guang, except indirectly, through Wang Rongbao's work. Thus, although all modern scholarship rests on these three commentaries – of Li Gui, Sima Guang,

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[112] Nylan 2013: xii.
[113] Nylan 2013: xii.
[114] Nylan 2013:59 (fn29).
[115] Nylan 2013:9 (fn19).
[116] Nylan 2013: xi.
[117] Von Zach 1939, L'Haridon 2010, Han 1992, 1999.

and Wang Rongbao –, there is no scholarly study of any of them – detailed or not, competent or not – or critical analysis of the relationships between them.

The present chapter aims to make a contribution to this area of *Fayan* scholarship, by providing brief analyses of the above mentioned three most important moments in the history of its exegesis: Li Gui's commentary from the 4th century, Sima Guang's work from the late 11th century, and Wang Rongbao's study from the early 20th century. Each of them represents a crucial turning point in this process of understanding, being linked to profound changes in scholarship, society, culture, and even technology (the spread of paper in the late antiquity, the spread of printing in the Song, modern printing and distribution in the last century).

In each case I will start by explaining the reasons for my choice and the importance of the respective commentaries in the tradition. I will then attempt to place the author and the commentary in their respective historical and cultural context and trace the circumstances of the composition and transmission of the text.

I will approach each commentary as a coherent interpretation of the text and not as a series of unconnected remarks on disparate fragments of text. As a consequence, the analysis will proceed bottom up, following the text and the order of argumentation rather than imposing my own priorities, questions or structure of analysis.

Concretely, the commentator's preface is the key starting point, as this is the platform he has at his disposal in order to explain the reasons for producing a commentary in the first place and to outline the rationale that informs his exegetical approach. Next I turn to the exegetical technique and the form the commentary takes, which can be equally relevant: the way the text is handled, glossed, paraphrased, the way interpretations are argued and the type of evidence on which they rest. Of similar importance is the way in which certain key passages are interpreted, as the interpretations reveal or confirm the fundamental *parti pris* which inform the whole commentary[118]. Finally, attention given to formal details,

[118] Cf. for an example Wagner 2002.

such as arrangement of the text, chapter summaries and titles, etc. is crucial for determining certain very influential but often unarticulated assumptions about the order and coherence of the text as a whole.

3.2 Li Gui's Eastern Jin Commentary

Importance.

Li Gui's commentary is undoubtedly the most important piece of scholarship on the *Fayan*, for two reasons: no version of the text was transmitted down to us without this commentary, so this version of the text, impacted by the underlying understanding of the text, is the only way of access to the Han version; furthermore, this understanding of the text is the starting point of all major commentaries, from Song Xian's 宋咸 and Sima Guang's and up to Wang Rongbao's: in fact all of these commentaries, even those that are stand-alone works and not sub-commentaries, include the Li commentary as well, even when they completely disagree[119].

Author and context.

Very little is known of Li Gui. The most important source available to us is the bibliographic chapter of the *Suishu*, the *Suishu jingji zhi* 隋書經籍志[120]. Here Li Gui is listed as the author of several works and minimal information is given for his identification. Under the first entry (for his 周易音 "The Sounds [i.e. correct pronunciation] of the *Zhouyi*" in one *juan*)[121], he is identified as an official with the Department of state affairs (Imperial secretariat) at the Eastern Jin court:

> 東晉尚書郎李軌弘範
> Secretarial court gentleman[122] Li Gui [style] Hongfan of the Eastern Jin (316-420).

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[119] We do not posses Song Xian's commentary in an independent version, but his preface makes clear that he appends his remarks to the Li text and interpretation.
[120] *Suishu* ch.32-35: 903-1104.
[121] *Suishu* 32:910
[122] Hucker 1985:5047.

The catalog contains a long list of works attributed to Li Gui, most of them in the first category, of the classics. However, the second category (history) under the fifth subsection (起居注 "records of [the emperor's] activity and repose", i.e. court diaries) records four such diaries compiled by Li Gui[123]:

> 晉泰始（265-275）起居注二十卷李軌撰。
> 晉咸寧（275-280）起居注十卷李軌撰。
> 晉泰康（280-290）起居注二十一卷李軌撰。
> [...]
> 晉咸和（325-335）起居注十六卷李軌撰。

None of the other court diaries, either between 290 and 325 or after 335, have identified authors, so it is difficult to know whether Li Gui might have contributed to others as well.

As far as we know from the practice of the Tang, the court diaries were compiled by officials present in court[124]. However, the time span of 70 years makes it unlikely that Li Gui actually compiled all of these diaries: for this he would have had to start very early, in his twenties and die very old, around 100. And he would have had to maintain his position as court diarist through a very tumultuous time: the civil war of the early 4th century, the sacking of Luoyang in 311, the move to the south, the sacking of Jiankang by Wang Dao in 322. This is not impossible, as many intellectuals of this period, such as Gan Bao 干寶 (286?-336) or Guo Pu 郭璞 (276-324), started in the north and then emigrated to the south[125]. But it is unlikely.

More likely, as the writing of history before the Tang was less systematic, he simply compiled the history of the respective reigns based on existing documents. This corresponds to the information we have on the practice of historiography in this period: in 317 Wang Dao 王導 asked Yuandi to establish a Bureau of Historiography, to which Gan Bao, Guo Pu and Wang Yin 王隱 were appointed[126]. Many scholars associated with the Bureau produced competing histories, so it

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[123] *Suishu* 33:964.
[124] Twitchett 1992:37.
[125] Tian 2010:203.
[126] Tian, 2010:210.

seems plausible that Li Gui's works are associated with this time of intense historiographic activity. The *Han Jin chunqiu* 漢晉春秋 was compiled in the second half of the century[127] and would have had to draw on such sources as the court diaries. In this case we can assume that he was active in the first half of the 4th century.

Moreover, this hypothesis is further strengthened by other information in the entries of the *Suishu Jingji zhi*: while Li Gui is clearly identified as an Eastern Jin subject, many whose careers straddle the move south are simply identified as Jin subjects (such as Gan Bao) or not identified with any dynasty (such as Guo Pu). Furthermore, for titles in the catalog for which several authors are listed, the sequence tends to be chronological. Thus:

- In the entry for the *Shangshu yin* 尚書音, the author Xu Miao, who is listed after Li Gui, was himself an Eastern Jin scholar, whose dates are 344 – 397.
- In the entry on *Liji yin* 禮記音, Li Gui is listed in a series of scholars, as follows:

蔡謨、	Cai Mo (281-256)
東晉安北諮議參軍曹耽、	Cao Dan (entered the court in the *Yonghe* era, 345-357)
國子助教尹毅、	Yin Yi (dates unknown)
李軌、	**LI GUI**
員外郎范宣音各二卷	Fan Xuan (dates unknown)

- In the entry on *Chunqiu Gongyang yin* 春秋公羊音, Li Gui is listed before Jiang Chun 江淳, dates unknown, but who is likely the son of Jiang Yi 江夷(384－431).
- In the entry on the *Two Capitals fu*, Li Gui is listed before Qi Guansui 綦毋邃, who has to be placed in the second half of the 4th century.

[127] Cf Ng 2005:87 for a brief overview.

From the previous information, tenuous as it is, it might seem reasonable to assume that he was active around the middle of the 4th century at the Jin court in Jiankang.

In order to determine the nature of Li Gui's activity we unfortunately cannot go by his title alone, as it is too vague. The appointees to the Department of State Affairs would normally be assigned to one of the subdivisions[128], but since we have no additional information, we have to judge by his output.

Besides the historical work listed above, the catalog gives a series of philological commentaries of the phonological type *yin* 音: works on the *Zhouyi*, the *Shangshu*, *Yili* and *Liji*, *Chunqiu* with the *Zuozhuan* and *Gongyang zhuan*, on *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, as well as on the "Two Capitals *fu*". These phonological glosses are quoted several times in Lu Deming's 陸德明 (556-630) *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文. There is also a work on the *Xiao Erya*. His only full exegetical work is the commentary on the *Fayan*.

From this we can infer that he was a scholar of some importance, part of the major trends of his time and certainly aware of the major developments of the previous century.

The third century had indeed been a time of major rethinking of the canon[129], which involved not so much challenges to the importance of the classics or attempts to undermine their authority, as an effort to rethink their foundations: those aspects which were not directly addressed in the classics because they were, in an epistemological sense, 'dark', not liable to positive investigation. This concern with discovering the invisible but stable foundations of a dysfunctional and disintegrating visible order, which is not very different from the central problem of Western Gnosticism, is at the center of several other developments of the age, from the creation, by Daoist movements, of a stable celestial bureaucracy to rival earthly political apparatuses to the popularity of Buddhist views on the impermanence and illusory character of existence.

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[128] Hucker 1984 (#5047).
[129] Demiéville 1986 provides a useful overview of the period.

The texts which were deemed to throw light on and help articulate these hidden aspects of the universe were the *Yijing*, the *Laozi*, and the *Lunyu*[130], on which Wang Bi wrote commentaries, and later the *Zhuangzi*, on which Ruan Ji wrote a long essay[131] and Guo Xiang wrote a commentary (perhaps incorporating earlier work by Xiang Xiu)[132]. It is significant that Yang Xiong was a major precursor of the *Xuanxue*[133], who had come up with the term *xuan* in the first place and had himself concentrated on the *Yijing* and the *Lunyu* (possibly also on the *Laozi*, although the attribution of the *Fu on the Dark* 玄賦 to him remains problematic). In fact a direct connection can be established, which centers on the Jingzhou academy, established by Liu Biao 劉表 (142-208), former student of Wang Chang 王暢 (?-169), a direct ancestor of Wang Bi. After being named prefect of Jing in 192, Liu ruled the area as a warlord and built a court mirrored on the imperial court. Here he created an academy, which, due to the relative peace of this region in a time of civil war, managed to attract a good number of scholars. Among them was also Wang Can (177-217), Wang Chang's grandson and heir to the Wang library, which he brought to Jingzhou. The academy was placed under the direction of Song Zhong, the Yang Xiong specialist, author of the above-mentioned commentaries to the *Fayan* (now lost), as well as to the *Taixuan* (of which only fragments survive). Under his auspices, the academy proceeded to a major revision of the canon, producing (around AD 200) new editions and commentaries, deemed 後定 "later editions" perhaps in reference to the stone classics, produced under Cai Yong a few decades earlier. While none of the products of the academy survive (except as fragments), its activity and especially the reorientation of classical scholarship had a major impact on the following centuries. Most certainly so on the next generation: after Liu Biao's death in 208 the province was taken over by Cao Cao and Wang Can went to serve him directly, taking his library with him. After Wang Can's death in 217, in 219 his two sons

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[130] On the importance of the *Lunyu* in *Xuanxue* thought cf. Wagner 2004. For an account of the *Lunyu* in the following century cf. Ashmore 2010.
[131] Holzman 1976:88 ff. for a translation and discussion.
[132] Cf. Zyporin 2003 for a discussion.
[133] Lewis 2009:222.

got involved in a conspiracy and were executed, apparently together with Song Zhong. Under the circumstances, the new Wei emperor, Cao Pi, allowed Wang Can's inheritance, including his library, to pass to Wang Ye, son of his brother Wang Kai and at the same time future father of Wang Bi.[134]

These new exegetical efforts run parallel with more traditional scholarship, to which Li Gui belongs. His phonological commentaries are, no doubt, part of a larger trend, which perhaps intensified after the move south, under the pressure of a new and strange language (the Wu dialect of the Yangzi) and which culminated in such works as Lu Deming's *Jingdian shiwen* of the 580's and Lu Fayan's 陸法言 *Qieyun* 切韻 of 601[135]. Li Gui's commentary to the *Fayan* is, as will be shown, not of the speculative kind, but he was certainly aware of the great *Xuanxue* 玄學 contributions, as is evident in his comments.

Historiography had also undergone massive changes[136]: not only in terms of quantity, but also in terms of a new understanding of its nature: in the *Hanshu Yiwenzhi* historical works are classified under the *Chunqiu*, but the investigation of the past was gradually recognized as an independent form of inquiry. Already in Xun Xu's 荀勗 (d. AD 289) catalog in the Wei, historical titles get their own bibliographical category to fit a growing number of works[137]; in 281 the *Bamboo Annals* were discovered in the Ji Tumulus and deciphered and edited at the Western Jin court[138]; a Bureau of Historiography was established under the Eastern Jin in 317 and the reorganization of the Imperial Academy in 438 led to the creation of a historical branch[139]. Li Gui was certainly involved in the developments of the Eastern Jin and it is perhaps no coincidence that history plays such an important part in the *Fayan*, which includes two large chapters meant to discuss historical events and personalities and evaluate them in accordance with the principles exemplified by Confucius in the *Chunqiu*.

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[134] Cf. Tang 1947, Wagner 2003, and, for biographical notes on the characters, Crespigny 2006.
[135] See Baxter 1992:32ff (Section 2.2) for a general overview.
[136] Ng 2005:80ff.
[137] Swartz 2014:315. Drege 1991:108.
[138] Cf. Nivison 1993.
[139] Tian 2010:210.

Finally, the third and fourth centuries saw the emergence of a new understanding of the nature and function of literature, which culminated in a debate opposing the old, traditional view, of literature as a vehicle for the Way, to the new experience of literature as an expression of spontaneity and personality[140]. It is relevant that in the *Fayan* Yang Xiong had rejected what he considered 'excessive' literary works[141] and in medieval times served himself as a model for the 'serious' view of literature[142].

Transmission.

Not only that the circumstances in which the commentary was composed are impossible to determine, but the process of transmission of the text to the Song dynasty is itself very nebulous.

> The entry on Li Gui's *Fayan* commentary in the *Suishu Jingji zhi* reads[143]:
>
> 揚子法言十五卷、解一卷揚雄撰，李軌注。
> Master Yang's *Fayan*, in 15 *juan*, explanations one *juan*, compiled by Yang Xiong, commentary by Li Gui.

It is unclear what the 15 chapters might represent. One option could be that the 'explanations' *jie* are not appended to the 15 *juan* as Knechtges supposes[144] but included, which would leave 14 *juan* for the 13 chapters of the text plus the summary which is included in the *Hanshu* biography of Yang Xiong and on which Li Gui has commented. It is also unclear what the *jie* chapter might have contained or what happened to it. Given Li Gui's phonological work we might expect phonological glosses, but it is titled *jie* and not *yin*. The oldest available edition, the Directorate edition of 1065 contained a phonological appendix, however this is not the work of Li Gui, but of an anonymous scholar, probably of the early Song. In a couple of instances Li Gui's very disciplined commentary gives way to rather

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[140] Knechtges 2000:208.
[141] Cf below, Ch.4.2.
[142] Knechtges 2000: 208.
[143] *Suishu* 34, cf. Han 1999: 180.
[144] Cf. Knechtges' entry on the *Fayan*, in Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts* (Knechtges 1993).

atypical discussions (cf. analysis below). It is not impossible that these come from the 15th chapter, the *jie*, and were later included in the commentary itself.

However, already in the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 of 945 the work is listed as having 13 *juan*[145]. In the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 of 1060 Li Gui's commentary appears inexplicably as 3 *juan* (probably a mistake for 13). The most likely explanation for the new organization in 13 *juan* is that the summaries are listed all together at the end of *juan* 13. This is how they appear in Qin Enfu's 1818 reprint of the Directorate edition, in which they are followed by another *juan,* containing the *Yinyi* supplement. However this makes for an awkward 13th *juan,* as the 13th chapter of the *Fayan* is already the longest one. Had the summaries been listed as an independent *juan,* the whole would have numbered 14 *juan.*

Another, less likely, option is that the rearrangement involves attaching the chapter summaries to each chapter. In his "Collected commentaries to the *Fayan*", *Fayan jizhu*, Sima Guang follows Song Xian and places the summaries at the beginning of each chapter. He also quotes Song Xian's explanation from his preface[146]:

> 法言每篇之序 [...] 反列於卷末。今升之於章首。
> The summary for each *pian* (chapter) was on the contrary (i.e. against the practice of the classics – as Song Xian understood it) listed at the end of the *juan* (chapter OR book). Now [I] have elevated them at the head of the *zhang* (chapter).

In his entry for the *Siku zongmu tiyao*, Ji Yun 紀昀 was the first to criticize Song Xian for this move and he was of the opinion that Song Xian took the summaries from the end of the text, split them and moved them to the beginning of each chapter[147]. However, the practice also existed, particularly in historiography, of appending an appraisal at the end of each chapter (in addition to the summary at the end of the text). Liu Xie 劉勰 availed himself of this practice in his *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍. Thus it is not impossible that the summaries might have been

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[145] Han 1999:181.
[146] Reprinted in Han 1999:205.
[147] Quoted in Han 1999:201.

moved initially to the end of each chapter and then placed by Song Xian at the beginning.

In any case, as established above in the previous chapter, we possess Li Gui's commentary in several versions, all of which go back to the Southern Song and can be traced back to Northern Song editions with reasonable accuracy. Thus, we possess the 1818 reprint by Qin Enfu of a Southern Song edition based on the Directorate edition of the Zhiping era. In addition there is the Taizhou edition of 1181, which is likewise based on a reprint of the Directorate edition of the Zhiping era. Both editions are in 13 *juan* and agree with one another except in a few marginal cases. These are the most complete versions of Li Gui's commentary. We also possess several editions also from the Southern Song with Sima Guang's commentary. These editions in 10 *juan* drop Li Gui's comments on the chapter titles, but, as far as I can establish, otherwise carry the complete text.

All editions agree overwhelmingly, with regard to both the text of the *Fayan* and Li Gui's commentary, so that we can surmise that they all descend from a common archetype. For the purposes of the present analysis I have not attempted to establish a critical text of Li Gui's commentary based on the above sources, but took Qin Enfu's reprint from the *Sibu congkan* as basis and compared it when needed with the Taizhou edition.

However, the state of the evidence does not allow the conclusion that the commentary as available in the 11th century is Li Gui's original version. Indeed, earlier witnesses, although scarce, paint a complex picture. Thus, the *Taiping yulan* of the 10th century and the *Wenxuan* commentaries of the 8th century both carry a considerable amount of quotations from the *Fayan* commentary (or commentaries) available to them.

The *Wenxuan* commentaries carry 27 comments on the *Fayan* text, 23 attributed to Li Gui and 4 to Song Zhong. The latter refer to only two *Fayan* passages: three (identical ones) to 1.19 and one to 6.16. They are not included in the transmitted version of the Li Gui commentary, but the longer comment to 6.16. is also quoted in the *Yinyi*. Of Li Gui's comments a staggering 18 cannot be found in the transmitted version. They mostly consist of simple glosses, but occasionally also of longer remarks, which sometimes indicate a different interpretation. One such case is *Fayan* 1.3, in which the comment attributed to Li

Gui differs radically from the transmitted version and yields a radically different reading the passage.[148] Another is *Fayan* 1.5, in which the quoted commentary partially overlaps with the transmitted version and yields a very similar interpretation, but it is still different enough in content and in style to warrant the conclusion that it is a different comment by a different author.

Thus, *Fayan* 1.5 reads:

> 螟蛉之子殪而逢蜾蠃，祝之曰："類我，類我。"久則肖之矣。速哉！七十子之肖仲尼也。

Li Gui's comment in the transmitted version is:

> 肖，類也。蜾蠃遇螟蛉而受化， 久乃變成蜂爾。七十子之類仲尼。又速于是。
> *Xiao* is to resemble. As the wasp encounters the young of the silk worm and instructs and transforms them, after a while they change and become like the wasp. The seventy disciples' taking after Zhong Ni is even faster than this.

This yields:

> As the silk worms have fallen[149] and encounter the wasp, [the wasp] conjures them: Be like me! Be like me! And after a while they resemble it. Fast(er) indeed is the seventy disciples' taking after Confucius.

But the commentary given in the *Wenxuan*, although going in the same direction, takes a different shape, that of glosses plus paraphrase, as described below:

> 螟蛉，桑蟲也。蜾蠃，蜂虫也。肖，類也。蜂虫無子，取桑虫，蔽而殪之，幽而养之，祝曰：類我。久則化而成蜂虫矣。速疾哉！二三子受學仲尼之化疾也。
>
> *Mingling* are the mulberry worms (i.e. silk worms). *Guoluo* is the wasp. *Xiao* is to resemble. As the wasp has no issue, it takes the mulberry worms, shelters and hides them, keeps them and raises

[148] Cf. comments on *Fayan* 1.3 in the sections on Li Gui and Wang Rongbao.
[149] Taking 殪 as "to fall" as opposed to "to kill" (the more common meaning, which is what Wang Rongbao proposes, quoting the *Shuowen*), since this would run counter to the commentary, where the wasp simply "encounters" the silkworms.

> them. It conjures them: be like me! After a while they transform and change into wasps. Fast indeed! The transformation of the few disciples as they receive teaching from Zhong Ni is fast.

This yields the reading:

> The silk worms are protected and instructed [by the wasp][150], the wasp conjures them: Be like me! Be like me! After a while they [indeed do] resemble the wasp. Fast indeed is the seventy disciples' taking after Confucius!

The *Taiping yulan* gives a commentary to the *Fayan* passages it quotes no less than 16 times. However, while the comments can be found in the transmitted version of the commentary, they are only acknowledged as Li Gui's in about a third of the cases – only 5 explicitly mention Li Gui: 1.14, 2.14, 7.17, and 13.11. The rest (1.5, 2.10, 2.13, 2.19, 3.14, 5.9, 6.16, 6.19, 7.8, 9.20) only quote the commentary without attribution. There is unfortunately no regularity, either in the order of the *Fayan* or in the order of the *Taiping yulan*.

One possible explanation would be that the excerpts come from (at least) two different sources, one of which does not identify explicitly Li Gui as the author, perhaps because he is the only commentator, and one which marks his comments as such, perhaps in order to distinguish them from comments by other authors[151]. The second option seems to be supported by the fact that the excerpt from 6.21 quotes a comment which it attributes to Hou Ba 侯苞, one of Yang Xiong's disciples and purported author of the first commentary to the *Fayan*. The comment itself is present in the transmitted version of Li Gui's commentary, though not attributed to Hou Ba, which means that, conceivably, the Li Gui commentary as we have it today is a mix of several distinct commentaries. This possibility cannot be discarded, pending a thorough examination of the commentary itself. In order to highlight this I will refer in the analysis below to

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[150] I take the commentary to expand 殪而逢 into 蔽而殪之，幽而养之.

[151] It is of course entirely possible that the compilers of one of the sources on which the *Taiping yulan* is based simply omitted this information. This is what the editors of the *Zengding Han Wei conshu* did: they included comments from Sima Guang's compilation, but intentionally removed the identifications, so that to the readers all comments appear as from a single source.

'the Li commentary', paralleling 'the Li version', rather than to 'Li Gui's commentary'.

Indeed the hypothesis of a composite commentary seems to be strengthened by the fact that the Li commentary as preserved since the Song dynasty is accompanied in some editions by Liu Zongyuan's comments. The *Xin Tangshu* lists a commentary by Liu Zongyuan in thirteen *juan*, of which Sima Guang thinks it is in fact a subcommentary. Indeed, Sima Guang's commentary quotes Liu Zongyuan four times: to paragraphs 1.3, 3.14, 13.33 and 34. Qin's reprint of the Directorate edition doesn't carry these comments, but the Taizhou edition by Tang Zhongyou does. It is quite possible that the merger of earlier commentaries was already undertaken in the Tang by Liu Zongyuan.

Format and technique.

Unfortunately no preface is preserved for the Li commentary, so reading strategies will have to be deduced from analyzing the commentary itself against the general background of ideas and exegetical practice of the age.

The structure of the commentary follows a model that grew out of the criticism that Liu Xiang and Liu Xin, as well as Yang Xiong himself made of the Western Han practice of *zhangju* 章句 commentaries to the classics. We do not have any extant examples from this stage of the Chinese exegetical tradition, but going by the polemical descriptions found in the *Yiwenzhi*, these commentaries would break the text into small units, phrases or even single characters, and disregarding the overall meaning of the text would comment on these independently, with the commentary reaching gigantic proportions ("one million characters long" is the, perhaps hyperbolic, description given by Liu)[152]. In his biography, Yang Xiong claims to never have engaged in this practice[153], to which scholars of the following generations would oppose the search for the *dayi* 大意, general meaning. One standard example of the new exegesis is Zhao Qi's 趙崎

[152] *Hanshu* 30, *Yiwenzhi*, cf also Lewis 2007:222ff. for a discussion.
[153] *Hanshu* 87, Biography of Yang Xiong; full annotated translation Knechtges, *The Hanshu Biography of Yang Xiong*, Knechtges 1982:12.

Mengzi commentary (2nd half of the 2nd century)[154], originally entitled polemically *Mengzi zhangju*.

Zhao Qi does break the text into its ever smaller units: chapters, sections, phrases, and characters – and then proceeds to systematically gloss words and names; provide explanations of the phrases by paraphrasing them or clarifying their intentional background or pragmatic implications; identify explicitly the point of each *zhang* and even the overall logic of each chapter. This model was applied by Zhao Qi almost mechanically: each sentence in the original text gets a comment, whether it is necessary or not[155] – but in the hands of later commentators, particularly those with more speculative inclinations, such as the *Xuanxue* scholars, this form became more malleable.

Given the low interest in *Mengzi* in his period, it is doubtful whether Li Gui knew the *Mengzi zhangju*, but he was clearly familiar with the *Xuanxue* commentaries, as several of his formulations show, and also with the great Later Han commentaries, as his glosses prove. Compared to Guo Xiang 郭象 or even with Wang Bi 王弼, his commentary is rather austere, but he is far from being as thorough as Zhao Qi, only glossing and explaining what is necessary.

A few examples will show his method:

The Li commentary to *Fayan* 5.25 runs as follows:

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[154] Cf for a discussion Dobson 1964; Wagner 2003: Ch.1.

[155] One influential view, first articulated by Dobson, holds that Zhao Qi's commentary provides a translation of the text from Zhanguo Chinese into Late Han Chinese. Even a cursory look at the actual commentary shows this theory to be very problematic, as the vast majority of Zhao Qi's comments do not paraphrase the text at all, but aim to provide background information as to the context, the intentions and motives of the characters, the relevance of what is being said. Sometimes the comments seem superfluous, for instance:

> 曰：「可。」[Mengzi] responded: It is possible.
> [Zhao Qi:] 孟子以為如王之性，可以安民也。"Mengzi considered that someone with the King's natural endowment would be able to pacify the people."

Systematically including a comment on every single unit of the text may come out of the desire to be thorough, or to make the point that that is all that can or should be said about the passage in question, or still because, quite plausibly, the commentary was originally compiled as a stand-alone work, separate from the text, and only later it was inserted into the text.

或曰：“君子病沒世而無名，盍勢諸名卿，可几也。”	**Someone said: As to (Confucius saying) ”a *junzi* is worried about leaving the world without [having achieved] renown”, why not associate with famous ministers? That should get him there.**
盍，何不也。勢，親也。名卿，親執政者也。 言：何不與之合勢以近名也。 此義，猶王孫賈勸仲尼媚于灶也。	盍 is 何不 “why not”. 勢 is 親 “to become close”. 名卿, “famous ministers”, refers to those who personally control the government. It means: why not become allied with them so as to get close to their level of fame. This meaning is similar to Wang Sunjia urging Zhong Ni to seek favor with those at the stove.

The first sentence is a paraphrase of *Lunyu* 15.20 (君子疾沒世而名不稱焉 “The *junzi* is troubled that he would leave with world and his name would not be valued.”), which receives no annotation as the reader is assumed be familiar with it.

The glosses illustrate two strategies: the first is to rely on an inventory of glosses, established by the major standard commentaries. This seems to be the preferred solution, as it is employed systematically. Glossing 盍 (MC: hap) as a contraction of 何 and 不 (MC: ha + pjuw)[156] is such a well-established practice, appearing for instance in Du Yu’s 杜預 commentary to the *Zuozhuan*.

Other examples show that the sources of the glosses are the major Later Han commentaries, such as Zheng Xuan’s or Mao’s, but also 3rd century works, such as He Yan’s commentary to the *Lunyu*:

尸 as 主 (鄭玄)
殷 as 正 (孔傳)
允 as 信 (孔傳)
訓 as 順 (孔傳)
埴 as 泥 (高誘)
貞 as 正 (鄭玄; 王弼)

[156] Notation for Middle Chinese following Baxter 1992:Ch.2, maintained in Baxter 2014.

回 as 邪 (毛 傳)
畫 as 止 (何晏 quoting 孔安國)
輟 as 止 (何晏 quoting 鄭玄)
濟 as 渡 (毛傳)
載 as 始 (鄭玄)

Of particular interest is the fact that the most frequent source of glosses is Kong Anguo's 孔安國 commentary to the *Shangshu* 尚書. As is well known[157], Kong Anguo (d. c. 100 BC) claimed to have found a *guwen* 古文 version of the *Shangshu* in the wall of Confucius' home in Qufu in the 2nd century BC and wrote a commentary for it. Kong's version of the text and his commentary became the standard with the rise of *guwen* scholars after Yang Xiong's generation but was lost with the sacking of Luoyang in 311. After the move south the court called for scholars to contribute texts to the new imperial library in Jiankang and a certain Mei Ze 梅賾 submitted a version of the *guwen Shangshu* with the Kong commentary. While this version was later proven to be, at least to a large extent, Mei Ze's own creation, the text was accepted as authentic at the time and became the standard version for the next millennium[158]. If Li Gui's reliance on Kong Anguo's glosses says little about the authenticity of the text, it does corroborate the hypothesis that Li Gui's activity must be placed after the establishment of the Eastern Jin.

The second gloss 勢，親也[159] illustrates a second strategy, namely that of deducing the meaning of the term in question from the context and improvising a gloss. In the first case, of well-established glosses, Li Gui very often does not comment any further on the meaning of the sentence as a whole, as plugging the glosses into the text would produce the intended reading without any other interference from the commentator. But in the second case, as the gloss rests on the reading, Li Gui is careful to spell out his interpretation and very often explains

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[157] Shaughnessy entry on *Shangshu*, in Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts* (Shaughnessy 1993: 381).
[158] Shaughnessy *ibid.*
[159] *Shi*, position, here used verbally, is *qin*, "relative", here used verbally as well, "to become close to".

his reasons for it. In the example above the text requires *shi* to be a verb, but the gloss itself is Li Gui's innovation and is justified by the reading he gives the whole sentence: "why not become allies with them (the important ministers) so as to advance his (i.e. the *junzi's*) name". This reading in turn is justified by reference to a passage in the *Lunyu*, 3.13, identified explicitly by the commentary, in which Confucius is faced with a similar situation:

> 王孫賈問曰：「與其媚於奧，寧媚於灶，何謂也？」
> 子曰：「不然；獲罪於天，無所禱也。」
>
> Wangsun Jia asked: rather than seek favor with those inside better to seek favor with those at the stove, how about that?
> The master said: Not so. If one draws the ire of heaven there will be nowhere to get blessing from.

As the Kong Anguo commentary (quoted by He Yan) explains, this religious terminology is to be taken metaphorically to refer to political functions: the heaven is the ruler, those inside are the ruler's favorites, while those at the stove are the ministers in charge of carrying out the business of government, in this case Wangsun Jia himself. In the *Fayan* dialogue Yang Xiong's response of course follows in the same direction, although interestingly enough references the language of yet another *Lunyu* passage, 4.5.

Another similar example (*Fayan* 1.3) shows, however, that this procedure itself is also systematic, based on an exegetical strategy: in his preface, Yang Xiong claimed to always use the model of the Sages in his replies and pronouncements, and the commentator reads the text accordingly and tries to identify the model whenever possible.

天之道不在仲尼乎？	**The way of heaven: does it not reside in Confucius?**
不在，在也。言在仲尼也。	"does it not reside in Confucius" is [a rhetorical question meaning] "it does reside", meaning: it [really] does reside in Confucius.

仲尼駕說者也不在茲儒乎？ 駕，傳也。茲，此也。 如將复駕其所說，則莫若使諸儒金口而木舌。 金寶其口，木質其舌，傳言如此，則是仲尼常在矣。	**The words that Confucius passed on: are they not with these *ru* [of today, as they are]?**[160] C: to pass on is to transmit; *ci* is *ci* (this). **[So] if one wanted to continue to pass on what he has said, then nothing would be better than making the *ru* into a [bell with a] bronze mouth and a wooden tongue.** C: The bronze gives value to the mouth, the wood gives substance to its tongue – if one were to transmit [his] words like this, then truly Confucius would be ever present.

The *Fayan* refers obviously to *Lunyu* 3.24 in which heaven will make Confucius into a bronze bell with a wooden clapper in order to announce the lost way of the Sage Kings to the world. The idea of the bronze bell with the wooden clapper as the means by which the way is transmitted through the generations informs the reading of the character 駕, which is otherwise never glossed in this way. A similar gloss is preserved from Liu Zongyuan, but it is certainly based on this passage; it is one of the few for which we have a commentary by him and we know his reading follows the one above. Indeed a different reading attributed to Li Gui is preserved in the *Wenxuan* and it seems that the purpose of Liu Zongyuan's comment is to indicate his support for the reading above.

Besides the *Lunyu*, which is an obvious place to look for parallels, in several instances these are taken from the *Yijing* and the *Laozi*. The cases are however rather clear and the commentary takes very little liberties in this respect. More degrees of freedom are offered by another exegetical strategy, that of positing a deeper layer of meaning in the case of many formulations in the *Fayan*.

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[160] The first two sentences of the original are parallel and have to be translated as such; in both cases the first part is a nominal phrase: 天之道 "the way of heaven" and 仲尼駕說者也 must be read as parallel with it. It is thus not to be read as "Confucius was one who transmitted sayings" following the A, B 也 pattern, but as a topicalized nominal phrase. 也 occurs commonly as a topic marker after a nominal phrase in the meaning "as to...". The translation must account for the fact that the verbal phrase 仲尼駕說 "Confucius transmitted sayings" is not nominalized as 仲尼之駕說.

經營然後知干、楨之克立也。 干、楨，筑牆版之屬也。 言經營宮室，立城郭，然後知干、楨之能有所立也； 建宗廟，立社稷，然後知禮樂之能有所成也。(FY 8.27)	**Only after one has planned and built [something] does one realize the fact that the ability of the pillars is to support.** *Gan* and *zhi* are kinds of pillars for building walls. [The passage] says: only after planning and building edifices or erecting city walls does one realize that the capacity of the pillars is such that there is something which they sustain. Only after establishing temples and erecting altars does one realize that the capacity of ritual and music is such that there is something they achieve (i.e. the civilizing transformation of the world).

Here a short and relatively straightforward statement is expanded through the deployment of an extensive exegetical arsenal:

- First, terms are glossed implicitly or explicitly: a definition is provided for 干 and 楨; 經營 is expanded into the more explicit 經營宮室 "planning and building edifices"; 立 "to stand or to erect" is expanded into 立城郭 "to erect walls"; the archaic word 克 is glossed as 能 "ability".
- Secondly, the grammatical structure of the phrase 然後知干、楨之克立也 is expanded into 然後知干、楨之能有所立也 in which 干、楨之能有所立也 forms the object of the verb 知 "to recognize" and must be read as a general definition of the nature of pillars.
- Thirdly, a term of comparison is introduced through a parallel phrase 建宗廟，立社稷，然後知禮樂之能有所成也. This second term of the comparison is not present in the text itself, but is introduced by the commentator – however not in an arbitrary manner: it is a reading strategy condoned or even imposed by the text itself.

In the course of the dialogues, Yang Xiong has the opportunity to comment on his own formulations and on the reactions of his interlocutors. In more than one occasion he prods them to go beyond the surface of his answers and even occasionally spells out the correct interpretation. In this particular case, the

interpretation above is based on the context provided by the entire last third of chapter 8, in which the value of ritual is discussed in several paragraphs. In the immediately preceding paragraph the connection to ritual is made explicit:

> 川有防，器有範，見禮教之至也[161]。
> A river has dikes, vessels have molds (used to cast them) – in this is seen the utmost [accomplishment] of the education through rites.

The function of this term of comparison is to highlight what the commentator considers to be the import of the text, the direction the argument takes. In this case, ritual and music are the pillars of the traditional state, the Confucian argument being that the integrity of the ancestral altars of the ruling house (and thus the integrity of the state) cannot be maintained by force alone, but through cultivation and education of the people. The purpose of the first phrase is to highlight this argument metaphorically, but by introducing the second one, the commentator reveals its metaphorical character and specifies the frame of reference in which it must be read. Other possible readings are thus eliminated, such as, for instance: "Only after one has planned and built [something] does one realize whether these particular pillars which have been used are able to hold the construction." and the sentence must be taken as a general statement (emphasized also by the use of the particle 也) on the nature of pillars.

It is perhaps the main function of the commentary, besides glossing difficult characters, to supply the terms for incomplete parallel structures and thus identify and render explicit this deeper level of meaning. Here too, the commentary proceeds with restraint and systematically, but the interpretations reveal more about the commentator's approach to and understanding of the text.

Where the intended meaning of the text cannot be inferred from the context, the commentary turns to the preface[162], in which Yang Xiong claims that his main objective in compiling the *Fayan* was to refute the false theories of the various Masters (*zhuzi* 諸子). This opposition between the true way of Confucius

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[161] *Fayan* 8.26.
[162] Cf below ch.4.2 b) for a translation and discussion.

and the false ways of the Masters is often used as a default deep structure when no other can be identified.

> 或問：「八荒之禮，禮也，樂也，孰是？」曰：「殷之以中國。」或曰：「孰為中國？」曰：「五政之所加，七賦之所養，中於天地者，為中國。過此而往者，人也哉。」
>
> Someone asked: the rituals [and music] at the eight margins of the world – they're also rituals, they're also music. So which ones are correct? [Yang Xiong] responded: rectify them (Li Gui: *zheng* 正) according to the [practice] in the Middle Kingdom [and then they will be correct]. Someone asked: And what is the Middle Kingdom? [Yang Xiong] replied: [the place] to which the five methods of governing (Li: Government methods based on the five constants 五常之政) are applied, which is nourished through the seven gifts [of heaven] (Li: the five cereals, mulberry, hemp 五谷、桑、麻), [the place] which occupies the center of heaven and earth, that is the Middle Kingdom. Beyond this (i.e. the Middle Kingdom) – are there still human beings?

But here the commentator intervenes to provide an explicitly metaphorical reading, thus indicating that a new level of meaning has to be defined in order to accommodate what he must hold as the deep level topic of the text.

> 譬八荒之于中國如彼，諸子之于聖人如是。
>
> This compares the relationship between the eight corners of the world and the Middle Kingdom on the one side with that between the Masters and the Sage on the other.

In proceeding like this, the commentary follows a practice that had been famously established by Zhao Qi in his *Mengzi* commentary. In remarks that Mengzi makes about reading the *Odes*, Zhao Qi claims to have found a subtle pointer from the author as to how to read his text[163]. This principle of extracting the reading strategy from the text itself and using various parts of the text to explain other parts had subsequently gained popularity, with Wang Bi employing it to great effect in his *Laozi* and *Zhouyi* commentaries[164].

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[163] Cf. Wagner 2003 Ch.1 for a discussion of this strategy.
[164] Cf. Wagner 2000 for an analysis of Wang Bi's exegetical strategies.

Nature and status of the text.

The format and technique of the commentary already show a considerable degree of respect for and even deference to the text. The way the commentary handles this issue can be determined by examining the remarks on a series of key passages.

In discussing Yang Xiong's work, the Li commentary draws a sharp line between the *fu* poetry and the rest:

> 孟子疾過我門而不入我室。
> 或曰："亦有疾乎？"曰："摭我華而不食我實。"
> Mengzi resented it when someone would pass by his door without entering his home.
> Someone asked: is there something you hate as well?
> [Yang Xiong] said: [Yes,] when someone plucks my flowers but does not eat my fruit.

Here the commentary explains:

> 華者，美麗之賦；實者，法言、太玄。
> The flowers are the beautiful *fu* poems, the fruits are the *Fayan* and the *Taixuan*.

Again at 2.17 the commentary pairs *fu* with *zhuzi*:

綠衣三百，色如之何矣？[...]	**[your] Green costumes [may number] three hundred, [but] but what will your appearance[165] be [in case you wear them]?**
綠衣雖有三百，領色雜，不可入宗廟；[...] 文賦雜子，不可以經聖典。	The green costumes may be three hundred, but [your] appearance will be disorderly, you will not be able to enter the ancestral temple [with them]. [...] The patterned *fu*, the variegated Masters – based on their ideas you cannot align your thought to the sagely canons.

It is true that Yang Xiong explicitly criticizes *fu* poetry as unable to reach its moral objective of moving the ruler towards the good and intimates that he has

[165] Read through the Li commentary, which has 領色 for 色, which in turn I take to be the 令色 of Analects 1.3.

renounced writing *fu* as unfitting for a grown man (*zhuangfu*)[166]. However, in his autobiography he takes great pains to justify his intentions in writing the various *fu* and to place them in their context; his poetic work, particularly that produced in Chang'an, is presented as a *parcours*, as a logical sequence and progression, in which there is no break. Of course it is also worth pointing out that he actually arrived at the imperial court in Chang'an late in his life, so his *fu* written at court cannot pass for the work of a young man.

It is also true that in this the Li commentary follows previous scholarship: in his remarks added to Yang Xiong's autobiography in *Hanshu* 87, Ban Gu was the first to make a distinction between the *Fayan*, a work taken seriously by the contemporaries and which has enjoyed respect and circulation afterwards, and the *Taixuan*, swiftly dismissed by most contemporaries, as evidenced also in the ample space Yang Xiong himself uses in his autobiography to defend it[167]. The distinction between the *fu* on the one hand and the *Taixuan* and *Fayan* on the other seems to be just as old, with Huan Tan praising the *Taixuan* as the work of a Sage[168] and Song Zhong writing commentaries on both[169].

However, the sharp opposition between the poetic and the 'serious' work may be to a considerable extent the projection of a later distinction between scholarly and literary pursuits as well as within literature itself, between 'serious', i.e. moral, poetry and poetry seen and practiced as self-expression and manifestation of individual spontaneity. It is worth noting that in this respect Yang Xiong himself, not least because of his remarks about *fu* in the *Fayan*, has counted as a prototype of the serious, moral view of poetry[170].

Another major assumption about the text is extracted not from the text itself or from the preface, but from what is assumed to be the original context of composition. The commentary quite systematically reads the *Fayan* as a direct

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[166] *Fayan* 2.1.
[167] Hanshu 87; Knechtges 1982.
[168] *Xinlun*: 61. A full annotated translation by Pokora 1975.
[169] Cf. entries in *Suishu jingjizhi*, Han 1999:180.
[170] Knechtges 2000:208.

criticism of Wang Mang. In the penultimate paragraph Wang Mang is referred to explicitly:

> 周公以來，未有漢公之懿也，勤勞則過于阿衡。
> Since the Duke of Zhou there has never been such [moral] excellence as that of the Duke of Han. In his hard work he surpasses E Heng (i.e. Yi Yin, minister of Tang).

After a gloss identifying the Duke of Han as Wang Mang, the commentary contains a personal note outlining the author's position on the whole issue:

> 或以此為媚莽之言，或以為言遜之謂也，吾乃以為箴規之深切者也。稱其漢公，以前之美耳，然則居攝之後，不貶而惡可知，楊子所以玄妙也。發至言于當時，垂忠教于後世，言蔽天地而無慚，教關百代而不恥，何遜媚之有乎？
>
> Some have taken this as praise for Wang Mang, some have taken it as abdication. I for one take it as a stern admonition. Calling him Duke of Han [Yang Xiong] simply praises him by means of his former [excellence][171]. Thus it is clear that [he] disapproves without [explicitly] criticizing [Wang Mang] after the regency (i.e. when Wang Mang had already usurped the throne in AD 9), this is Master Yang's subtlety. He spoke the truth in his own time[172] and passed down a lesson of loyalty to later generations; his words could spread everywhere without shame and his lesson could be passed down one hundred generations without shame – what abdication or pandering (媚, cf. above) is there in this?

It is unclear why the *Fayan* should be dated after Wang Mang's ascension to the throne, even though in the very next paragraph Yang Xiong counts 210 years since the founding of the Han, which would give AD 9 at the latest. In any case the commentator seems convinced that Yang Xiong expressed his condemnation of Wang Mang through various subtle means.

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[171] 安漢公 "Duke who brings peace to the Han" is a title meant to praise (*mei*) Wang Mang; the point of the commentary seems to be that even after he called himself emperor (a still higher honor), Yang Xiong continues to refer to him by the former title and thus implicitly articulates criticism of Wang's conduct.

[172] 至言 is contrasted with 諂諛 "flattery" in Jia Yi, *Xinshu* (cf. HYDCD, entry on *zhiyan*); implied in 于當時 is that he did so in his own age, that is without the protection offered by speaking the truth about something in the (remote) past, an act of courage, as it puts the author in direct danger of retaliation.

One example is to be found in the opening of chapter 10: the first paragraph compares the Xi and He ministries established by Wang Mang on the basis of ancient models, with the mythical Zhong and Li ministries, traditionally in charge of heaven and earth. The second paragraph condemns the theory of dynastic succession called the Yellow Emperor's Beginnings and Endings[173] as a fake:

> 昔者姒氏治水土，而巫步多禹；扁鵲，盧人也，而醫多盧。夫欲讎偽者必假真。禹乎？盧乎？終始乎？
>
> Anciently Mr. Si (i.e. Yu the Great) brought water and land in order and so many shamans take on the step of Yu (who was limping – in order to claim similar gifts); Bian Que (the mythical doctor of the Yellow Emperor[174]) was originally from Lu so many doctors claim to come from Lu. Of course, those who wish to promote a fake must always borrow from the authentic. But are these fakes really like Yu, really from Lu, really [the Yellow Emperor's theory of] beginnings and endings?

Here the commentator intervenes again with a personal note:

> 言皆非也。于是舍書而歎曰："深矣！楊子之談也。王莽置羲和之官，故上章寄微言以發重、黎之問，而此句明言真偽之分也。
>
> This means that they are all fake. At this point I put the book aside and sighed: How deep are Master Yang's words! Wang Mang established the offices of Xi and He, so in the previous paragraph with subtle words he posed the question about Zhong and Li. And then in this sentence he explains the distinction between authentic and fake.

In a couple of cases a reference to Wang Mang is introduced as if it were implied, even if there is nothing in the text itself to justify the move. For the text:

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[173] As the commentary explains, this is a theory of dynastic succession attributed to the Yellow Emperor and circulating at the time.

[174] The *Shiji* contains a biography of a doctor called Bian Que in Ch.105. He is however a native of Qi by the name of Qin Yueren 秦越人, who was nicknamed Bian Que because of his amazing medical skills. Referenced here is the mythical Bian Que, physician of the Yellow Emperor.

> 齊桓、晉文以下，至于秦兼，其無觀已。或曰："秦無觀，奚其兼？"曰："所謂觀，觀德也。如觀兵，開辟以來，未有秦也。"
>
> After Huan of Qi and Wen of Jin and down to the unification under Qin there is nothing worth admiring. Someone asked: if there is nothing worth admiring in Qin, then how did it unify the world? [Yang Xiong] answered: what I call "admiring" is admiring virtue. When it comes to admiring military "might", since the beginning of the world there has never been anything like Qin.

The commentary runs:

> 秦以兵兼，而不以德；莽以詐篡，而不以道。言秦兵之無可觀，則莽之篡不言可知。
>
> Qin unified the world by means of military force, not by means of virtue; Wang Mang usurped the throne by means of deception, not by means of the way. This means in other words that as there is nothing worth admiring in Qin's military might, one knows without his saying so (that the same is true for) Wang's usurpation.

Status of the author.

Another case which seems to serve the purpose of justifying Yang Xiong's relation to Wang Mang does at the same time explicitly compare Yang Xiong to Confucius, thus both legitimizing the text and affirming the high status of the author. As the discussion centers on the ability of the Sage to compromise, the examples of Confucius' audience with Nanzi[175] and paying his respects to Yang Hu[176] are referred to:

> 詘身，將以信道也。如詘道而信身，雖天下不為也。
> He bends himself so as to promote the way[177], as for bending the way to promote himself, he would not do that even for the world.
>
> 仲尼之敬陽虎，楊子之臣王莽，所詘者形也，于神何時撓哉？諸如此例，學者宜識其旨。
> Zhong Ni paying respect to Yang Hu, Master Yang serving Wang Mang – what they bent was [only] their outer form. But did they

[175] *Lunyu* 6.28.
[176] *Lunyu* 17.1.
[177] In this verbal sense 信 occurs in the Zuozhuan, Ding 8: 盟以信禮也 which Du Yu glosses as 信猶明也, *xin* is synonym to *ming* "illustrate, render manifest."

ever compromise in spirit? In examples like these the scholars should understand what they point at.

Yang Xiong is again compared to Confucius as he refers to his prematurely deceased son[178] discussing the *Taixuan* with him:

> 仲尼悼顏淵苗而不秀，子雲傷童烏育而不苗。顏淵弱冠而與仲尼言易，童烏九齡而與楊子論玄。
> Zhong Ni regretted that Yan Hui put out leaves but did not bear flower, Zi Yun (Yang Xiong) was afflicted that Tong Wu (his son) sprouted but did not put out leaves[179]. As Yan Hui was capped (at 20) he would (already, at this young age) discuss the *Yi* with Zhong Ni, Tong Wu at (only) nine would (already) discuss the *Taixuan* with Master Yang.

Introducing Confucius as a term of comparison is not directly justified by the paragraph under discussion, but the directly preceding paragraph does contrast Yang Xiong with Confucius, albeit negatively:

> 或曰："述而不作，玄何以作？
> Someone asked: [if Confucius, whom you emulate, claimed to just] transmit and not create [anything new], then why did you create the *Taixuan*?

Similarly, *Fayan* 1.2 compares Yang Xiong with Confucius:

> 仲尼志道，朝聞夕死，楊子好學，不羨久生。
> Zhong Ni "set his mind on the way" [and] "if he heard [about it] in the morning he could die [at peace] in the evening". [Similarly] Master Yang loved learning, he didn't care about extending his lifespan.

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[178] Yang Xiong had two sons, both of whom died young. Yang Xiong is said to have gotten into severe financial difficulties as he resolved to bury them in the native Sichuan. Cf. Huan Tan in *Xinlun*: 40. 揚子雲為郎，居長安，素貧。比歲亡其兩男，哀痛之，皆持歸，葬於蜀，以此困乏。"When Yang Ziyun was a Gentleman residing in Chang'an he was poor. In two consecutive years he lost his two sons, he grieved for them, took them both back and buried them in Shu. Because of this he was bankrupt."

[179] The development of both Yan Hui and Tong Wu is described in organic terms, implied being that Yang Xiong's son was as talented as Yan Hui but that his life was cut short even earlier. Perhaps: Yan Hui completed his education but did not get to produce any results; Tong Wu began his education but did not get to even complete it. In the translation I assume that the plant would first produce sprouts, then leaves, and finally flowers.

Overall there are only very few instances in which the commentary goes beyond the rather strict framework of interpretation and contains somewhat atypical, longer and more personal remarks. Whether they were originally part of the preface, or perhaps of the *jie* chapter appended to the commentary, or simply inserted in the same manner in which Sima Guang inserted his own essays in his *Fayan* commentary (cf. below, Ch.3.2) is not clear. As pointed out above, it is also possible that they are not by Li Gui at all, but have ended up in the Li commentary as the result of a merger of several early commentaries, perhaps by Liu Zongyuan. In any case, they play an important role, as they serve the purpose of framing the text and the author and outlining the commentator's (or editor's) major exegetical choices.

The case discussed above concerned the question of Yang Xiong's relation to Wang Mang and the critical thrust of the text. Another case involves ranking Yang Xiong within the Confucian tradition, by reference to Mengzi and Xunzi:

> 荀子以為人性惡，孟子以為人性善，而楊子以為人性雜。三子取譬雖異，然大同儒教，立言尋統，厥義兼通耳。惟聖罔念作狂，惟狂克念作聖。楊子之言，備极兩家，反复之喻，于是俱暢。
>
> Xunzi considered that human nature is bad, Mengzi considered that human nature is good, while Master Yang considered that human nature is mixed. Although the three Masters differed in their examples (which they used to illustrate their positions), still they were in fundamental agreement with regard to *ru* teaching[180]; in articulating [their] theories they looked for the unifying element and their fundamental ideas were compatible with one another. (As the *Book of Documents* says) being wise and not studying one becomes a fool; being a fool and getting oneself to study one becomes wise. The words of Master Yang completely exhaust the [positions of] the two Masters. The image of reversal (wisdom and stupidity changing

[180] This is one of the earliest occurrences of the term 儒教 "*ru* teaching" or "Confucian teaching", later translated as "Confucianism". The two characters occur together in earlier texts, e.g. in the *Shiji*, *Youjia*: 魯人皆以儒教, but here 以儒 must be parsed as a prepositional phrase, "the people from Lu all taught as classicists" (i.e. in their capacity as classicists). By contrast, here *rujiao* is a true binomial.

into one another in the presence or absence of learning) thoroughly permeates them all alike[181].

The idea of comparing Yang Xiong with Mengzi and Xunzi is not an innovation of the Li commentary, Yang Xiong himself "humbly" compares himself with Mengzi (in *Fayan* 2.20) and then evaluates both Xunzi and Mengzi (in *Fayan* 12.4-5). There, Mengzi is seen as the better of the two; Yang Xiong specifically rejects the idea that he is only one of the Masters:

> 諸子者，以其知異于孔子也。孟子異乎？不異。
> As to the many Masters, in their knowledge (or: understanding) they differed from Confucius. Did Mengzi also differ (from Confucius)? He didn't differ.

Xunzi is also seen as continuing in the same line, albeit with some inconsistency:

吾于孫卿，與見同門而異戶也，	**As far as my relationship to Xunzi is concerned, I associate myself (with him on account that he) emerges from the same gate (as me), even though from a different door[182].**
同出一門而戶異，同述一聖而乖詭。	He comes out of the same one gate [as Yang Xiong] even though the door is different. He transmits the same [teaching] of the concurring Sages, but diverges in its presentation[183].
惟聖人為不異。	**Only the Sages could be without difference (also as far as the door is concerned[184]).**

[181] This is a difficult sentence, the meaning of which is not entirely clear. I take it to identify the common denominator of the three masters as the insistence in the importance of learning.

[182] This is a difficult sentence. The Li commentary reads 見 as 現 "to emerge", which it then implicitly glosses as 出 "to come out". This use of 與 is unusual, I take my clue from Analects 7.29: 與其進也，不與其退也 "I am associating myself with what they do when they come to see me, not with what they do after they retire."

[183] I take 同 to be a preposed adjective qualifying the door. From the comment below about the former and later Sages I infer that 一聖 must be read as a plural, "the unified Sages" i.e. signaling that the Sages of antiquity and Confucius all perfectly and completely agree.

[184] 為不異 can also be interpreted as "in their action they did not differ", which is perhaps more straightforward, but I prefer to preserve the metaphorical reading from the previous sentence.

前聖後聖，法制玄合，大同仁義。	Between the former Sages and the latter Sage (i.e. Confucius), the system of exemplary action converges in the Dark, they are absolutely (i.e. completely) in agreement [with regard to] *ren* and *yi*.[185]

The fact that the maligned *zhuzi* category includes Laozi and Zhuangzi poses a problem, since both received special attention from the *Xuanxue* scholars and as a consequence they would rank above Mengzi and Xunzi in importance[186]. Even later, in the 6th century, Lu Deming places them both together with the classics, but gives no attention to the *Xunzi* or even the *Mengzi* in his *Jingdian shiwen*. It is of course true that the notion that the ideas of Laozi and Zhuangzi provided unique insight into the dark, unknown aspects of the universe can be traced back to Yang Xiong himself, who had after all studied in Sichuan with two major Daoist masters. It is also true that he does concede that neither Laozi nor Zhuangzi (just like Sima Qian) is to be discarded outright and that one can extract, 取 *qu*, important elements from them. There is however a discrepancy between Yang Xiong's formulations and the contemporary view, which requires clarification.

On Laozi the commentary outlines the following position:

> 老子之絕學，蓋言至理之极，以明無為之本。斯乃聖人所同，子雲豈其異哉？
> 夫能統遠旨，然後可與論道。悠悠之徒，既非所逮，方崇經世之訓，是故無取焉耳。無取焉何者？不得以之為教也。
>
> Laozi's [idea of] "interrupting (or: abandoning) learning", this is his articulating the utmost of the highest principles in order to illuminate the basis of non-action. In this the Sage concurs (as he wants to be without words), so how come that Zi Yun (i.e. Yang Xiong) takes exception from this?
> As a general principle, only when someone is capable of mastering the esoteric pointers can one discuss the *dao* with [them]. This is of course beyond regular (or: vulgar) disciples, they completely

[185] 玄合 can be taken to mean "mysteriously converge or agree", but here the Sages converge on account of their agreement in the Dao, so there is no mystery about it; it is rather the Dao itself which is dark.
[186] Demiéville 1986:828ff.

emulate the teachings that are dominant in the world, this is why he (i.e. Yang Xiong) takes nothing of (Laozi's method of *jue xue*, with which Confucius actually agrees). Why doesn't he? Because it cannot be used for teaching (these vulgar disciples).

On Zhuangzi:

> 莊周與韓非同貫，不亦甚乎？惑者甚眾，敢問何謂也"？
> 曰："莊雖借諭以為通妙，而世多不解。韓誠触情以言治，而險薄傷化。然則周之益也，其利迂緩；非之損也，其害交急。仁既失中，兩不與耳。亦不以齊其优劣，比量多少也。統斯以往，何嫌乎哉？"
> 又問曰："自此以下，凡論諸子，莫不連言乎莊生者，何也？"
> 答 曰："妙指非見形而不及道者之言所能統，故每道其妙寄，而去其麤跡。一以貫之，應近而已。

> [Question:] To put Zhuang Zhou and Han Fei together, is this not extreme? As this is a common misconception, may I ask, what do you say?
> Answer: Even though Zhuang used analogies as a means to communicate the subtle [points], still most [people] in society did not understand [them]. Han directly expressed his thoughts in discussing government, but he was shallow and useless[187] [and thereby] harmed (i.e. obstructed) the [civilizing] transformation. Zhou's excess was that he excelled in indirectness; Fei's lack was that he harmed through directness. *Ren* accordingly was lost in the middle, neither of them provides it (or: partakes in it). Still this does not mean putting their advantages and disadvantages on a par or equating what they lack or have in excess.[188] Once this is understood, what confusion is there?

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[187] The HYDCD lists 險薄 as a binomial meaning "shallow and useless"; in this sentence it might function adverbially: "by being shallow and useless he hurt the transformation."
[188] This is a difficult sentence, so the translation can only be tentative. 失中 would most immediately mean "to lose the middle or mean" but in this context "*ren* lost the mean" doesn't seem to make sense. One option would be to interpret it as 失於中 "lost in the middle", i.e. between these two extremes. Another would be to read 仁 as 二 "the two of them", i.e. "both of them lost the middle", which would make best sense, but requires amending the text without any textual evidence. Yet another interpretation would be: "as far as *ren* is concerned, (they both) lost the middle, neither is to be joined (or 'commended' – for this unusual use of 與 see note 169 above). Still, this (i.e. their being quoted together) is not in order to equate the qualities (of the one) with the defects (of the other), or to compare who has more and who has less." In the *Fayan* getting the correct way is a matter of finding the middle. Failure means losing the middle (*shi zhong*) and occurs both by going too far and by stopping short – so it is plausible that Li Gui would borrow the reasoning in this case.

> Another question: from here on whenever he evaluates the Masters he always talks about them in terms of/ by reference to Zhuangzi. How come?
> Answer: the subtle pointers are not what the words of those who [only] look at the visible forms and do not reach the *dao* can comprehend. This is why in each case he discusses those formulations in which the subtle points reside and dismisses (the formulations which are just) the traces of coarse points[189]; "with one [core] holding them (i.e. Zhuangzi and the other Masters) together" (as Confucius did with the poems of the *Shjing*), he simply responded to the matter at hand.

Structure and coherence of the text.

As far as text structure is concerned pre-modern commentators do not address this question explicitly, but they all seem to take for granted that the text is indeed well ordered and coherent.

The Li commentary divides the text into paragraphs, *zhang* 章, explicitly but not systematically. Thus in commenting on *Fayan* 10.24 (having glossed *shi* as *wei* 偽 "fake"):

> 此章全論不食言之德。
> This paragraph in its entirety discusses the virtue of not being false in one's words.

In several other cases the word *zhang* is used to refer to individual paragraphs as units of meaning, as above in the discussion of Wang Mang's establishment of the Xi and He ministries. The Li commentary doesn't however go as far as for instance Zhao Qi's *Mengzi* commentary, which counts all paragraphs and provides each of them with a summary.

One of the places in which the assumptions about order of pre-modern commentators can come to light is in their comments on the chapter titles and summaries. In this case, the comments on the chapter summaries are purely philological, probably because in this arrangement of the text the summaries would

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[189] 妙寄 is literally "the lodgings of the subtle" and 麤跡 "the traces of the coarse". I take this to mean that some formulation in the masters contain valuable ("subtle") points, which can be adopted, while other formulations are simply "traces" of mistaken ("coarse") ideas.

come at the end, after the 13th chapter and all necessary remarks as to the structure of the text had already been made before. However the Li commentary provides in addition to the comments on the text summaries also a comment following the title of each chapter. These comments on the chapter titles reveal that chapters are recognized as meaningful units. In the *Fayan* the titles of the individual chapters are the first two meaningful words occurring in the text of the chapter, but by ascribing meaning to these titles the Li commentary assumes that the first sentence has been purposefully crafted so as to yield a meaningful combination – meaningful not only linguistically but also from the perspective of the conceptual framework of the text. Furthermore, the explanations on the titles attempt to justify the choice of title by bringing it in relation to the contents of the chapter:

> [2] 崇本在乎抑末，學大道絕乎小辯也。
> Emphasizing the root consists in dismissing the branches; to learn the great way [of the ancient kings] is to cut [oneself] off from the trifling controversies [of the Masters).
>
> [3] 求己以反本，守母以存子，此其大要。
> Searching in oneself in order to return to the root, holding on to the mother so as to preserve the child: this is its (the chapter's) main point[190].

Some of the remarks made in this context also imply that the commentator assumes the chapter sequence is not random, although a tight logic cannot be inferred either.

> [1] 夫學者，所以仁其性命之本，本立而道生，是故冠乎眾篇之首也。
> Generally speaking, learning is that whereby one brings *ren* to the root of one's nature and destiny (both given by Heaven). (As the *Lunyu* says) once the root is established the way will spring forth. Hence it (i.e. learning) is placed on top of all chapters.

For the last chapter:

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[190] This is the clearest case of *xuanxue* terminology in the Li commentary; the formula occurs in the *Laozi weizhi lüeli*, which summarizes the great portent of the Laozi. Cf. Wagner 2003: 90.

[13] 始于學行，而終于孝至，始終之義，人倫之事，畢矣。
Having begun with the "putting learning into practice"[191] and now ending with "piety as the utmost" – the idea of beginning and end and the state of human affairs are thus complete.

The comments on the penultimate chapter suggest an interesting way of looking at the chapters as thematic units:

[12] 夫君子之所以為美，布護蔓延，在乎眾篇，豈惟于此？而表其篇目者，絕筆在乎孝至，無以加之而已。
Now generally speaking it is clear that that by which the *junzi* becomes outstanding is spread and scattered through all the chapters, could it be that this is only dealt with here? Yet the reason that it is put up in the title of the chapter is simply that the text ends with "Piety, the utmost" and there is no place to add it anywhere (else).

Implied in these comments is the notion that the chapter titles, which have to be understood as being intentionally picked by the author, serve to define a conceptual structure which anchors the text, even though the paragraphs of the individual chapters cannot all be taken to deal with the topic highlighted in the respective chapter title.

Conclusion.

The preceding analysis is brief and must be considered preliminary: more work is undoubtedly needed for a full understanding of the Li commentary. Nevertheless, several important points can be established, which constitute a solid basis not only for the further investigation of the Li commentary itself but also of the other exegetical works which build upon it.

First of all it is necessary to establish that the commentary we have today might not contain all that Li Gui wrote and might also contain, along Li Gui's

[191] The text of the first chapter begins: "learning – putting it into practice is the most important/best; articulating it comes next, etc." Thus *xue xing* has to be interpreted as a nominal phrase with a relation of subordination between *xue* and *xing*, with *xing* as the head, thus equivalent with *xue zhi xing*, "the practice of learning (i.e. what one has learned)", which is itself the transformation of the original verbal phrase *xing xue*, "putting the learning into practice".

comments, comments by other authors – as next to the systematic framework of glosses and paraphrases it also contains discussions of the *shiyi* 釋疑 ("resolving doubtful points") type, personal remarks, as well as restricted attempts to apply an extraneous conceptual framework (such as the *xuanxue* terminology), which are however not sustained over any considerable length.

It might be more accurate to consider the transmitted version of the Li commentary as a composite work, merging explanations from several sources (most certainly including at least Hou Ba and Song Zhong) in a *jizhu*, "collected commentaries/explanations", kind of structure. Whether such merger has been undertaken by Liu Zongyuan in the Tang dynasty can only be speculated upon. On the one hand it can be established that the 'Li version' of the text and the accompanying Li commentary were already in a pretty stable form at the beginning of the Song; on the other it can be established that the Li commentary was in a rather fluid state at the beginning of the Tang.

Indeed, it can be established that the Li commentary as it stands does not provide a complete and coherent reading of the whole (in the way in which Zhao Qi or Wang Bi do for their respective texts). What it does is identify and circumscribe a number of key issues of interpretation and outline some very influential exegetical positions:

- Following previous scholarship the Li commentary separates the *Fayan* (together with the *Taixuan*) from Yang Xiong's literary production, as a result treating the text a serious contribution to Confucian thought.
- Yang Xiong's emulation of Confucius is likewise taken seriously and as a consequence he is ranked very high in the Confucian hierarchy, higher than Mengzi and Xunzi.
- Prompted by the eminent position occupied by the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* in the post Han cultural context, the commentary delves into Yang Xiong's relationship with these two texts and attempts to find a reasonable explanation for the partial criticism articulated in the *Fayan*.
- In deference to the text as a source of valuable insights, a general framework of interpretation is established, one characterized by accurate, objective reasoning based on solid historical and philological evidence.

- Following a reading strategy commended by the text itself, the commentary posits a deep structure of meaning beyond the surface of the text and proceeds to articulate it explicitly.
- Finally, through its open and plural character, the Li commentary leaves room for further scholarship to build on this foundation, without the need to accept it entirely (and provide a subcommentary) or reject it entirely (and provide an alternative commentary) – thus privileging the *jizhu* form, which indeed has been taken up by the later commentators.

3.3 Sima Guang's 1081 Commentary

Importance.

Both in the transmission of the text and in its interpretation, the Northern Song represents a watershed. All versions of the text transmitted to the present go back to printed editions of the Song era; likewise the Li commentary has been transmitted either in Song editions or together with other Song commentaries. Among these, Sima Guang's work has been the most influential: he has collected various editions and attempted to establish a critical text and likewise collected various interpretations and attempted to arrive at a reasoned, critical understanding of the text. In a sense, his place in the history of the text is no less important than that of Li Gui.

Author and context.

Sima Guang is one of the most important cultural figures not only of the Northern Song but of Chinese intellectual history more generally. We are exceptionally well informed about all aspects of his life and work, his career and scholarship, his habits and friendships, his politics and his sensibilities. Studies of his thought[192] have unfortunately tended to focus on his politics and ideology, or very specifically

[192] Cf. Bol 1993 for an overview, which I follow in the brief sketch below. Other useful studies by Sariti 1972 and Ji 2005.

on his historiography, rather than on his scholarship, but in this case we are thankfully in a much better position to place the commentary in its context within Sima Guang's work, as well as within the larger cultural setting.

Born in 1019 and hailing from an aristocratic family from the north-west, Sima passed the *jinshi* 進士 examination in 1038, but had already obtained official rank five years before through the *yin* privilege (his father being himself a high official). After a mourning period for his parents and a brief period in the local administration, he began his career at the center in 1046. While initially author of the fashionable *guwen* prose, he quickly moved to criticize purely literary skills and concentrated his attention on the cycles of order and disorder in history and the lessons that can be drawn from them for current political purposes. All through the 1050s he developed these ideas and after his return to the capital following a brief period at the local level in 1054-56 turned them into a veritable governing philosophy, which he used to criticize current policy when he became a censor in 1061. In 1060 he began the project of writing a continuous chronological history from 403 BC to 959 AD. The outline of this project he presented to the throne in 1064 as the *Chronological Charts*, *Liannian tu* 連年圖, followed in 1066 by the *Comprehensive Treatise*, *Tongzhi* 通志, a work in 8 chapters covering the period from 403 to 207 BC. These submissions were preceded and accompanied by a series of important memorials spelling out his 'program' for the government. However, as Shenzong 神宗 ascended the throne in 1067, he turned to Wang Anshi's 王安石 ideas instead and gave him the opportunity to put them in practice. Wang debated Sima before the emperor in 1068, won the argument, was appointed to the State Council in 1069 and made Chief Councilor in 1070 and proceeded to implement his ideas, which ran directly counter to Sima's, until he had to leave central government in 1076. Sima retired from the court in 1070 and moved to Luoyang, where he continued his work on the *Tongjian*, which he finished and submitted to the throne in 1084. It is from this period that his work on Yang Xiong dates, with the *Fayan* commentary completed in 1081 and the *Taixuan* commentary in 1082. Although summoned back after Wang Anshi's retirement, he declined to serve Shenzong and only returned to the court after the latter's death in 1085, as member of State Council and later Chief Councilor. In his short tenure until his own death

in 1086 he attempted to roll back Wang's New Policies, as promised in his memorials from 1068 and 1085.

In a famous passage written in 1068, Cheng Yi 程頤 characterized the Confucian context thus:

> All later Ru have been concerned with literary composition and mastering Classical studies. Literary composition is nothing more than making words pretty and showy and ideas novel and unique in order to please the ears and eyes of others. Classical studies is nothing more than explicating glosses and differing from previous Ru in order to establish your own unique interpretation. Can such kinds of learning actually arrive at the Way?[193]

From this perspective Sima was certainly not a true Confucian of the *Daoxue* 道學 type (which at the time was probably only represented by Cheng Yi himself and by his brother Cheng Hao 程顥), and also not a man of literary skill, which he repeatedly rejected as superfluous. But even within the category of scholars, his position has to be defined more precisely. Sima was foremost a scholar of history and his interest in history is the result of a highly relevant and consequential view, according to which the one source for understanding of the way is the study of history:

> 《易》曰："君子多識前言往行，以畜其德。"孔子曰："辭達而已矣。"然則史者儒之一端，文者儒之餘事；至於老、莊虛無，固非所以為教也。夫學者所以求道；天下無二道，安有四學哉！
>
> The *Changes* says: the *junzi* should gain wide knowledge[194] of former arguments and past deeds so as to cultivate his virtue to perfection. Confucius says: words must simply reach [the audience, i.e. get the point across, nothing more]. Thus history (or: historical writings) is one of the [main] aspects of the *ru* [activity], writing is a secondary preoccupation. As for the void and nothingness of Laozi and Zhuangzi, this is certainly not something that could be used for teaching. As a general principle, of course, learning is that by which one seeks the way. As there are not two ways in the world, how could there be four fields of study?[195]

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[193] Quoted after Bol 2008:79.
[194] I take 多識 as adverb + verb; the sentence is an injuction: "know a lot about...!".
[195] The passage is quoted by Bol 1993:157. I do not adopt Bol's translation as his rendering of 前言往行 as "many sayings of antiquity and many deeds of the past" seems to me to miss the point. These are the words and deeds of historical characters.

The argument is of course directed against the production of beautiful ancient style prose, a major trend promoted since the generation of Ouyang Xiu 歐陽脩, and of which Wang Anshi was a major exponent. But implied in it is the more daring thought that it is not the study of texts as repositories of knowledge but the study of texts as witnesses of history that is the ultimate guide to the principles of success and failure. After all Sima did not write a commentary to the *Chunqiu* but rather – in a way reminiscent of Yang Xiong, particularly of Yang Xiong of the *Fayan* – attempted to imitate the model of Confucius by continuing the *Chunqiu*, picking up approximately from where Confucius' chronicle ends. This view has to be contrasted on the one hand with Wang Anshi's ideas about the ancient texts, particularly the *Zhouli*, containing the ideal model of the ancients, which can be applied to later ages and which can and must be imitated; on the other hand it is radically at odds with the Neo-Confucian efforts to define a new orthodoxy. This position explains Sima's priorities as well as the liberties he takes with texts. His placing of Yang Xiong before Xunzi and Mengzi[196] may seem radical, but in the preface to the *Taixuan*[197] he goes even further and practically claims that this text should rank next to the *Yijing* itself:

> 藉使聖人復生，視《玄》必懌然而笑，以為得己之心矣。乃知《玄》者所以贊《易》也，非別為書以與《易》競也。
> [...]曰：夫畋者所以為禽也，網而得之與弋而得之，何以異哉？書者所以為道也，《易》，網也，《玄》，弋也，何害？不既網而使弋者為之助乎，子之求道亦膠矣。
>
> If the Sages (i.e. the authors of the *Yijing*) would come back to life, when seeing the *Taixuan* they would smile contently, considering that it had captured their mind. This is how I know that [the *Taixuan*] was made to exalt the *Yijing*, and is not a work specifically made to compete with the *Yijing*.
> [responding to objections to the value of the *Taixuan*] I say: As a general principle, hunting is the way to go after birds, but whether

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Otherwise the study of history and the study of texts would make two sources of knowledge not one.

[196] Cf. full discussion below.

[197] Sima Guang, *Du xuan* 讀玄, in *Taixuan jizhu*.

> one catches them by means of nets or by means of arrows, what difference does it make? Writing is the way to get the *dao*, but regardless whether the *Yijing* is the net or the *Taixuan* is the arrow, what harm is there in that? If you haven't yet caught anything with the net and you employ the arrows for support, then your search for the *dao* would only be more persistent.

Sima criticized eclecticism, probably referring to intellectuals such as Wang Anshi, who even wrote commentaries to Buddhist sutras and Daoist scriptures and when dealing with the classics opted to disregard the exegetical tradition and propose his own revisionist interpretations, whether on the *Zhouli* or the *Yijing*. The classical scholarship of Sima Guang is however also eclectic, at least when compared with the strict views of the Cheng brothers: he wrote not only on the *Yijing*, the *Xiaojing* and the *Daxue*, but also on *Laozi* and in his later years produced the *Yi Meng* 疑孟, *Doubting Mengzi*,[198] a study critical of Mengzi, who was held in high esteem both by the Cheng brothers and Wang Anshi.

Transmission.

The transmission of Sima Guang's commentary and text version is far more secure than is the case for Li Gui's commentary. As outlined in the previous chapter, three Southern Song editions are extant and they agree overwhelmingly. The circumstances of the first printing are still unclear and the question of the base text for the three editions still remains, but we can be very confident that the extant text is very close to the original version. For the purposes of the present analysis I have used the text in the Shidetang edition 世德堂, which is widely available and a manuscript copy of which has been digitized as part of the *Siku quanshu* electronic edition[199]. This I have compared when needed with a Ming version of the *Zuantu huzhu* edition, reprinted in the *Siku quanshu zongmu congshu*.

[198] In 司馬光文集, vol.73, in SBCK, 1st series, vol. 842.
[199] Now freely available online at http://ctext.org/.

Preface.

In order to understand the reasons for Sima Guang's interest in Yang Xiong and the *Fayan* and the logic of his exegetical approach, it will be convenient to start with his preface to "Collected commentaries on the *Fayan*" 法言集注, dated 1081:

> 韓文公稱荀子以為在軻雄之間。又曰：孟子醇乎醇者也。荀與揚大醇而小疵。三子皆大賢，祖六藝而師孔子。[孟子好詩書，荀子好禮，揚子好易。古今之人共所宗仰。] 如光之愚固不敢議其等差。然，揚子之生最後監於二子而折衷於聖人。潛心以求道之極致，至于白首然後著書。故其所得為多。後之立言者莫能加也。雖未能無小疵，然其所潛最深矣。恐文公所云亦未可以為定論也。
>
> 孟子之文直而顯。荀子之文富而麗。揚子之文簡而奧。唯其簡而奧也，故難知。學者多以為諸子而忽之。晉祠部郎中李軌始為之註。唐柳州刺史柳宗元頗補其闕。景祐四年詔國子監校揚子法言。嘉祐二年七月始校畢上之。又詔直祕閣吕夏卿校定治平元年上之。又詔内外制看詳二年上之。然後命國子監鏤版印行。故著作佐郎宋咸，司封員外郎吳祕皆嘗註法言。
>
> 光少好此書。研精竭慮，歷年已多。今老矣，計智識所及無以復進。竊不自揆輒采諸家所長附以已意名曰集註。凡觀書者，當先正其文辨其音，然後可以求其義。故相宋公庠家有李祠部註本及音義，最為精詳。音義多引天復本，未知天復何謂也。諸公校法言者，皆據以為正。宋著作吳司封亦據李本而其文多異同。音義皆非之，以為俗本。今獨以國子監所行者為李本。宋著作吳司封本，各以其姓別之，或參以漢書。從其通者以為定本。先審其音，乃解其義。然，此特愚心所安，未必皆是。冀來者擇焉。
>
> 元豐四年十一月己丑涑水司馬光序

> Han Wengong (i.e. Han Yu 768-824) ranked Xunzi between Ke (i.e. Mencius) and [Yang] Xiong. He also said that Mencius was entirely pure (i.e. following on the way of Confucius), while Xun and Yang were mostly pure, but had small blemishes. They were all great worthies, who worshiped the six arts and took Confucius as their master. Mengzi liked the *Shi* and *Shu*, Xunzi liked the *Li* (i.e. *Liji*, the books on ritual are meant here – not ritual as such), Yang liked the *Yi*. All three of them are revered and relied upon by people of old and of today. Someone as stupid as myself could definitely not dare dispute his ranking, yet [I venture to observe] Master Yang was the last to live, so he could inspect the other two Masters and see where they coincided with the Sage (cf. *Fayan* preface for 折諸聖). He submerged his mind [into the way of the Sages] (cf. *Fayan* 5.1 for 潛心于聖) so as to get the ultimate of the *dao* and only in his old age did he write his book (i.e. the *Fayan*). So what he was

able to harvest was plentiful. Those who wrote after him were not able to add to it. Although he could not be without small blemishes, still he dived deepest [into the way]. I'm afraid the words of Wengong (Han Yu) consequently will not be the last judgment [on this].

The text of Mengzi is direct and clear, the text of Xunzi is rich and beautiful, the text of Yangzi is concise and deep. Being concise and deep it is difficult to understand. Many scholars have taken him to be just one of the many Masters and disregarded him. Secretarial court gentleman[200] Li Gui of the Jin Ministry of rites first wrote a commentary on it[201], Prefect of Liuzhou Liu Zongyuan of the Tang only filled the lacunae. In the fourth year of the Jingyou era (1037) the Directorate was ordered to collate the *Fayan* of Master Yang and the edition was completed and submitted only in the second year of Jiayou (1057). Lü Xiaqing of the Palace Archive was ordered to collate it again and the edition was submitted in the first year of Zhiping (1064). And it was ordered that the drafters (of Hanlin and the Secretariat) examine it in detail and the result was submitted in the second year [of Zhiping] (1065). Only then did the Directorate print and publish it. Formerly the Assistant Editorial Director Song Xian and the Outer Gentleman of the Bureau of Honors Wu Mi had written commentaries on the *Fa yan*[202].

As a child I liked this book, by now I have researched it and thought about it for many years. Being already old, I reckon I will not be able to improve my understanding any further. I did not dare to put myself forward, so[203] in each case I picked the best points of the various commentators and added my interpretation, calling [the resulting commentary] "collected commentaries". Generally speaking, in examining texts one has to first establish the text and distinguish the [correct] readings and only then can one try to recover the correct meaning. Formerly, Song Gongxiang's family[204]

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[200] Hucker 1985 (#5047)

[201] It is impossible that Sima ignored the entries in the *Suishu* bibliographical chapter of two earlier lost commentaries. This must be an overview of the commentaries he had in front of him.

[202] Song Xian's commentary for which we have the preface, was completed in Jingyou 3 (1036) and submitted in Jingyou 4 (1037), thus before the first Song official edition. We have no information on the Wu Mi commentary, except that Sima Guang quotes it after Song Xian's, so it must be later. If it is correct that this was one of the "popular" editions referred to in the *Yinyi* appendix, as Sima believes, then it must have been completed before 1065; otherwise in any case before 1081.

[203] 輒 is a variant of 輒, synonymous with 則.

[204] This sentence is obscure to me, both in its syntax and in the realia to which it refers. Song Gongxiang could possibly refer to the Northern Song literatus Song Xiang (996-1066), brother of the more famous statesman and historian Song Qi (998-1061). I take the *gu* as "formerly", in contrast to *jin*, "now", which comes up later. Taken as a place name *xiang* can refer to the ancient city, but the Song family does not come from the

> had the edition with Li's commentary and the *Yinyi*, which was the most accurate. The *Yinyi* often adduces the *Tianfu* edition, but it is not known what "*Tianfu*" refers to. All collators have relied on this as being the correct (or: standard) one. Song and Wu also relied on the Li version, but their text diverges from it in many instances. The *Yinyi* rejects all of them considering [these versions] vulgar editions. Now I take the [edition] published by the Directorate as the Li version, I distinguish [the readings] of Song and Wu by their surnames, in some cases I compare them with the *Hanshu*, and I establish my text based on their points of agreement. I first detail the sound and then explain the meaning. Still, what such a stupid mind as mine has settled on is definitely not correct in all instances. I hope those who come after me pick [the correct points] from them. Written in the fourth year of Yuanfeng (1081) by Sima Guang.

Here Sima Guang discusses in some detail the main points which characterize his approach to the *Fayan*:

- the reasons for his interest in Yang Xiong and for writing a commentary on the *Fayan*, closely connected to his ranking of Yang Xiong within the Confucian tradition;
- the history of transmission and interpretation of the *Fayan* and his evaluation of these;
- the way in which he established his critical text;
- his exegetical strategies and the form of his commentary.

I will examine each of these in turn, except for the text critical issues, which have been addressed in the previous chapter, and will consider in addition the actual text of the commentary where relevant.

Form and technique.

The choice of exegetical strategies and even the form of the commentary Sima adopted have to be understood as polemical moves against the background of 11th century practices. In his commentary to the *Fayan* (*Fayan jizhu*, "Collected commentaries on the *Fayan*") Sima collects previous readings of the text and

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region, but from further south, in Anlu. They were however enfeoffed in Yongqiu, which is closer.

appends his own remarks when necessary at the end, following a form which He Yan had employed for his *Lunyu jijie* 論語集解 ("Collected explanations on the *Lunyu*"). It is however in the Song context that this choice reveals its meaning[205]: at least since early in the Tang dynasty, the classics had been published with an officially sanctioned commentary chosen from the earlier tradition (Han or Wei) and a subcommentary reexamining and supporting both the text and the explanations. Knowledge of the classics, such as was, among other things, tested in the imperial examinations, was knowledge of these texts with these interpretations. Some four centuries later, in the Northern Song, the logic of this system and the value of the traditional commentaries were challenged, with intellectuals such as Ouyang Xiu recommending that young scholars should read the texts of the classics independent of such previous interpretations and seek their relevance for the present. The circulation of private, i.e. not officially sanctioned, commentaries was allowed from 1064, while in 1073 Wang Anshi used his position to institutionalize such alternative interpretations (including his own on the *Zhouli*) by printing and promoting them under official auspices[206]. In 1074 the form of examination requiring the memorization of classical texts with official commentaries was altogether abolished.

Against this backdrop, Sima' approach attempts to strike a reasoned balance: pride of place is given to the early interpretation of Li Gui, but modern and private interpretations such as those of his contemporaries Song Xian and Wu Mi are also carefully considered. Unlike, for instance, He Yan's *Lunyu jijie*, Sima Guang does not favor one interpretation over another, but rather impartially quotes everything in chronological order. Sima's own interventions are minimalistic and seldom polemical. It is only in textual matters that he has to make a choice, which he marks accordingly and often comments upon. His approach emphasizes continuity and inclusiveness and proceeds bottom-up: from the text to the glosses to the overall meaning and the overall coherence of the text. This is in sharp contrast to the practice of discarding previous interpretations and concrete textual

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[205] A useful overview of the Song context, which I follow here, is to be found in Bol 2008:46ff.
[206] Bol 2008:48.

issues in order to focus on the *dayi*, great import, of the text, as Ouyang Xiu had done before and Zhu Xi would do later[207].

As far as textual scholarship is concerned, the establishment and transmission of texts, the Northern Song had witnessed similarly momentous changes[208]. With the spread of woodblock printing at the end of the Tang, by the tenth century the printing of official editions by the Directorate of Education, *Guozi jian*, came to be seen as an equivalent of carving the classics in stone. It seems that initially the printed versions were simply seen as a cheaper alternative: while put up for sale, they were in fact not meant for mass distribution. It is only under the Song that printing slowly came to be seen as an alternative to transcription. As a result of challenges to the authority of traditional interpretation, the authenticity of the classics also came under attack, with the official stories of their creation being subjected to scrutiny. For instance Ouyang Xiu famously subjected the *Xici zhuan* to a critical examination and based on internal inconsistencies proposed that it was not the work of the Sages, but of several different later commentators. Sima Guang was himself part of these discussions, challenging on the one hand the authenticity of several texts, among which the *Zhouli* and the *Mengzi*, but criticizing at the same time uncritical skepticism of the authenticity of the classics.

Under these circumstances it was only a small step before the texts themselves came under critical attention, a process encouraged by the poor quality of official Directorate editions. One popular practice in the Song has been dubbed by Cherniack 'rational collation' following Qing terminology[209] and is based on the same belief in the ability of the human mind to distinguish truth or reason which animated the most daring intellectuals in their commentaries as well. Sima Guang's philological approach to textual criticism as seen in the *Fayan* is of course part of the same larger movement, but his deference to textual variants, transmitted texts, etc. must be understood in contrast to this more liberal approach.

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[207] Cf. Kasoff 1984:19ff.
[208] Cf. Cherniak 1994 for an overview, on which I rely for my summary here.
[209] Cherniack 1994:87.

A couple of examples can serve to illustrate the method.

One example is provided by Sima's comments at *Fayan* 5.21:

> 或問經之艱易。曰：存亡。或人不諭。曰：其人存則易，亡則艱。
> Someone asked about the difficult and easy aspects of the classics. Yang Xiong answered: [it depends on whether they are] alive or gone. The person did not understand. Yang Xiong said: if the relevant people are still alive, then it's easy; if they are gone, then it's difficult.
>
> 光曰：人當作文，字之誤也。秦火之餘六經殘缺，雖聖賢，治之亦未易悉通。
> [Sima] Guang says: *Ren* (people) has to be *wen* (texts), scribal error. The fragments of the classics that survived the burning in the Qin were difficult to understand completely, even for a Sage or a worthy.

Interpreted through this commentary, the text would thus read:

> Someone asked about the difficult and easy aspects of the classics. Yang Xiong answered: [it depends on whether they are] extant or lost. The person did not understand. Yang Xiong said: if the texts (of the classics) are still extant, then it's easy; if they are lost, then it's difficult.

For *Fayan* 1.24 the *Tianfu* edition had

> 曰：有教立道無止仲尼。有學術業無止顏淵。
> In teaching to establish the way without being stopped – such was Confucius; in learning to apply oneself to study without being stopped – such was Yan Hui.

The reading is confirmed by Li Gui's commentary:

> 孔子習周公，顏回習孔子，無止之者。
> Confucius imitated the Duke of Zhou, Yan Hui imitated Confucius - nothing could stop them.

This is in turn justified by the text itself, as:

> 或曰：「　　立道仲尼不可為思矣。
> 　　術業顏淵不可為力矣。」
> 曰：「未之思也，思孰禦焉？」
>
> Someone said: in establishing the way one cannot be [like] Confucius, [because of lack of] mental capacity; in applying oneself to study one cannot be [like] Yan Hui [because of lack of] strength.

> Yang Xiong answered: this is because you haven't set your mind on it. If you set your mind on it, who could stop you?

Sima Guang however chooses to follow the Song editions in reading 心 instead of 止, despite the grammatical difficulties involved:

> 光曰：音義曰：天復本心作止. 今從李宋吳本. 言教立道者，當以仲尼為心，學術業者，當以顏淵為心。
>
> Sima Guang says: The *Yinyi* says that the *Tianfu* edition has 止 instead of 心. I follow the editions of Li, Song, and Wu. This means: in teaching to establish the way one should set one's mind (*xin*) on Confucius; in learning to apply oneself to to study one should set one's mind on Yan Hui.

The original phrase thus becomes:

> 曰：有教立道無心仲尼。有學術業無心顏淵。
> [In order to] establish the way in teaching one should have no other target (or: purpose) but Confucius; [in order to] apply oneself to study in learning one should have no other target than Yan Hui[210].

Sima's glossing is very sparse, as previous commentators have generally already done the job; his commentary does however provide phonological glosses, which have almost always the function of distinguishing meanings:

> 或曰：先生，生無以養，死無以葬，如之何。
> Sir [in that case, i.e. that you completely disregard material gains] what happens if you cannot support them (your parents) when alive and bury them when dead.

Sima Guang's gloss: 養皆余亮切, "*yang* is to be read as *yu*/*liang*" provides a *fanqie* spelling indicating that the character is to be read as a combination of the two spellers, thus in the departing tone and meaning "to support" - as opposed to the more common reading in the ascending tone, meaning "to raise".

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[210] To this sentence a comment by Wu Mi provides a different interpretation: 言: 有教立道, 此外無心者, 仲尼是也. 有學術業, 此外無心者, 顏淵是也. "This means: in teaching to establish the way and have no other purpose than this, such was Confucius; in learning to apply oneself to study and have no other purpose, such was Yan Hui." Keeping the reading 無心 complicates the grammar to such an extent that no convincing solution can be given.

It should be mentioned in this respect that to Sima's scholarly resumé belong several works on phonology, including a revised version of the *Guangyun* 廣韻, the *Jiyun* 集韻 (*Collected Rimes*).

The key issues.

Modern scholars may feel that given the vast array of topics discussed in the *Fayan* the insistence of pre-modern commentators on a few issues indicates a superficial understanding of Yang's thought or an unwillingness to engage it[211]. However, such issues as the understanding of human nature, the attitude to political power and the conflict between principle and expediency, or doctrinal purity and the valuation of alternative discourses were seen as cornerstones of a philosophical system that was presumed to possess a high level of coherence[212]. In fact even a cursory examination reveals that Yang's ideas resonate with a large number of Sima's positions, such as the importance of ritual and particularly the image of the state as a building whose pillars consist of ritual behavior, which seems inspired by a passage in the *Fayan*, or the idea that the person of the emperor is the key to this structure and that the success or failure of a state depend exclusively on his behavior. Furthermore, the issues which preoccupy Sima Guang not only overlap entirely with those circumscribed by the Li commentary, but resonate with the major topics and debates which engage Song scholars. We are thus not faced with a case of opportunistic cherry-picking from previous thinkers in order to advance one's own ideas, but rather with a systematic effort to follow the articulation of core ideas and discover the inner coherence of the Confucian doctrine. It is by examining such critical junctures that the overall structure and import of the commentary can be grasped.

Sima's decision to favor Yang Xiong over Xunzi and Mengzi, already outlined in the preface, is certainly highly relevant within the cultural context of

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[211] Cf. Nylan 2013: xviii, L'Haridon 2010:xxv.

[212] From this perspective it is worth attempting a *Gedankenexperiment* and imagining how current philosophical issues – such as the body-mind problem, nature of causation, or definition of truth – or even more traditional Western ones – such as the possibility of salvation, the relationship between the human and divine natures in Christ, or the sources of evil – might have puzzled traditional Chinese thinkers.

the Northern Song, which saw intensive efforts to reshuffle the canon, accompanied by heated discussions. His position here is repeated and intensified in his preface to the *Taixuan*, which he wrote only one year later, in 1082:

> 揚子直大儒者邪。孔子既沒，知聖人之道者，非揚子而誰？孟與荀殆不足擬，況其餘乎？
>
> Master Yang is truly a great Confucian! After Confucius died, who could understand the way of the Sages if not Master Yang? I'm afraid not even Mengzi and Xunzi are good enough to compare [to him], how much less anybody else?[213]

The logic of his argumentation is not very different from that of the Cheng brothers. They considered that the way had been passed on to Mengzi, who had been a student of Zi Si 子思, but the transmission was interrupted after that, only to have been picked up by Cheng Hao and then by his brother[214]. Sima's view is perhaps tied to his general understanding of historical development, with Mengzi and Xunzi offering only a partial understanding of the way and Yang Xiong building upon their work and arriving at a complete understanding. There is of course also a strong affinity between Sima Guang's own ideas and Yang Xiong's positions in the *Fayan*.

The following essay, written in beautiful parallel style and sometimes printed separately in collections of Sima's writings, is inserted in the commentary itself, under FY 3.2, following Li Gui's statements on the same topic (cf. above 3.2). In setting the text below I highlight the parallel structure by inserting tabs where appropriate so as to have the two strands of argumentation on two columns left and right, with the concluding or summarizing statements in the middle[215].

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[213] Sima, *Du Xuan*. In *Taixuan jizhu*.
[214] Zhu Xi preface to the *Daxue*. Cf. Gardner 1986:77ff for a translation.
[215] Cf. Wagner 1980, 1986 for an analysis of interlocking parallel style and an explanation of this method of visually highlighting the text's structure. However, I only apply this to the Chinese text and not to the translation, as it is redundant in the first place and, due to the alphabetic writing and richer morphology, less satisfying.

孟子以為人性善，
其不善者，
外物誘之也。

荀子以為人性 惡，
其善者，
聖人教之也。

是皆得其一偏，而遺其本實。

夫性者，人之所受于天以生者也，善與惡必兼有之，猶陰之與陽也。

是故
雖聖人不能無惡，
其所受多少之間則殊矣。
善至多而惡至少，則為聖人；
善惡相半，則為中人。
聖人之惡不能胜其善，
不胜則從而亡矣。
故曰：
'惟上智與下愚不移。'

雖愚人不能無善，
惡至多而善至少，則為愚人；
愚人之善不能胜其惡，

雖然，
不學則善日消而惡日滋，
學焉則惡日消而善日滋，
故曰：
'惟聖罔念作狂，
必曰聖人無惡，則安用學矣？

惟狂克念作聖。'
必曰愚人無善，則安用教矣？

譬之于田，稻、粱、藜，莠，相與并生，
善治田者，薅其藜、莠，而養其稻、粱；
善治性者，長其善而去其惡；

不善治田者，反之。
不善治性者，反之。

孟子以為
仁、義、禮、智皆出乎性者也，
是豈可謂之不然乎？
然殊不知暴慢、貪惑亦出乎性也。
是信稻、粱之生于田，
而不信藜、莠之亦 生于田也。

荀子以為
爭奪殘賊之心，人之所生而有也，
不以師法、禮義正之，
則悖亂而不治，
是豈可謂之不然乎？
然殊不知慈愛、羞惡之心亦生而有也，
是信藜、莠 之生于田，
而不信稻、粱之亦生于田也。

故**楊子**以為人之性善惡混。
混者，善惡雜處于心之謂也，
顧人所擇而修之何如耳。
修其善則為善人，
斯理也，豈不曉然明白矣哉！

修其惡則為惡人，

如**孟子**之言，所謂長善者也；
楊子則兼之矣。

如**荀子**之言，所謂去惡者也。

韓文公解楊子之言，以為始也混，而今也善、惡，亦非知楊子者 也。

> Mengzi considers that human nature is good, what is not good [in] them (i.e. human beings) is induced by external things. Xunzi considers that human nature is bad, what is good [in] them is [the result of] the Sage teaching them. These two have both gotten one aspect of it right, but ignore the original truth.

Generally speaking, the nature is that which human beings receive from Heaven as [the basis of] their existence.xunzi Both good and bad must be in there, just like Yin and Yang. This is why even a Sage cannot be without bad [aspects], even the [lowest] idiot cannot be without good [aspects]. It is only the amount they receive (of good or bad) that is different. [Who has] as much as possible of the good and as little as possible of the bad is a Sage. [Who has] as much as possible of the bad and as little as possible of the good is an idiot. [He in whom] the good and the bad are even is a regular person.

The bad in the Sage cannot overcome the good in him; the good in the idiot cannot overcome the bad in him. As it cannot overcome it, it must follow [it] and will disappear. This is why it is said: only the highest wisdom and the utmost idiocy do not change. If one does not learn, then the good diminishes every day and the bad increases every day. If one does learn, then the bad decreases every day and the good increases every day. This is why it is said: being sagely and not studying one becomes a fool; being a fool and studying one becomes sagely[216].

By necessity: if the Sage had no bad [aspects] what use would learning be [for him]? By necessity: if the idiot had no good [aspects] what use would it be to instruct him? This is like a field on which rice and millet grow together with pigweed and foxtail. Who is good at working the field uproots the pigweed and foxtail and cultivates the rice and millet. Who is not good at working the field does the opposite. Who is good at cultivating [human] nature emphasizes the good and eliminates the bad. Who is not good at cultivating [human] nature does the opposite.

Mengzi considers that *ren, yi, li,* and *zhi* (the four virtues) all emerge from [human] nature. Could one say that this is not so? Yet he is oblivious to the fact that cruelty, arrogance, greed and confusion also emerge from [human] nature. This is like believing that rice and millet grow on the field but not believing that pigweed and foxtail also grow on the field.

Xunzi considers that human beings possess aggressiveness and vileness in themselves by birth, and if these are not corrected by following *li* and *yi*, they take over and cannot be checked. Could one say that this is not so? Yet he is oblivious to the fact that affection and shame are also there by birth. This is like believing that pigweed and foxtail grow on the field but not believing that rice and millet also grow on the field.

Thus, when Master Yang considers that good and bad are mixed together, this is to say that they reside together inside. It is only a

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[216] The terms 聖 and 聖人 refer to two different things: 聖人 refers to the Sages of antiquity, a well defined group of individuals. 聖 is an adjective, “wise” or “sagely”. Here I adopt the latter so as to highlight the connection.

> question of what one chooses and cultivates. If one cultivates the good one becomes a good man; if one cultivates the bad, one becomes a bad man. Is this principle not crystal clear? That which Mengzi argues for can be called to emphasize the good; that which Xunzi argues for can be called to eliminate the bad. As for Master Yang, he unites both. Han Yu's interpretation of Master Yang's argument considering that at the beginning [of humankind human nature was] mixed, but now [it consists of] good and bad is also not comprehending Master Yang.

Both the status of Mengzi and the theory of human nature are central topics of debate in the Northern Song reevaluation of the canon and of Confucian doctrine[217]. It is on the basis of his view of human nature as a mixture of good and bad that Cheng Yi rejected Yang Xiong.

Wang Anshi in his turn wrote an essay dedicated to the topic of human nature, borrowing the title of Han Yu's essay but distancing himself in one sweeping move from Mengzi, Xunzi, and Yang Xiong – claiming that Confucius' position, that human nature cannot be discussed, is the only valid one. This non-committal view in fact continues a line of thought promoted by Ouyang Xiu and Su Shi 蘇軾[218]. Sima's repeated criticism of Han Yu in this context is also deeply significant, as he was the ancestor of the *guwen* movement, rediscovered in the early 11th century by Ouyang Xiu and serving as model and inspiration for him, for the Su father and sons, for Wang Anshi, etc.

Yang's relation to Wang Mang carries similar weight. As is well known, Zhu Xi, following up on Cheng Yi's assessments, dismissed Yang Xiong precisely on account of his presumed loyalty to Wang Mang[219]. That the topic was indeed perceived as being central to a correct understanding of Yang Xiong is seen from the fact that Sima Guang's second essay included in the commentary[220] deals with precisely this issue: the occasion, composition and background of the *Fayan*.

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[217] Cf. Kasoff 1984, Ch.1 for an overview, which I follow in the sketch below.
[218] Kasoff, 1984:28-30.
[219] In his *Tongjian gangmu* he refers to him as 王莽大夫. Cheng's remarks quoted in Han 1999:195.
[220] Commentary to *Fayan* 13.33.

法言之成，蓋當平帝之世，莽專漢政，日比伊、周，欲興禮樂，致太平，上以惑太後，下以欺臣民。附己者進，異己者誅，何武、鮑宣以名高及禍，故楊子不得不遜辭以避害也。亦猶薛方云：‘堯、舜在上，下有巢、由也。'當是之時，莽猶未篡，人臣之盛者，無若伊、周，故楊子勸以伊、周之美，欲其終于北面者也。

或曰：‘楊 子為漢臣，漢亡不能死，何也？'
曰：‘國之大臣，任社稷之重者，社稷亡而死之，義也。向使楊子据將相之任，處平、勃之地，莽篡國而不死，良可責也。今位不過郎官，朝廷之事，無所與聞，柰何責之以必死乎？夫死者，士之所難。凡責人者，當先恕己，則可以知其難矣。'
或曰：‘楊子不死，可也。何為仕莽而不去？'
曰：‘知莽將篡而去者，龔胜是也。莽聘以為太子師友，卒不食而死。　楊子名已重于世，苟去而隱處，如揭日月潛于蒿萊，庸得免乎？'

或曰：‘楊子不去則已，何必譽莽以求媚，豈厭貧賤，思富貴乎？'
曰：‘昔晉袁宏作東征賦，不序桓彝、陶侃，猶為桓溫、陶胡奴所劫，僅以敏捷自免。況楊子作法言，品藻漢興以來將相名 臣，而獨不及莽，莽能無恥且忿乎？此杜預所謂吾但恐為害，不求益也。且楊子自謂‘不汲汲于富貴，不戚戚于貧賤'。

始為郎，給事黃門，與王莽、劉歆并。哀帝之初，又與董賢同官。當成、哀中間，莽、賢皆為三公，權傾人主，所荐莫不拔擢，而雄三世不徙官，此豈非言行相副之明驗乎？古今之人能安恬如此者几希！而子乃疑其求媚而思富貴，不亦過乎？使楊子果好富貴，則必為莽佐命，不在劉、甄之下矣。

The *Fayan* must have been completed during the time of Pingdi (reigned 3 BC to AD 5, but his successor never actually ascended to the throne, with Wang Mang acting as emperor until 8 AD and establishing his own dynasty in AD 9). Wang Mang had taken over the Han government, every day comparing himself with Yin and Zhou (Yi Yin and the Duke of Zhou, who had both acted as regents, for the Shang and the Zhou respectively), in wanting to bring about a renaissance of music and ritual and reach the great peace. Above he deluded the Grand Empress Dowager (Wang Zhengjun), below he confused the people and the officials. Who joined him was promoted, who disputed him was executed. He Wu and Bao Xuan being prominent met with disaster, so Master Yang had to behave so as to avoid harm. It's like Xue Fang said: When Yao and Shun were ruling, they had subjects like Chao Fu and Xu You. At that time, Wang Mang had not yet usurped [the imperial throne] (i.e. was still a minister) and among ministers none can compare with Yin and Zhou in accomplishment. That is why Master Yang exhorted him by mentioning the splendor of Yin and Zhou, wanting

him to continue to face north to the end (i.e. remain a minister and never usurp the throne).

Question: Master Yang was a servant of the Han, as the Han disappeared how come he didn't die (commit suicide)?
Answer: The great ministers of the state are given the great burden of the altars of the state – when the altars of the state disappear, that they should die is right. Had Master Yang been entrusted with the dignity of a general or minister of state, occupied the position of Ping and Bo (Chen Ping and Zhou Bo, two of the main ministers of Liu Bang, the founder of the Han, both praised in the *Fayan*), then in the event that Wang Mang usurped the throne and he didn't die, he could have very well been accused [of not committing suicide]. But actually his position was not higher than that of a Court Gentleman, he was not part to any of the government business, why should he necessarily die? Now, dying (i.e. committing suicide) is something that people generally find difficult. Before accusing someone else one should perhaps try oneself, then one would know that it is difficult.

Question: That Master Yang did not die can be accepted. But why did he have to serve Wang Mang and did not leave?
Answer: Leaving when he realized that Wang Mang would usurp the throne is what Gong Sheng did. Wang Mang invited him to become Teacher and Friend of the Heir apparent and in the end he died of hunger[221]. Master Yang was already famous in the age. Let's assume he left and hid, if he had been discovered living in the wilderness could he have escaped [the same end]?[222]

Question: That Master Yang did not leave is clear. But why did he have to praise Wang Mang so as to court favor? Was it not that he detested his humble condition and desired wealth and honor?
Answer: Formerly when Yuan Hong (328-376) of the Jin composed the Fu of the Eastern Campaign he did not mention Huan Yi and Tao Kan and still was pursued by the servants of (their sons) Huan Wen and Tao Hu and only escaped due to his agility. As Master Yang composed the *Fayan* and ranked the generals, prime-ministers and famous servants since the rise of the Han, had he only left out Wang Mang, could he (Wang Mang) not have felt shame and anger? This is what Du Yu has called "I only fear harm, I do not seek

[221] Gong Sheng did refuse lavish gifts and official appointments from Wang Mang and was later praised as a loyal servant of the Han and his son rewarded by Guangwu di. I'm not entirely sure how this is not a good example to follow.
[222] The point would seem to be that leaving would mean certain death, which might have been appropriate for Gong Sheng as a high minister but not for Yang Xiong as a low official.

> profit". And then Master Yang himself said "I am not eager for wealth and honor, I am not worried by poverty and humbleness." At the beginning when he was a Gentleman, appointed to the Yellow Gates, he was at the same level as Wang Mang and Liu Xin. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ai he also had the same position as Dong Xian. Between the reigns of Emperors Cheng and Ai Wang Mang and Dong Xian rose to be two of the Three Dukes and had complete control over the Emperor. Whoever they recommended was appointed, but Master Yang did not change his position during the three periods. Is this not clear proof that his actions matched his words? People of the past and present who are able to remain so tranquil are really few. Is it not exaggerated to imagine that he courted favor and wanted wealth and honor? If Master Yang really had wanted wealth and honor he would have helped Wang Mang in founding his dynasty and wouldn't have remained under Liu and Zhen.

Sima Guang offers here a more nuanced understanding of Yang Xiong's position than can be found in the Li commentary. This is no doubt partly due to Sima's own situation, having refused to return to court and serve Shenzong after Wang Anshi's retirement in 1076, only a few years before the completion of the *Fayan* commentary in 1081. The relationship to political power and the issue of legitimacy are nevertheless important theoretical issues for Sima Guang, who again is in a situation to contrast Yang Xiong's positions to those of Mengzi. While this is not done in the commentary itself, the *Yi Meng*, completed in 1085, the year of Shenzong's death and Sima's subsequent return to the court (to serve Emperor Zhezong, while still a minor, under the regency of his mother, empress Gao), outlines in some detail his disagreements with the ancient master.

Besides several points of disagreement on human nature, the proper relationship ruler-minister is discussed in comments on *Menzgi* 2A2. As the king of Qi summons him, Mengzi famously excuses himself on account of being ill and then explains his refusal to attend court: the king's summon is disrespectful because it presumes that respect due to rank (i.e. of the minister towards the ruler) overrides respect due to age or to virtue. Sima's position rests on the famous maxim from Analects 10.14: 君命召，不俟駕行矣. "When the ruler summoned

[him, Confucius] went without waiting [for the horses] to be yoked." And resonates with Yang Xiong's theory of "bending oneself to promote the way"[223].

Form and coherence.

Another problem is represented by the rearrangement of the text undertaken by Song Xian in his edition and commentary. In his preface[224] he explains his reasoning:

> 觀夫詩書小序並冠諸篇之前蓋所以見作者之意也。法言每篇之序皆子雲親**旨**。反列於卷末甚非聖賢之法。今升之於章首。
>
> I have observed that the small prefaces of the *Odes* and *Documents* are all placed before the respective chapter (*bian*), they are that by which we see the meaning of the author. The prefaces to the chapters (*bian*) of the *Fayan* are the indications given personally by Ziyun (Yang Xiong), to put them at the end of the book (*juan*) would be to diverge from the model of the classics. So I now elevate them to the head of the sections (*zhang*).

Ji Yun (1724-1805) was the first to criticize this move in his *Siku tiyao* entry, well before Qin Enfu's reprint of the edition in 13 *juan*. He writes[225]:

> The prefaces of the old edition in 13 *juan* were listed at the end of the book. Since the preface of the *Documents* and *Odes* this has been the arrangement. Song Xian did not know that prefaces to the *Documents* were added by the Pseudo-Kong commentary, the prefaces to the *Odes* by Mao Gong, so he said: "[these are] the indications given personally by Ziyun (Yang Xiong), to put them at the end of the book (*juan*) would be to diverge from the model of the classics. So I now elevate them to the head of the sections (*zhang*). " His theory is strange and false, yet Sima Guang followed it without change, so now we follow it as well.

Considering that Sima followed the Zhiping edition in 13 *juan* with Li Gui's commentary, which certainly placed the summaries at the end after the 13th chapter, it is rather strange that he would rearrange the text following Song Xian without commenting on it. However, unlike Li Gui, he inserts his comments

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[223] Cf. above, 3.1.
[224] Han 1999:Appendix 2.
[225] SKQS *zongmu tiyao*. His remarks are reprinted in Han 1999:200-201 (Appendix 1).

bearing on the overall meaning of the individual chapters not after the chapter titles but after each summary, which would tend to confirm that Sima did in fact adopt Song Xian's rearrangement.

The comments themselves follow in the vein of Li Gui's similar remarks and support the conclusion that Sima himself attempted to see the *Fayan* as a coherent statement of doctrine. Thus, for instance:

- to chapter 2, *Wu zi*, "My master": 貴道德抑浮辭 "[this chapter] values *dao* and *de*, dismisses superfluous words.";
- to chapter 6, *Wen ming*, "About brightness": 論聖賢之明哲 "[this chapter] discusses the bright intelligence of Sages and worthies.";
- to chapter 9: *Xian zhi*, "Foreknowledge": 論為政之道 "[it] discusses the way of government."

Conclusion.

The *Fayan jizhu* is not Sima Guang's only work on Yang Xiong: he also compiled a commentary to the *Taixuan*, which has unfortunately not received any more scholarly attention than the one under discussion here. For a better understanding these two works would have to be considered not only one against the other, but would have then to be placed in the larger context of Sima's exegetical activity. Unfortunately I could not identify any systematic efforts to deal with any of his other commentaries either[226]. As a result of the present limited analysis, several fundamental points can nevertheless be established:

- Sima Guang's comments about the Li tradition of interpretation must be taken as a move to favor this line over the competing ones (possibly Song Zhong's);
- he views all available commentaries as descending from this tradition, which his critical textual and interpretive efforts are meant to restore;

[226] Sadly, even a clear picture of what has been transmitted and in what state is difficult to obtain.

- his commentary thus continues and builds upon Li Gui's foundation, adopting the same methodological orientation, which can be characterized as scholarly, rational, historical;
- he shares Li Gui's assumptions about the status of the author and the text, and Li's deferential attitude towards it;
- minor modifications are due to the changed cultural context of the Song: less emphasis is placed on comparing Yang directly with Confucius and more on his ranking within the Confucian tradition; likewise, the issue of his relation to Laozi and Zhuangzi is less relevant and largely glossed over;
- finally, Sima Guang too views the *Fayan* as a coherent and well-ordered text.

3.4 Wang Rongbao's 1933 *Fayan yishu*

Importance.

Wang Rongbao's *Fayan yishu*, completed in 1933 has quickly become the standard edition and commentary of the *Fayan*, serving as the basis for all subsequent scholarship starting with Erwin von Zach's 1939 translation *Worte strenger Ermahnung*. As it thoroughly discusses textual variants and alternative interpretations by assessing them against the background of Han texts on the one hand and Qing philological scholarship on the other, it has created the impression that it is exhaustive and that it eliminates the need for any further examination of textual witnesses or previous commentaries. It is thus all the more crucial to subject his work and its results to critical examination.

Author and context.

His philological work on the *Fayan* aside, Wang Rongbao was a rather important intellectual and political figure of the early 20th century. It is quite puzzling that he should receive so little scholarly attention. It is only very recently that the situation has improved: the Beijing University published in 1987 a facsimile edition of his 1000-page manuscript diary, followed in 2013 and 2014 by two editions of

the same[227]. In 2006 he was the subject of a dissertation, which was finally published as a book-length study in 2014[228].

Wang Rongbao (style Gunfu 袞甫, alternative style Taixuan 太玄) was born in 1878 in Wu county, Jiangsu, as the oldest of 8 children of Wang Fengying 汪鳳瀛, a Qing dynasty official who spent several years as an envoy to Japan in the 1890s. Wang Rongbao received a classical education for which he showed outstanding talent and was selected for the capital examination at the tender age of 20. As a result of the major upheavals of the time, he changed course and entered the Nanyang gongxue 南洋公學 in Shanghai where he met among others Zhang Binglin 章炳麟, Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, and Wu Zhihui 吳稚暉. In 1901 he went to Japan to study history, politics and law at Waseda and Keio, and met among others Sun Yat-sen. During this period he compiled together with his older colleague Ye Lan an encyclopedic dictionary, the *Xin Erya* 新爾雅 "New Erya", which they published in Japan in 1903[229]. Back in China he received a government position in Beijing and then in 1906 was appointed to lecture in modern history at the Yixueguan 譯學館. His lectures were published in 1909 as *Benchao shi jiangyi* 本朝史講義 ("Lecture notes on the history of our dynasty")[230].

In 1910-11 he was involved in various efforts to draft a Qing constitution. After the establishment of the Republic Wang was initially elected as a member of parliament (his father was at this time appointed special advisor of the Yuan Shikai government), but then opted for diplomacy and was sent first to Belgium (1913), then to Switzerland (1919) and finally to Japan (1922 to 1931). In Japan he was on good personal terms with major figures such as Kijūrō Shidehara, Takejirō Tokonami, Yamamoto Teijirō and very active. In 1931 Wang apparently warned Wang Zhengting 王正廷 about the Mukden incident, but his warnings were not heeded. Wang subsequently resigned and spent his remaining years in Beijing,

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[227] Wang 1987.

[228] Zhao 2014. (趙林**鳳**, 中國近代憲法第一人: 汪榮**寶**.)

[229] A brief description of this work by Li Hsiao-t'i is to be found in Dolezelova & Wagner's volume on modern Chinese encyclopedias, Li 2014:43. A study and reproduction in Shen Guowei *Shin Jiga to sono goi*, Tokyo, Hakuteisha, 1995.

[230] Later reprinted as 清史講義 *Qingshi jiangyi*, Wang 1913.

where he died in 1933 at age 55 of a heart condition. His eulogy was written by Zhang Binglin[231].

Wang Rongbao's interest in the *Fayan* dates from before his trip to Japan, when, according to his preface to the *Fayan yishu*, he already had a version of its precursor, the *Fayan shuzheng* 法言疏證. This was finally published as a work in thirteen chapters in the summer of 1911. Several years later, at the instigation of his younger brother Wang Shuchu, who was teaching Masters literature at the Zhongyang daxue 中央大學 in Nanjing, he started to work on a revised edition, but due to his busy postings progress was very slow. In the summer of 1931 after returning from Japan he managed to finish the remaining chapters in half a year and submitted the draft of the *Fayan yishu* in 20 *juan* to the Commercial Press in Shanghai. This draft burned down together with the Commercial Press office during the First Shanghai Incident on Jan 28th 1932. With support and encouragement from the Chinese Studies Department at Hamburg University Wang worked for more than a year to reconstitute his work, which was finished in the summer of 1933, shortly before his death.[232]

Wang lived through a tumultuous period in Chinese history and Chinese culture, a time of major realignment. Unlike other intellectuals of the same generation, he seems not only to have been acquainted with all major options, but also to have tried to reconcile them or at least never attempted to reject anything: traditional Chinese and modern Western scholarship, Confucian ideas and democratic institutions, classical Chinese and modern languages. His life-long interest in the *Fayan* is in this context certainly not random. One promising line of inquiry is undoubtedly to take Wang's life-long interest in constitutional law as a starting point. He was involved in the unsuccessful attempts to draft a constitution both in the late Qing and in the Republic. Yang's idea that the model (*fa*) of the Sages should work to regulate and educate and civilize political practice might have resonated with him. However, exactly how this fits with his other

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[231] Zhang 1936. A summary of this eulogy does double duty as biographical sketch in L'Haridon 2010:xlix (fn.65).
[232] The above account follows Wang's preface 自序 *zixu* to the *Fayan yishu*. Wang 1934.

endeavors and how it has influenced them and was in turn influenced by them is a question which will have to await further study of his other works and deeds. In the following I will only examine the commentary itself, such analysis however, need not be adversely impacted by leaving Wang's broader interests aside, as his endeavor is very scholarly indeed and not driven by immediate concerns of a non-academic nature.

Editions.

The *Fayan yishu* was first published in 1934. This unpunctuated edition in traditional format is not very common, but it has been digitized and is readily available online. It was republished in 1987 by the Zhonghua shuju, with the original text punctuated by Chen Zhongfu.

Form and technique.

The *Fayan yishu* is a huge, awe-inspiring commentary amounting to some 500.000 characters for a text of under 15.000 characters. It is however not unprecedented, either in its scope or in its method. It may be considered the last of the monumental Qing commentaries in the *kaozheng* tradition, the more famous examples of which are Jiao Xun's 焦循 *Mengzi zhengyi* 孟子正義, Liu Baonan's 劉寶楠 *Lunyu zhengyi* 論語正義, Chen Li's 陳立 *Gongyang yishu* 公羊義疏, or, closer in time, Sun Yirang's 孫詒讓 *Zhouli zhengyi* 周禮正義.

Wang takes as the basis of his text, both for the *Fayan* and for Li Gui's commentary, Qin Enfu's edition of 1818. He prints the text with the interlineary commentary and adds his own subcommentary after each *zhang* of the text, thus explicitly segmenting the text into paragraphs. This segmentation has been taken over by all subsequent scholarship, with minor or sometimes major changes (as in von Zach's translation, which constantly tries to identify larger units). In his subcommentary Wang deals with both the text of the *Fayan* and Li Gui's commentary. This last aspect is an addition to the burned version of 1933. According to Wang's preface his earlier *Fayan shuzheng* only considered the text without Li Gui's commentary, but after careful examination he noticed (something

that Qin Enfu had also observed before him[233]) that Li Gui 隨時或右道左儒，失子雲本旨 "following the times in some cases favored Daoism over Confucianism and lost Yang Xiong's original intention".

As a consequence he subjected Li Gui's commentary to the same critical attention. In his subcommentary he also examines other commentaries, giving most consideration to Sima Guang, whom he quotes extensively (albeit without trying to understand his commentary as a coherent whole). Following well established Qing philological practice, he turns to the major Han sources, such as the *Shuowen jiezi* or *Erya*, as well as to other Han or pre-Han texts in which he could find parallels. Finally, the work of major Qing philologists, such as: Duan Yucai 段玉裁, Wang Niansun 王念孫, Yu Yue 俞樾, or Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, is considered wherever possible. Some of these scholars had indeed written philological notes on the *Fayan*, but not all[234].

A few examples will serve to illustrate his method:

The case of *Fayan* 1.24 has been discussed above with the diverging interpretations of Li Gui and Sima Guang set side by side. Due to the existence of a variant, the two commentators arrive at two different readings of the same sentence:

> 曰：有敎立道無心仲尼。有學術業無心顏淵。
> Li Gui (reading 止 for 心):
>
> In teaching to establish the way without being stopped – such was Confucius; in learning to apply oneself to study without being stopped – such was Yan Hui.
> Sima:
>
> (In order to) establish the way in teaching one should have no other target (or: purpose) but Confucius; (in order to) apply oneself to study in learning one should have no other target than Yan Hui.

[233] Cf. Qin's preface to his edition. Qin 1818.
[234] Cf. Wang 1832, Yu 1871, Sun 1893.

To this passage Wang Rongbao's commentary is short enough to allow a full translation and yet thorough enough to give a good sense of his approach:

曰："有教立道，無止仲尼；有學術業，無止顏淵。"或曰：" 立道，仲尼不可為思矣。術業，顏淵不可為力矣。"曰："未之思也，孰御焉？"

此別為一章，与上不屬。以承或人之語之後，故特著"曰"字以起之。"無止"，各本皆作"無心"。音義云："天复本并作'無止'。"按：心、止隸形相近而誤，今据訂正。俞云："術當讀為述。禮記祭義：'結諸心，形諸色，而術省之。'鄭注曰：'術當為述。'韓敕後碑' 共術韓君德政'，張表碑'方伯術職'，樊敏碑'臣子褒術'，并以術為述，皆其證也。述業与立道正相對，有教立道，作者之謂圣也；有學述業，述者之謂明也。 又按音義曰：'天复本心作止。'當從之。言立道不止，則為仲尼；述業不止，則為顏淵也。李、宋、吳本并作'心'，于義難通。溫公從之，非是。"按：俞說是也。
經傳釋詞云："有猶或也。"言或以立道為教，進而不已，斯仲尼矣；或以述業為學，進而不已，斯顏淵矣。即前文"睎之則是"之意。

This is a separate paragraph (*zhang*) and does not belong to the one above. It exceptionally begins with "yue" because [what is being said] follows the words of an interlocutor.
[to the passage] "wu zhi": all editions have "wu xin". The *Yinyi* says: "the Tianfu edition has "wu zhi". Note: the error [is due to the fact that] the graphical forms of *xin* and *zhi* are close in clerical script. Based [on this] I now correct the text.
Yu [Yue] says: "shu" 術 (technique) should be corrected to "shu" 述 (to transmit). *Liji*, [chapter] *Jiyi*: 結諸心，形諸色，而術省之. Zheng [Xuan]'s commentary says: "'shu' 術 (technique) should be corrected to 'shu' 述 (to transmit)." The [Eastern Han] stone tablets of Han Chihou, Zheng Biao, and Fan Min all have 述 instead of 術, in proof of this. "Transmitting the learning" (*shu ye*) corresponds [in the parallel phrase] to "establishing the way" (*li dao*). "In instruction to establish the way": these are the creators, called wise. "In study to transmit the learning": these are the transmitters, called bright. Also note: the *Yinyi* says: "the Tianfu edition has "wu zhi". It should be followed. [The phrase] means: [if in] establishing the way [you] do not stop, then [you] will become Confucius; [if in] transmitting the learning [you] do not stop, then [you] will become Yan Hui. The versions of Li, Song, and Wu all have "xin" (instead of "zhi"), [which] is difficult to reconcile with the meaning. Wengong (Sima Guang) follows them. Not correct.
Note: Yu [Yue] is correct.
The *Jingzhuan shici* says: "you" is like "huo". [The passage thus] means: if someone offers instruction in order to establish the way and proceeds without stopping then [he will become a] Zhong Ni; if

> someone studies in order to transmit the learning and proceeds without stopping then [he will become a] Yan Hui. Precisely the meaning of the preceding text (i.e. FY 1.18) "if you aim for it then [it will be] so."

Here most of the philological heavy lifting has already been done by Yu Yue, whom Wang quotes copiously[235]. When this is not the case, however, he proceeds in the same vein, employing the same scholarly arsenal developed by the *kaozheng* tradition. In this case his interventions simply complete Yu Yue's work: Wang's innovation, the explicit segmentation of the text, forms the object of the first remark. The second offers a plausible explanation for the variant *xin* for *zhi*, relying on palaeographic evidence – probably because Yu Yue's argumentation appears to first decide on a preferred reading and then eliminate the variant on account of its incompatibility with this reading. Finally Wang solves one outstanding problem, the initial *you*, which on authority of another major *kaozheng* work, the *Jingzhuan shici*, Wang turns from a verb of existence into an indefinite pronoun.

Fayan 1.3, which has been analyzed above in Li Gui's interpretation, represents another case in which Wang Rongbao doesn't simply content himself with gathering evidence in support of existing readings but diverges sharply from previous scholarship. Not incidentally, this is another case in which Wang intends to amend the text itself. The passage is too long to present in full translation, so only a summary of the main steps will be provided.

For reference, the passage reads:

> 天之道不在仲尼乎？仲尼駕說者也不在茲儒乎？如將复駕其所說，則莫若使諸儒金口而木舌。

The translation extrapolated from Li Gui's comments was:

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[235] This is generally the case when textual variants are involved, since this was the focus of Yu Yue's work. Another example is 5.12, quoted above with Sima Guang's comment. Sima's emendation (changing 人 into 文) is accepted by Yu, who offers additional evidence. In his turn Wang accepts all of the above and offers additional reasoning as to the plausibility and desirabililty of the change.

> The way of heaven: does it not reside in Confucius? The words that Confucius passed on: are they not with these *ru* (of today, as they are)?[So] if one wanted to continue to pass on what he has said, then nothing would be better than making the *ru* into a [bell with a] bronze mouth and a wooden tongue.

In his commentary Wang would like to discard Li Gui's interpretation and read 仲尼駕說者也，不在茲儒乎？as:

> 謂仲尼沒而斯文之傳在今諸儒也。
> Meaning: after Confucius died, the transmission of this culture rests with the *ru* of today.

For this an elaborate demonstration is proposed:

- 駕, which had been glossed by Li Gui as 傳 to transmit, is taken in its original meaning of "yoke" or "harness";
- 說 of course has to be reinterpreted: Wang finds an entry in the *Fangyan*, 稅，舍車也, *shui* means "to release (or: abandon) the carriage";
- he then finds several examples in the *Shijing* and *Zhouli* where 說 is used in this way;
- he takes both 說 and 稅 to be variants of 挩, for which he quotes the *Shuowen* entry, "挩，解挩也";
- the phrase 駕說 is read as "to release the harness", for which in fact it has to be reversed, 說駕);
- the phrase "to release the harness" Wang takes as a metaphor for "to die",

  > 說駕本謂舍車，因以為休息之喻，諱言死則亦曰說駕
  > to release the harness originally means to leave the carriage, so it is used in an extended meaning for to rest and so as an euphemism for to die;

- finally, 也 and 矣 are seen as interchangeable on account of Wang Yin's explanations in 經傳釋詞 of 1798, so the sentence turns into 仲尼說駕矣, equivalent to 仲尼既沒, "after Confucius had died".

The next sentence reprises the same wording: 如將复駕其所說, which sentence Wang wants to read as:

> 修聖道于孔子既沒之後，譬复駕其已舍之車，有若孔子复生然也。
> To care for the way of the Sages after Confucius' death is like harnessing (here 駕 understood as verbal) again his long abandoned carriage, it's as if Confucius would live again.

Wang's revision is prompted, as he explains in his subcommentary to Li Gui's commentary, by the existence of a textual variant: the *Wenxuan* quotes the *Fayan* several times and the passage above is quoted as 仲尼駕稅, to which Li Shan's commentary provides Li Gui's gloss: 稅，舍也, which is not present in any version of the extant commentary[236].

Wang then assumes that Li Gui's commentary to the next sentence, which now reads:

> 傳言如此，則是仲尼常在矣。
> If they transmit his words like this (i.e. like a bronze bell with a wooden tongue), then this would truly be as if Confucius were present again.

originally must have read instead:

> 儒言如此
> If the *ru* would speak like this

which is not attested in any preserved text. He then assumes that this corruption of 儒言 to 傳言 led to the corruption of the presumed original gloss 稅，舍也 into 駕，傳也.

Thus, in his reading, the text becomes:

> The way of heaven: did it not reside in Confucius? After he released the harness (of the carriage, i.e. passed away) is it not with these *ru* (of today)?[So] if [they] were to harness again what he had released, then it would be just as if[237] these *ru* became a bronze bell with a wooden tongue (i.e. Confucius himself).

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[236] *Wenxuan* 10, "Fu on the Eastern Campaign", 西征賦. Cf. also discussion by Zhang Bin in Zhang 2004:77.

[237] The text has 莫若 "nothing would be better than...", but this Wang wants to read as 有若, "would be as if..." – without offering further reasoning on it.

Another interesting attempt to revise the text occurs at *Fayan* 4.4, which reads: 或問"德表"。曰："莫知作上作下。" To this Li Gui comments:

> 作，為也。莫知為上之樂，為下之苦。
> *Zuo* means to be. No one knows the delight of being above or the bitterness of being below.

In his interpretation the *Fayan* sentence would have to be segmented with 作上 and 作下 read together respectively and would mean: "nobody knows whether they are above or below".

What Wang Rongbao proposes in this case is not to change the text but to change the segmentation. As his comment is not exceedingly long it can be quoted in full:

> "莫知作上作下"者，"莫知作"為句，"上作下"為句，"作"與"下"韻。蓋古書有是語，子雲引之，以證德表之說也。作者，興起之謂。康誥云"作新民"，孟子雲"民日遷善而不知為之者"，即此文之義。言莫知所以興起而興起者，乃上之有以興起其下也。
>
> As to the sentence "莫知作上作下", 莫知作 is one phrase, 上作下 is another phrase, 作 and 下 rhyme with each other. The ancient books contain this saying and Zi Yun quotes it so as to prove his theory of manifesting virtue. 作 means to lift (to inspire)[238]. The *Announcement of Kang* says "to create a renovated people"; Mengzi says: "the people everyday move towards the good and do not know they do it". This is the meaning of the text. It says: that nobody knows how they are inspired but are inspired nonetheless, this is because those above (i.e. the ruler) have the means whereby to inspire those below them.

Wang's commentary, as mentioned, is not selective, but all-encompassing. It is not only the problematic passages that get such a comprehensive treatment, but all passages receive detailed comments. In most cases, however, the range of quotations he provides, while impressive as such, can now be checked through a

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[238] The interpretation and the gloss rest on linking this passage to a passage in *Mengzi* 7B15: 奮乎百世之上， 百世之下， 聞者莫不興起也。 非聖人而能若是乎？They (i.e. Bo Yi and Liu Xiahui) exerted themselves one hundred generations ago; one hundred generations later those who hear [about them] are without exception inspired. Could someone who is not a Sage accomplish this?

simple search in a database of ancient texts and is not further problematic. It is rather such passages in which the commentary proposes an innovative reading of sometimes questionable validity which deserve critical attention, as difficult as they are to identify.

Even in the unproblematic passages, despite the fact that Wang is indeed very thorough, it is not possible to assume that he has considered every possible relevant passage and that further research is unnecessary. Modern technology with its limitations linked to encoding particular character forms makes the type of reasoning as above in *Fayan* 1.3 not amenable to automation, at least at the present stage, so that databases are no replacement for good old-fashioned scholarship. Yet modern technology has its own virtues, with some of which, such as thoroughness, not even the most learned traditional scholar can compete.

Thus, in his comments on the title, Wang discusses the entries in the *Shuowen* and *Erya* and comes to the conclusion that *fa* should mean "model" or "canon" 典則. He then proceeds to quote three occurrences of the phrase *Fayan* in the *Lunyu*, the *Xiaojing* and the *Xunzi*. The phrase occurs however one more time, in Ban Biao's 班彪 biography in the *Houhanshu* 後漢書, in a passage in which he criticizes Sima Qian:

> 誠令遷依《五經》之法言，同聖人之是非，意亦庶幾矣。
> If Qian were made to rely on the normative statements of the Five Classics and conform to the judgments of the Sage, then his meaning would be complete.[239]

This is certainly not a text on which Yang Xiong could have drawn to formulate his title, but as Ban Biao was certainly familiar with the text, which he held in high regard, we can look at this passage as a sort of very early and very explicit commentary on the title. The same phrase in a similar construction occurs in a *Hanshu* memorial by Gu Yong, a contemporary of Yang Xiong (died in 8 BC)[240]. From this perspective, the title should mean something like "authoritative

[239] *Houhanshu* 40A:1325.
[240] Cf. below, next chapter.

formulations" or "normative statements". This is certainly very close to the *Xiaojing* passage:

> 非先王之法言不敢道
> If they are not the normative statements of the former kings one does not dare expound them.[241]

but its consideration in this context is not superfluous, as is clear from the difficulties scholars had when faced with the task of translating the title, as opposed to simply glossing it.

Another instructive case occurs at *Fayan* 3.1, where Yang's pronouncements on human nature are to be found. In his subcommentary, Wang quotes approvingly Sima Guang's essay in its entirety, after which he proceeds to outline his own theory. The exposition consists in a series of juxtaposed quotations from early texts and Qing scholarship, with the more daring and sweeping proposals coming from the latter, specifically from Dai Zhen 戴震 and the *jinwen* scholar Song Xiangfeng 宋翔鳳 (1777-1860). Following Dai Zhen, nature, *xing*, is found to be a composite construct and to include both feelings and desires. Wang tries to follow this idea back to the seventy disciples through a passage from the *Lunheng* 論衡. The alternative views of human nature being good or bad are only a matter of emphasis. Following Song, Wang takes the determining factor to be the classical texts on which the individual scholar draws, with the *Odes* and *Documents* emphasizing the good aspects, the *Ritual* and *Chunqiu* emphasizing the bad aspects, and the *Yijing* embracing both.

Structure and coherence.

One of the main consequences of the Qing style of evidential scholarship is that it tends to go for breath rather than depth, with each comment turning into a short (or occasionally long) essay. While mostly interesting, these generally go beyond the framework of the text itself, whose overall coherence and direction tend to become an afterthought. This is perhaps less of a problem with works such as the

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[241] *Xiaojing* 4, cf. *Shisan jing.*

Lunyu or the *Mengzi* than with a carefully crafted text such as the *Fayan*. It is in any case ironic to think that Yang Xiong criticized in his time a similar practice which was at work in the *zhangju* tradition of exegesis.

Even when discussing issues which might have relevance for the overall coherence and direction of the *Fayan* and might impact the thrust of the interpretation, this is always handled within the established framework of the commentary. It is thus telling that the question of Yang Xiong's relation to Wang Mang is turned into a problem of dating.

As far as the structure of the text is concerned, Wang Rongbao is somewhat non-committal. In his commentaries on the chapter titles he does attempt to find a certain logic in some cases:

- on chapter 4, *wen dao*, he writes under Li Gui's commentary:

> 自"道、德、仁、義、禮譬諸身乎"至"未若 父母之懿也"，多論道家之失。
> "狙詐之家"一章，論兵家之失。
> "申、韓之術，不仁之至矣"至"如申、韓！如申、韓"，論刑名家之失。
> "莊周、申、韓"以 下，又雜論諸子也。
> From the words "*dao, de*, etc." down to "*wei ruo* etc." it (i.e. the text) discusses repeatedly the mistakes of the Daoists;
> The paragraph beginning "*ju zha zhi jia*" discusses the mistakes of the strategists;
> From "Shen, Han, etc." down to "*ru* Shen, Han, etc." it discusses the mistakes of the legists;
> From "Zhuang Zhou, etc." to the end it discusses the various Masters.

- on chapter 5, *wen shen*, he writes:

> 自"或問神"至" 聖人以不手為聖人"，皆論易道。
> "經可損益與"以下，則雜論五經。
> From "*huo wen shen*" to "Shengren, etc." all paragraphs discuss the way of the *Yijing*;
> From "*jing ke* etc." to the end it mixes discussions of the five classics.

Thus it would seem that at least in the case of these chapters a textual logic of succession is assumed. However, the remarks turn out to be essentially descriptive, not necessarily trying to establish a principle. In fact in his comments to chapter 12, *junzi*, he writes in response to Li Gui's commentary (cf. above, 3.2):

法言篇目，皆摘篇首語二字為之。此以君子命篇，不必別有意義也。

The titles of the chapters of the *Fayan* are all picked from the first two characters of the chapter. The fact that *Junzi* is the title of this chapter does not necessarily have to have any further meaning.

Conclusion.

The exegetical tradition sketched in the analyses above presents an interesting telescope effect: each commentary accepts the foundation laid by its predecessors and attempts to build upon it. These are not three competing interpretations among which one can choose, but rather three attempts to examine a set of commonly recognized problems, to which solutions are proposed and critically evaluated. To this process of understanding Wang Rongbao brings the full arsenal of the great *kaozheng* tradition. As the name suggests, the critical examination of evidence is the task the commentator set for himself as he proceeds to critically assess textual variants, review alternative readings, collect parallel passages, explain terms and concepts.

Yet, paradoxically perhaps, the most important contribution of this monumental philological construction is that it highlights that which it lacks. It is interesting to note that whereas traditional commentators tend to know very well what they are doing and why, Wang Rongbao's preface is in fact a biographical note: it does not attach any importance to the text, any relevance to the author; it simply outlines an open-ended, life-long, almost impersonal project of documentation, which is its own goal. Similarly, previous commentators wanted to know who the author was and what he wanted, what the text did and how it did it – and found key passages whose interpretation resulted in clear-cut answers. Their solutions may be wrong or incomplete, subject to their biases and limitations – but their questions were certainly crucial. Wang Rongbao may have invested more energy and given more space to any of such questions as the dating of the text, Yang's relation to Wang Mang, or his theory of human nature, but what is missing in this abundance of evidence is decisive: it is a secure grasp of what holds the text together, of what its author is trying to accomplish – it is the very *raison d'être* of the philological endeavor: understanding.

4. THE COMPOSITION OF THE *Fayan*

4.1 Introduction

After examining the textual tradition of the *Fayan* and reviewing three major moments of its exegesis, I will attempt in this chapter to consider the way in which the text might have been read in its original context, i.e. to reconstruct as far as possible the perspective of a contemporary reader.

Of course, the *Fayan* is to a large extent an experimental text, for which there is no precedent, no tradition before or after. In compiling the text Yang Xiong has been guided by a logic of imitation whose origin and meaning has to be sought in the author's personal development and oeuvre. However, it is impossible to know or establish what the author might have thought in his head at any stage of writing or even after completing the text, so that the effort to shift the emphasis from a discussion of authorial intent to a contextualization of the text by reconstructing the way in which it might have been read by the intended audience is a necessity, and not only one of a theoretical nature.

The practical necessity of this shift is revealed by an interesting and very prominent debate in American constitutional law related to the doctrine of 'originalism'.

> A jurisprudence of originalism recognizes and emphasizes that the Constitution is a communication, an instruction, from an authorized lawgiver, the sovereign people, and that the task of the faithful interpreter is to discover what that instruction was and to apply it as the situation demands[242].

This interpretive strategy is of course very old, but modern scrutiny has revealed the practical difficulties associated with the efforts of recovering the 'original intent' and prompted a shift towards a more feasible search for the 'original meaning':

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[242] Whittington 2007: 1.

> To adopt originalism does not mean that judges must hold a séance to call the spirit of James Madison to ask him what was on his mind in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787 or how he would deal with the tricky constitutional question that is raised by the case before the court[243].

Instead, originalist interpretation concentrates on "the meaning that the constitutional text was understood to have at the time it was drafted and ratified[244]" thus introducing two crucial elements in the equation: the intention of the legislators manifests itself in (and is only recoverable from) the text of the Constitution; and it has to be recovered by asking how that text was understood at the time of ratification, i.e. not be one legislator or another, or even by all as a group, but by the 'people' to which it is addressed[245].

Another important insight into this process of articulation of meaning is provided by Leo Strauss' analysis of political discourse. In special contexts in which the author writes in a hostile environment and addresses his message to select readers, he cannot openly articulate his intention. But if his message is to reach its audience it cannot remain secret or 'private' either, so that the author must find ways to communicate openly the way in which his hidden meaning is to be decoded. Already in his 1953 lectures in Chicago (published in 1957 as *Thoughts on Machiavelli*[246]) famously formulated a reading strategy of searching the text for such clues of the author as to how his text should be read.

> The question which we have raised can be answered only by reading Machiavelli's books. But how must we read them? We must read them according to those rules of reading which he regarded as authoritative. Since he never stated those rules by themselves, we must observe how he applied them in reading such authors as he regarded as models. [247]

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[243] Whittington 2007: 3.
[244] Ibid.
[245] For an interesting discussion of the impact of the institutional context on interpretation cf. also Kermode 1979.
[246] Strauss 1957.
[247] Strauss 1957: 29.

Concretely, in Machiavelli's case, his two books on principalities, *The Prince* and the *Discourses* on Livy, address the same topic from two distinct perspectives and are directed at two distinct audiences. By reading them against one another, what cannot be openly articulated in one context can be supplied from the other – and what could be expected in one context but does not occur becomes equally significant.

Thus, in more general terms: as the written the text is written with a view to its being read and understood, it has to rely on a series of shared structures, in modern, post-Wittgensteinian terminology, "public" structures, which can be recovered objectively to the extent that any historical reality can. The author's directions are themselves articulated against this background of shared structures (assumptions and practices related to reading and understanding texts) and as a consequence the way they impact the reading can also be recovered objectively. The result is that of defining a perspective from which to understand the text, which is closer to the text but at the same time systematic and verifiable.

The discipline of 'rhetorical criticism' introduced recently in Biblical studies to complement the established approaches of form criticism and redaction criticism[248] provides an interesting example of a methodology based on the general principles outlined above.

According to the definition provided by Kennedy in his 1984 book *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism*:

> Rhetorical criticism takes the text as we have it, whether the work of a single author or the product of editing, and looks at it from the point of view of the author's or editor's intent, the unified results, and how it would be perceived by an audience of near contemporaries[249].

Its objective

> is the more historical one of reading the Bible as it would be read by an early Christian, by an inhabitant of the Greek-speaking world in which rhetoric was the core subject of formal education and in

[248] Kennedy 1984: 4.
[249] Kennedy 1984: 4.

> which even those without formal education necessarily developed cultural preconceptions about appropriate discourse[250].

One of the more interesting consequences of considering the role of ancient rhetoric in Christian communities is the necessity to draw a clear distinction between the historical and cultural context in which the discourse takes place and the background of rhetorical conventions against which the discourse is articulated.

This is reflected in the way in which the analysis proceeds: once the 'rhetorical unit' is circumscribed, it is placed within a complex framework of relations. These correspond of course to what was traditionally termed 'Sitz im Leben', the position of the text within the historical context, but also, in addition, to the position of the text within a symbolic space, which determines the rhetorical form it takes: the 'species', and where applicable the 'stasis'.

Working out the implications of these distinctions is in fact the characteristic contribution of the method, as is shown in the examples which illustrate its practice. For instance, an analysis of Paul's epistles must take into consideration not only the concrete situation in which Paul addresses a particular community in order to address a specific problem, but also the way in which he does that, the rhetorical form he chooses for his address. For instance in 2 Corinthians, Paul addresses the Christian community in Corinth adopting the form of a judicial oration, thus superimposing on the concrete historical situation of a spiritual leader addressing his congregation the symbolic frame of a defendant appearing in front of a jury[251]; similarly, while the community of Galatians is not a democratic assembly of citizens, Paul addresses it using a deliberative speech[252].

The distinction between two stages of analysis is another important contribution, although one hardly marked in the exposition. The first stage, outlined above, is vaguely called "preliminary", while the second does not even receive a name: it consists of a consideration of

> the arrangement of material in the text: what subdivisions it falls into, what the persuasive effect of these parts seems to be, and how

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[250] Kennedy 1984: 5.
[251] Kennedy1984, ch.4.
[252] Kennedy 1984, ch.7.

> they work together - or fail to do so - to some unified purpose in meeting the rhetorical situation[253].

It involves engaging in

> line-by-line analysis of the argument, including its assumptions, its topics, and its formal features, such as enthymemes, and of the devices of style, seeking to define their function in context[254].

However, this distinction is grounded in the fact that any text is a composite unit: at one level it functions within a larger structure of frameworks; but at another it is itself a frame in which lower level units are articulated. It is the job of what Kennedy has called 'preliminary approach' to understand the text against the background of these larger structures: the canon of texts, the hierarchy of which the author is part, the system of genres, etc. Once this is done, the analysis can proceed to examine the parts which make up the text and their interrelations – and how this process of articulation represents the solution to the 'rhetorical problem' as defined in the 'preliminary' step.

In the Chinese context too, there is a tradition of listening to the author or even searching for the author's more or less hidden indications as to how to read the text[255]. However, the cultural background is different: the obstacle that the author must overcome is usually not censorship or a hostile environment, but rather indifference and the passage of time – two related problems: as his message cannot be forced onto anyone, it must simply wait until someone comes along capable to receive it[256].

The concrete case of the *Fayan* is of course very different from that of Machiavelli's, but structural similarities exist: Yang Xiong too provides a series of clues, in the text itself as well as in several associated texts (paratexts), by making a series of explicit and implicit claims about the nature of his text, the way it was written and how it should be read. These take the form of:

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[253] Kennedy 1984: 37.
[254] Ibid.
[255] For an analysis of the later Han case of Zhao Qi's commentary to the Mengzi cf. Wagner 2003, ch.1.
[256] Cf. *Fayan* 8.7 for a statement to this effect by Yang Xiong.

- a series of self-referential statements;
- paratextual elements meant to frame the text, such as the title and the chapter summaries;
- explicit instructions given by Yang to his interlocutors, as to how to interpret certain pronouncements;
- formal elements which function as structural markers: some segment the text, others indicate the mood of the statement, other alert the reader to an implied countertext.
- the form and structure of the text itself, which imitates the form of the *Analects*, also provides implicit clues as to how the text should be read.

It is quite clear as a matter of empirical fact that such claims made by Yang Xiong about his texts have not been taken automatically at face value by his contemporaries, but have received a series of diverging reactions in the immediate context. For instance Yang Xiong's compilation of an alternative divination manual has been quickly dismissed as illegitimate, but his compilation of the *Fayan* following the model of the *Analects* has been widely accepted. His claim that his historical judgments are compatible with those of Confucius have been taken seriously by Ban Gu, as he bases his own assessments in the *Hanshu* on those of Yang. However, the fact that a claim is rejected does not invalidate it as such – the rejection is indeed proof that it has been correctly recognized.

Thus, in an attempt to reconstruct the way in which a contemporary reader might have understood the text, these implicit and explicit claims made by the author about his text represent a most valuable resource. However, before proceeding to analyze them individually, it will be useful to place them in their cultural context and determine why they were written and how they might have been taken.

Two major developments which took place in the Western Han are relevant in this respect. One is the growing importance of stable written texts associated with identifiable authors. The fluid character of texts in the early Western Han has constituted the object of much debate in recent years, particularly after variants of transmitted texts have been discovered in archaeological excavations, with some scholars going so far as to posit the preeminence of oral transmission of

memorized texts, as opposed to written transmission through copying and recopying of texts[257]. What is in any case clear, is that a major transition occurred during the middle of the Western Han and that the environment in which Yang Xiong worked in the last decades of the dynasty was radically different from the situation of the early decades. The difference might be best illustrated by contrasting two famous classifications of knowledge: Sima Tan's 司馬談 "Essentials of the Six Schools (or: six types of specialists)"[258] and the "Monograph on Arts and Letters" in the *Hanshu*[259]. While the former is a nomenclature of people, of specialists (*jia* 家), the latter is a classification of texts – indeed it goes back to Liu Xin's 劉歆 and his father Liu Xiang's 劉向 descriptive bibliography of the imperial library, issued out of their collation work at the end of the Western Han[260]. Thus at the beginning of the dynasty, knowledge is associated with individuals who master it (also in the form of mastering texts) and can put it at the disposal of their patrons; at the end of the dynasty, knowledge is securely deposited in texts, the written form is its native state. A few historical examples nicely illustrate the development: the *Shiji* records for the beginning of the Han the circumstances in which Lu Jia 陸賈 convinced Liu Bang 劉邦 of the relevance of Confucian ideas and introduced himself the main ideas in oral presentation in front of the delighted emperor – with the written text of the presentations being filed subsequently to the imperial library[261]. By contrast only a couple of generations later, in 139 BC, Liu An 劉安, the king of Huainan, presented Emperor Wu with his encyclopedia, a standalone text, meant to convey its message on its own, without any attached specialists. The text was however framed by an overview, *Yaolüe*. Martin Kern has argued[262] that this overview, whose form resembles a *fu*, was meant to be performed before the emperor as an introduction to the silent text. Whether this was actually the case or not, the overview was attached to the text in order to

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[257] Cf. Kern 2000ab, 2001, 2005.
[258] *Liu jia yao zhi* 六家要旨 in *Shiji* 130.
[259] *Hanshu* 30.
[260] For a discussion cf. Lewis 2007: 222-226.
[261] *Shiji* 97, *Hanshu* 43 (Biography of Lu Jia).
[262] Kern 2014.

serve this precise function for later readers, without being performed for or by them. A generation later, Sima Qian has provided his own text with similar paratextual materials, an autobiographical chapter explaining the genesis and import of the book and giving for each chapter a short summary in verse. Yang Xiong's autobiographical preface follows precisely this model, both in its overall structure and in its section concerning the *Fayan*. It is also interesting to note that the same evolution holds true for poetry itself: the most important poet of the late Western Han court and prolific author of soaring *fu* expositions, Yang Xiong himself, was by his own account 口吃不能劇談 "stuttering in his speech and unable to talk loudly (or long)", unlikely to have ever performed his work *viva voce*.

The other major development, certainly not unrelated to the first, concerns a fundamental change in the exegetical tradition, particularly classical exegesis. At the time of their institutionalization under the Western Han the interpretation of the classics was associated with texts reconstituted privately, sometimes based on memory, and with traditions of interpretation transmitted from master to disciple. These traditions were themselves institutionalized in the form of schools or professorships, which claimed intellectual ownership of a text version and the associated line of interpretation.

In Yang Xiong's generation a group of intellectuals, to which he belonged himself, challenged this system. In a famous open letter written during the reign of Aidi (7-1 BC) in which he argues for the institutionalization of the *Zuozhuan*, Liu Xin articulates some of the main ideas, later incorporated in this very formulation in the prefaces to the catalog of the imperial library[263].

Thus, as the Zhou dynasty declined, Confucius set out to preserve the way of the ancient kings by producing an edition of those parts of the ancient texts which he deemed fit to serve as classics. After his death, however, "the subtle words were cut off" 微言絕, and a generation later, "after his disciples disappeared, even the major ideas were lost" 大義乖[264]. The Warring States did not provide a

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[263] *Hanshu* 36: 1968ff.
[264] These formulations are reprised by Ban Gu in the *Hanshu Yiwenzhi*., cf. also Wagner 2003, ch.1; Lewis 2007:222-226.

good environment for classical scholarship and favored all sorts of alternative theories, ideas, and interpretations, while during the oppressive rule of the First Emperor of the Qin whatever still survived was lost for good, so that the situation facing the Han was dire:

> 漢興，去聖帝明王遐遠，仲尼之道又絕，法度無所因襲。時獨有一叔孫通略定禮儀，天下唯有《易》卜，未有它書。
>
> As the Han rose, the [times of] the Sage emperors and enlightened kings was far away, the way of Confucius was cut off, and laws and regulations had nothing to base themselves on. At the time there was only Shusun Tong who roughly established rituals and ceremonies, and in the world there was only the *Yijing* [and other books] of divination, there were as yet no other books.

A very tentative process of reconstituting the lost texts began:

> 當此之時，一人不能獨盡其經，或為《雅》，或為《頌》，相合而成。
>
> At that time, one individual on his own could not finish [learning] one classical text, [for instance] one knew the *Ya* [poems], another knew the *Song* [poems], and they would put them together to complete the text.

A major discovery of ancient texts, the famous *guwen* documents found in the wall of Confucius' house, went unnoticed, as Emperor Wu' attention was absorbed by various scandals at court. They remained hidden in the imperial library and were only discovered during the reign of Chengdi, as he opened the imperial library and charged a team of scholars (including Liu Xin's father Liu Xiang) with sorting out and collating its contents. Under these circumstances, the institutionalization of the reconstructed texts in modern script and the improvised lines of transmission associated with them by appointing their masters to positions in the imperial academy had a rather unfortunate effect:

> 綴學之士不思廢絕之闕，苟因陋就寡，分文析字，煩言碎辭，學者罷老且不能究其一藝。信口說而背傳記，是末師而非往古
>
> Philologists did not worry about the lacunae caused by loss and decay [of the texts]. They recklessly based [themselves] on narrow [textual bases] and pursued strange [interpretations], broke the

> texts[265] and split their characters, engaged in endless discussions and convoluted discourses, so that their students would reach old age and not be able to master one classic. They would rely on oral transmission and turn their backs to written traditions [of interpretation]; they would accept recent teachings but reject [true] antiquity.
>
> 猶欲保殘守缺， [...]，抑此三學，以《尚書》為備，謂左氏為不傳《春秋》
>
> Still they wanted to defend the incomplete [texts] and protect the fragmentary [sources][266], [...] tried to suppress the study of these three [*guwen* documents], maintained that the *Shangshu* is complete and said that Mr. Zuo was not [one] to transmit the Chunqiu.

Liu Xin's apparently humble proposal to admit the *Zuozhuan* for study in the Imperial Academy does not merely argue for a slight expansion of the canon but is based on a wider vision with more far-reaching implications, some of which are explicitly articulated in his own remarks on literature now preserved in the *Hanshu Yiwenzhi*, some articulated by Yang Xiong in the *Fayan*. Some of the fundamental tenets of this new vision are a belief that textual authority supersedes traditional transmission from master to disciple, including the idea that in the interpretation of the classics preference is to be given the texts themselves; the belief that the classics need to be read as a system, without regard of school distinctions and concentrating on the unifying principles, the *dayi*. And furthermore, the belief that this competence is not restricted to members of a certain lineage but available to anyone who is able to read the texts.

Yang Xiong was himself a part of the group charged under Chengdi with collating works in the imperial library, was close to Liu Xiang and Liu Xin, and in his biography he presents his credentials:

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[265] Presumably into unconnected sentences, thus breaking their argumentative unity. Mengzi criticizes this practice with respect to the poems in the *Shijing* in 5A6 and argues for a reading strategy which takes into consideration the original intent. His remarks were converted by Zhao Qi into his reading strategy for the *Mengzi* itself, as discussed above.

[266] The expression 保殘守缺 has become later on a byword for stubborn conservatism, but here it refers specifically to the official scholars holding on to their textual basis and interpretations transmitted from generation to generation.

雄少而好學，不為章句，訓詁通而已，博覽無所不見。

When I was young I was fond of study, I never engaged in *zhangju*-style exegesis (of the official *boshi*), I understood [the classics] on the basis of ancient glosses alone, I read widely and there is nothing I have not seen.[267]

It is within this context in which emphasis is being placed on clues for interpretation that are to be found in the text itself or in associated texts that Yang Xiong's efforts to guide the reader have to be understood.

However, the way in which these efforts could be taken and in which more generally texts are to be approached depends on the status of these texts. Similarly, the extent to which the reader allows himself to be guided by the author depends on the status the author. Classical texts, which contain the message of the Sages, deserve, of course, full attention and full trust. However, other approaches are better suited for other texts: the Masters have only achieved a partial grasp of the way, so their texts will contain valuable insights mixed with false ideas and a critical or circumspect approach is needed. And the esoteric approach, maintaining that the reading of the texts must be guided by directly transmitted instruction reserved to the initiated, didn't disappear, but took on new life with the rise of the *chenwei* 讖緯 texts.

4.2 The text in context

Even before the first sentence is read, the text is already perceived or judged in a certain way, by being placed against a complex background of other texts and authors, of ideas and topics, of debates and positions, of forms and genres, as well as against the historical reality of the past and present. Important consequences for the reading follow from this ranking, so the author normally tries to control the process through a series of statements or gestures. Besides the direct and indirect claims made in the text itself, he has two main venues for articulating his

[267] Hanshu 87: 3514.

claims about the text: the preface and the title. Quite generally, as they precede direct contact with the text, they are of paramount importance in shaping the reader's approach to the text, so I begin with them.

Not much is made of either in Kennedy's methodology, due to the special circumstances of the New Testament. But he does stress the importance of determining the way in which discourses are framed, introduced and concluded, by "seeking signs of opening and closure". In the Chinese tradition, by contrast, their relevance and the attention they receive is exacerbated by the fact that they are often then only space in which the author can legitimately make explicit claims about the text and about his own person.

a) The title

Generally, the relevance of the title is that is indicates the aspect under which the text is to be interpreted as a unit. In the Chinese tradition, in which a canonical order is institutionalized and sanctioned by the state, the title helps place the text against this background so that a lot of care and strategizing go into choosing the correct title and arguing for its correct interpretation (normally in the preface). This seriousness and care have not been matched by modern scholarship, which has more often than not adopted a rather cavalier attitude in explaining or rendering titles. Chinese scholars have the option of preserving the classical title in modern Chinese, and make heavy use of it. Western scholars, even when they adopt the original title for reasons of convenience and talk about 'the *Shuowen*' or 'the *Wenxin*' (as indeed the present study talks about 'the *Fayan*'), generally have to provide some form of interpretation or translation. The complex reasoning that goes into choosing and defending the title is however seldom matched by modern scholars trying to interpret them and goes mostly ignored.

Finding a suitable equivalent of a title such as *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 is obviously difficult if not impossible, but the range of outrageous proposals reveals that no effort has been made to understand the relatively straightforward, if pedantic logic, which was rather satisfactorily outlined by Hightower already in

his 1959 review of Vincent Shih's translation[268]. It is significant that Hightower's argumentation has had no discernible impact on later attempts to deal with the title. Similarly, most Western scholars seem to be unconcerned with the fact that in contrast to Liu Xie 劉勰, Wang Chong 王充 provided in the postface to his *Lunheng* 論衡 a pretty straightforward explanation for the title he chose, and continue to propose or repeat variations on the nonsensical "Balanced discourses". Wang Chong himself explains: 《論衡》者、論之平也。[269] "The Lunheng is a scale for (weighing) discourses." – which is only followed by Lionello Lanciotti ("Bilancia di discussioni")[270] and more recently Kalinovski ("Balance des discours"[271]). Similarly, in his study of Liu Zhiji's 劉知幾 *Shitong* 史通, Pulleyblank translated "Generalities on history"[272], despite the fact that neither *tong* nor *shi* acquire these meanings until very late, and more strikingly despite the fact that Liu Zhiji himself provides the logic of his title: 予既在史館而成此書，故便以《史通》為目。[273]"I have compiled this work in the Pavilion of Historiography, hence I simply picked *Shitong* as a title". "The *tong* (canonical compendium) from the Pavilion of historiography" may seem more pedestrian than "Generalities on history", but in the traditional Chinese order of things it claims far superior importance for the text: the *Baihutong* 白虎通 settled in an authoritative way questions relating to the (perceived) divergences of the classical texts. Liu Zhiji's text does the same for the branch of history, which in his time was second in importance.

The situation of the *Fayan* is very similar: the precise meaning and significance of the title has caused some trouble, particularly for translators who had to find equivalents in Western languages. Thus, von Zach translates "Worte strenger Ermahnung", Knechtges "Model Sayings", L'Haridon "Maitres Mots", and

[268] Hightower 1959.
[269] Lunheng 85.
[270] Lanciotti 1997.
[271] Kalinowski 2011.
[272] Pulleyblank 1961:144.
[273] *Shitong*, Original preface 原序.

Michael Nylan proposes several solutions ranging from "Exemplary talk" to "Exemplary sayings" and finally to "Exemplary figures" in 2013[274].

The phrase *Fayan* occurs several times in early texts. The *locus classicus* seems to be *Lunyu* 9.24, where the combination does not occur directly, but in a more complicated structure, interpreted here according to Kong Anguo's reading:

子曰：「法語之言，能無從乎？改之為貴。	**The Master said: who would be able to reject following admonitions [from others] in normative language? [But] what is really important is to reform oneself.**
孔曰：「人有過，以正道告之，口無不順從之，能必自改之，乃為貴。」	If someone has committed a transgression and one tells him off by reference to the correct doctrine, there is no one who would not verbally concur, but what in fact is really important is the capacity to unfailingly overcome [the transgressions] on one's own.

In Analects 9.24, 法語之言 is then contrasted with 巽與之言 "words of complete agreement", "obedient words". This opposition is the basis of von Zach's translation as "words of stern admonition". However, in the *Fayan* itself, a similar contrast occurs in the opening of chapter 7:

> 吾寡見人之好假者也。　　邇文之視，
> 邇言之聽，假則偭焉。
>
> I have rarely seen a preference for the far-reaching (teachings of the Sages) among people; as soon as they see accessible texts, as soon as they hear accessible words, they turn their backs on the far-reaching.

Here Li Gui's commentary explains:

> 歎人皆好視听諸子近言近說，至于圣人遠言遠義，則偭然而不視听。
>
> He bemoans that everybody likes to look at easily accessible written statements and listen to easily accessible explanations from the Masters, but once confronted with the esoteric written statements

[274] Von Zach 1939, Knechtges 1986, L'Haridon 2010, Nylan 1996, 2010, 2011, 2013.

> and [orally expressed] ideas, of the Sage, they turn their backs on them and neither look nor listen.

The words of the Sage comply entirely with the model of the former kings and are thereby inopportune; in contrast, the words of the Masters depart from the model of the Sage in order to offer direct applicability to the situation at hand. This contrast seems to capture well the idea in *Analects* 9.24 above.

The phrase "*fa yan*" itself occurs once in the *Xiaojing* 孝經, which in the late Western Han had become a standard text of instruction, just like the *Lunyu*:

> 非先王之法服不敢服，
> 非先王之法言不敢道，
> 非先王之德行不敢行。
>
> If not the ritual dress of the former kings, one does not dare wear it;
> if not the normative statements of the former kings, one does not dare utter them;
> if not the virtuous conduct of the former kings, one does not dare carry it out.[275]

The same structure is employed in a slightly different formulation in the *Fayan* itself, in 11.23, a paragraph celebrating Liu Zhongyuan, one of Yang Xiong's teachers in Sichuan:

> 非正不視，非正不聽，非正不言，非正不行。
> If not correct he would not consider it, if not correct he would not listen to it, if not correct he would not articulate it, if not correct he would not put it into practice.

The same passage discusses 谷永 Gu Yong, an older contemporary of Yang Xiong, who in one of his memorials employs directly the phrase "*fa yan*":

> 諸背仁義之正道，不遵五經之法言...[276]
> All those who turn their backs to the correct way of *ren* and *yi* and who do not respect the normative statements of the five classics...

---

[275] *Xiaojing* 4. Cf. *Shisan jing*.
[276] *Hanshu* 25B:1260.

A generation after Yang Xiong, 班彪 Ban Biao criticizes Sima Qian using the same expression[277]:

> 誠令遷依《五經》之法言，同聖人之是非，意亦庶幾矣。
> If Qian were made to rely on the normative statements of the Five Classics and conform to the judgments of the Sage, then his meaning would be complete.

This passage is particularly valuable as it comes from someone who was certainly familiar with the text and, if we can go by Ban Gu's testimony, had a high opinion of it, so it can be assumed that it uses the expression in the same meaning.

Both from the argumentation in the preface and from the parallels in contemporary text we can make out that "*fa yan*" should be something like "words conforming to the model of the Sages". That *fa* is plausibly read as "conforming to the model" can be seen in another formulation from the *Fayan*:

> 君子之道有四易：　簡而易用也；
> 要而易守也；
> 炳而易見也；
> 法而易言也。
>
> The way of the *junzi* is easy in four respects: it is simple and thus easy to employ; essential and thus easy to keep; brilliant and thus easy to see; conforming to the model and thus easy to articulate.

Again at *Fayan* 3.15, one should pay attention to one's words, actions, attitude, and preferences:

> 「言重則有法，行重則有德，貌重則有威，好重則有觀。」
>
> If words are being paid attention to, then they will have *fa* (i.e. conform to the model of the Sages); if actions are paid attention to, they will possess *de* (i.e. conform to the virtuous conduct of the Sages, as above in the *Xiaojing*), if attitude is being paid attention to, it will be imposing; if preferences are being paid attention to, they will be admired.

---

[277] *Houhanshu* 70 (Ban Biao biography).

From this perspective, the question to answer about the title is: what would a contemporary reader reasonably expect from a text entitled *Fayan*? The examination of more or less contemporary evidence shows that it is something like authoritative pronouncements following and at the same time expounding the model of the ancient Sages as contained in the classics. Even if 'conversation' or 'saying' may be apt renderings of *yan*, the stress falls clearly on the formulaic and authoritative character of what is said, not on the colloquial or dialogic quality. Furthermore, the classics and their models are also unmistakably referenced, so that the stress falls on coherence rather that on the randomness and anecdotal quality usually associated with collections of conversations.

b) The preface

Yang Xiong has been intensely preoccupied with staging his own persona and framing his texts, thus intervening directly in the process of interpretation and directing the reader as to how he should proceed. His biography in the *Hanshu* consists of two parts: a longer part represents Yang Xiong's autobiographical preface, which he very likely appended to his works in 38 *pian*; and a shorter part by Ban Gu, which is far longer than a regular appraisal and goes over the same material providing missing information, background, as well as opinions from contemporaries[278].

Thus the autobiographical preface represents a conscious attempt by Yang Xiong to introduce himself and his works, to justify himself and his works, and as a consequence to guide the reader as to how to approach his *oeuvre*. The most space and attention receives his *fu* poetry, to which he owed his career and fame, but which he reneged in his later years: the most important pieces are quoted in full, and details are offered in each case as to the context of composition, his intentions, and sometimes the way he responded to reactions or criticism from contemporaries. The *Taixuan*, which being written in imitation of a classical text had provoked considerable controversy as well, is given second most space. Finally,

[278] *Hanshu* 87 (Biography of Yang Xiong); cf. Knechtges 1982 for a discussion and translation.

the section on the *Fayan*, which is listed as the last work, consists of a general part, which characterizes the work as a whole, followed by brief summaries of the individual chapters.

From the point of view of the *Fayan*, this prefatory material performs four important functions (besides the more general task of giving shape to the *oeuvre* by excluding some titles):

- it places the text in the context of his work as well as in the context of his biography and at the same time in the historical context;
- it provides a general framework for the text, by outlining the reasons for and aims of its composition;
- it provides an overview of its structure and parts.

In this section I will deal with the second aspect, the other two being addressed separately below.

The first part of Yang's remarks about the *Fayan* in his autobiography, which characterize the text as a whole, runs as follows:

> 雄見：諸子各以其知舛馳，大氐詆訾聖人，即為怪迂，析辯詭辭，以撓世事。雖小辯，終破大道而或眾，使溺於所聞而不自知其非也。及太史公記六國，歷楚漢，訖麟止，不與聖人同，是非頗謬於經。故人時有問雄者，常用法應之，譔以為十三卷，象《論語》，號曰《法言》。
>
> [Yang] Xiong realized that the various Masters, because their understanding [of the way] runs in opposing directions, all defame and detract the Sage (Confucius), namely by going for the weird and useless and [making] specious distinctions and perverse proposals and thus bringing chaos to the policies (lit. official business) of the day.[279] Although making only meaningless arguments, they ended up destroying the great way and confusing the multitude, causing them to get lost (lit. drown) in what they heard [from these Masters] and be unable on their own to realize the falseness [of what they heard].

[279] This is a difficult sentence, which prompts an exceptionally detailed commentary from Yan Shigu. He provides a series of glosses and then gives a "translation" for the whole: 言諸子之書，大歸皆非毀周孔之教，為巧辯異辭以攪亂時政也。"This says that the books by the various masters in the end all go against the teachings of the [Duke of] Zhou and of Confucius; they disturb and bring chaos to the government of the day with skillful but specious distinctions and strange proposals."

> And [as for] the Lord Grand Astrologer [Sima Qian] recording [the events related to] the six states, going through Chu and Han and coming up to the catch of the unicorn [which marks the end of the Chunqiu period], [Yang also saw that these were] not compatible with the Sage, [and that his] judgments (i.e. positive and negative evaluations) rather diverged from the [judgments implied by Confucius] in the classic (i.e. *Chunqiu*).
> Because of this (i.e. because he realized the dangerous situation), time and again when people asked him [about this situation], [Yang] Xiong always replied by using the models [*fa*, established by the Sage] to answer. [He] compiled [his answers] in thirteen chapters based on the form of the *Lunyu* and called [the text] *Fayan*.

The preface and the title make several important claims which correspond quite closely to those aspects in Kennedy's methodology which he terms preliminary approach: the rhetorical situation, the rhetorical problem and the species.

- the text is integrated in a symbolic background, which presents an overriding problem: the words of Confucius, which transmit the way of the ancient Sages, are misunderstood;
- the cause of this misunderstanding is the nefarious influence of the various Masters, *zhuzi*, as well as of Sima Qian, who in their works diverge from the line established by Confucius and even actively attack it;
- affected by this problem are the multitudes, *zhong*, likely to be equated with the *zhongren*, ordinary people (i.e. individuals of vulgar endowment or common, unexceptional intellectual abilities)[280], the lowest grade in Yang Xiong's classification of human beings, of which the Sages are the highest and the worthies the middle category;
- as with their reduced powers of understanding the ordinary people are unable to tell the true way of the Sage from the byways of the Masters, they are thrown in confusion and unable to rescue themselves;

[280] Concretely this must refer to the audience of the Masters, i.e. other scholars or ministers and rulers, but I take Yang Xiong's terminology to refer fundamentally to the intellectual abilities of individuals rather than to their social or academic standing. Cf. below for an analysis of the relevant passages in the *Fayan*.

- under these circumstances, Yang Xiong claims for himself the authority to intervene and the ability to solve the problem;
- he tackles the problem by confronting the confusion of the ordinary people and answering their questions on the basis of the model outlined by the Sages, of which he implicitly claims possession;
- for the use of a wider audience, he produces a text based on these answers and modeled on the *Analects*.

In the next sections I discuss these claims in turn, examining them against the evidence of the text in order to determine to what extent they produce a meaningful reading as well as one that would have been acceptable in the original context.

Traditional scholars have tended to afford this preface an attention commensurate to the importance the genre had in pre-modern times and allowed it to inform their readings to a considerable extent. The first to explicitly include the preface together with the text was most likely Sima Guang. There is no evidence Li Gui's text was accompanied by it (although it was accompanied by the summaries) – it is however clear that he was aware of it and that his reading accepted its reasoning. Sima Guang does this explicitly by extracting the text from the biography in the *Hanshu*, placing it in front of the first *juan* and commenting on it. Modern scholars have been more ambiguous, starting with Wang Rongbao who includes it, but only in his commentary, not as part of the text. Von Zach does include the preface in his translation, but Han, Nylan, and L'Haridon don't. Nylan even comments on it:

> Students of Yang's work regard this autobiography/biography as a blessing and a curse. A blessing because this two-chapter work supplies a great many details of Yang's life and cites several of his *fu* in their entirety, a curse because it is next to impossible to read Yang's writings except through the lens Yang and Ban provided later readers.[281]

[281] Nylan 2013:xiii.

It is unclear who the other students of Yang's writings might be, but in her reading Nylan certainly seems to try to escape the frame established by the preface, or rather to replace it with a new one. Thus, in the introduction to her 2013 translation she claims "Yang's foremost contribution in *Exemplary Figures* is the adaptation of the pleasure discourse inherited from the Zhanguo"[282] – a very idiosyncratic view already advanced in her 1997 study[283].

c) The status of the author

The way in which any text is read depends on the assumptions made about the author. This is particularly so in the case of canonical texts: particular reading strategies, which would otherwise be unthinkable or ridiculous are legitimized by reference to the status of the author. According to the Kabalistic tradition the Torah was written by God before the creation of the world and has served him as a blueprint in the process. Such an assumption naturally has a huge impact on the way in which the text is read and even its language is processed. As this is a language used by God before the creation of man, every formal aspect of it is significant and revealing, even, for instance, the number of letters in the text. By contrast, the Eastern Church takes the text of the Bible to be simply a witness which reflects God's reality with all the limitations of human language. As a result, the text is of secondary importance to the direct presence of God in the Eucharist – which in turn explains the preference of Byzantine theologians, confirmed in a series of Synods, for employing a historicizing reading. Islamic theology considers the Quran to be the words of the Archangel Gabriel sent by God to speak to the Prophet, who himself was illiterate, just a conveyor of the message.

Similarly in China, reading strategies of the classical texts are a consequence of their having passed through the hands of Confucius, either as editor or as author. As Confucius had written the *Chunqiu* himself, the very wording of the text became relevant, as it revealed the hidden judgment of the Sage. His

[282] Nylan 2013:xix.
[283] Nylan 1997: 150.

having selected and edited the 305 poems in the *Shijing* compelled the reader to look for a unity of purpose and, furthermore, a homogenous moral standard.

By writing a text which is intended to save the way of Confucius by articulating it more clearly so as counteract various challenges to which it has be subjected since the time of Mengzi, Yang Xiong implicitly makes the claim that he is capable of such feat.

Determining precisely what his claims are and the extent to which they were given credence is crucial for interpreting the text correctly. Pre-modern commentators had a solid and sophisticated system, based on their view of the Confucian tradition, which for all its bias and limitations is still more useful than either an objective historicizing assessment or a subjective, impressionistic reaction. While looking at Yang Xiong as an important intellectual of the Han era, who "engages topics" and "advances arguments" is certainly objectively defensible, it is far removed from either the way Yang frames himself or the way traditional scholars interpreted those claims. At the same time, an ad-hoc reevaluation is equally dangerous. For instance, over the several decades dealing with Yang Xiong Michael Nylan has gone from "the first neo-Confucian"[284], the Chinese Plato, the first Zen master[285] in the early work to "'wisdom bag' stuffed with encyclopedic knowledge" whom "learned men of every persuasion regularly consulted[286]", a kind of academic *avant la lettre*, who "attained such a degree of personal authority that he secured the equivalent of a sabbatical for three years"[287].

In the following I attempt to take up the implicit claim Yang makes in the preface about his own status and examine the way in which it is further articulated in the text itself. Indeed, here Yang ranks himself implicitly or explicitly against two backgrounds: a hierarchy of beings he defines himself, as well as the various historical personalities he discusses.

At *Fayan* 1.16 Yang Xiong proposes a ranking of human beings in three categories:

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[284] Nylan and Sivin 1987.
[285] Both in Nylan 1997.
[286] Nylan 2013:xvi.
[287] Nylan 2013:xv.

鳥獸, 觸其情者也， 眾人則異乎！
賢人則異眾人矣，
聖人則異賢人矣。
禮義之作，有以矣夫。人而不學，雖無憂，如禽何？

> Beasts are such [creatures] that follow their dispositions. Are ordinary people any different? As for worthies, they are already (i.e. by nature) different from ordinary people. And as for Sages, they are already different from worthies. As ritual and propriety emerged (as created or defined by the Sages), they (i.e. the common people) had already something to go by (i.e. differentiate themselves from beasts), had they not? If [there are people who are] human beings, but they do not study [the way of the Sages], then even if they avoid harm, can they be any different from beasts?

The reading of the particle *hu* is in some doubt, as it could be a (rhetorical) question, as above, or an exclamation. In any case, the theory underlying this passage is rather clear: human beings are different from animals in that they can be taught, but without teaching they are no different than animals. This is a point Yang Xiong makes explicitly as he discusses the "barbarians", who are deprived of the benefits of the teaching of the Sages and the civilization of the central states (*Fayan* 4.11). The expression 無憂 is a reference to *Laozi* 20 絕學無憂 "to interrupt (abandon) learning (of the Confucian way) brings no harm".

The worthies are men of special abilities, 為人所不能 "able to do what others cannot" (*Fayan* 10.26). In Yang's scale, they are in an intermediate position: while not having the insight of a Sage into the workings of the universe, the *xian* nevertheless have outstanding abilities and can use them to assist the Sage.

The Sage perfectly realizes his nature and becomes one with heaven and earth. In *Fayan* 8.2:

> 聖人有以擬天地而參諸身乎！
> The Sage has the ability to become one with heaven and earth and unite them in his person.

The criterion which generates this hierarchy is the degree to which the various individuals realize the way in their person. The Sage realizes it perfectly and becomes spirit-like, *shen* 神; the worthy realizes it only imperfectly, the regular people not at all.

At *Fayan* 2.13 a different but related hierarchy is outlined:

聖人虎別，其文炳也。
君子豹別，其文蔚也。
辯人貍別，其文萃也。　　貍變則豹，
　　豹變則虎。

The Sage is like the tiger, his pattern is brilliant;
The *junzi* is like the leopard, his pattern is elegant;
The eloquent man is like the panther, his pattern is rich.
As the panther is transformed, it turns into the leopard;
As the leopard is transformed, it turns into the tiger.[288]

If the first hierarchy appears static, with the various levels predetermined, the second is dynamic, with each step realizing the potential of the individual more fully. In particular the *junzi* is defined at *Fayan* 1.19 as a follower of the Sage:

君子貴遷善。遷善者、聖人之徒與
The *junzi* values (self-)improvement; he who values self-improvement is a follower of the Sage.

At *Fayan* 7.2 the *junzi* is again defined:

好盡其心於聖人之道者，君子也。
He who has the desire to completely dedicate himself to the way of the Sage is a *junzi*.

Where in these hierarchies would Yang Xiong see himself? At *Fayan* 1.8 he refers to himself as *junzi*, and this is certainly plausible. In his autobiography in the *Hanshu* he presents his oeuvre as a *parcours*, advancing from the author of *fu* poetry, a talented writer, the man of eloquence, towards a more and more intense preoccupation and identification with the way of the Sages.

How far did he think he advanced on this way? The answer to this question is not directly articulated in the *Fayan* (or in the autobiography), but several indirect statements can serve to reveal his self-assessment.

At *Fayan* 5.1 Confucius is compared with Yan Hui:

昔乎　仲尼潛心於文王矣，達之。
顏淵亦潛心於仲尼矣，未達一間耳。

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[288] The first two transformations occur on lines 5 and 6 of hexagram 49, 革, in this exact form. The third element, the eloquent man, has been introduced here by Yang Xiong.

> Anciently Zhong Ni submerged his mind in [that of] King Wen and reached it [completely].
> Yan Hui also submerged his mind in [that of] Confucius, but he failed by just a little.

The reason why Yan Hui failed to become one with Confucius is a matter of destiny, not a personal failure, as is explained in *Fayan* 6.11. However, at *Fayan* 1.24 Yang Xiong insists that this possibility is open to anyone:

> 曰：「有教立道無止仲尼；
> 　　有學術業無止顏淵。」
> 或曰：「　　立道，仲尼不可為思矣。
> 　　術業，顏淵不可為力矣。」
> 曰：「未之思也，思孰禦焉？」

> In teaching to establish the way without being stopped – such was Confucius; in learning to apply oneself to study without being stopped – such was Yan Hui.
> Someone said: in establishing the way one cannot be (like) Confucius, (because of lack of) mental capacity; in applying oneself to study one cannot be (like) Yan Hui (because of lack of) strength.
> Yang Xiong answered: this is because you haven't set your mind on it. If you set your mind on it, who could stop you?[289]

Yang Xiong certainly sees himself as trying and had the good fortune, as Sima Guang observes as well, to live a long life, so his journey towards becoming the Sage has not been interrupted, as was the case of Yan Hui, who in Yang's evaluation ranks as a *xian* (*Fayan* 10.26). The title of chapter two contains an ambiguity which is relevant in this context: the title is *wuzi*, "My master", and is taken from the opening of the text itself. However in the first paragraph, *wuzi* is used by an interlocutor to address Yang Xiong:

> 或問「吾子少而好賦」。
> Someone asked: Master, as a young man you were fond of *fu*.

Further down in the chapter, however, Yang Xiong explains that only Confucius can be the master:

> 山之蹊，不可勝由矣；
> 向牆之戶，不可勝入矣。

---

[289] Cf. analysis of various alternative readings, above Ch.3.

曰：「惡由入。」　　曰：「孔氏。孔氏者、戶也。」
曰：「子戶乎？」　　曰：「戶哉！戶哉！吾獨有不戶者矣。」

On a footpath at the bottom of a ravine one cannot get through;
through a door blocked by a wall one cannot get in.
How can one come out or get in?
- Confucius. Confucius is the door.
- Are you, Master, a door?
- A door, a door! I only have that which cannot be used as a door.

The interpretation of the crucial last sentence is difficult. However, in *Fayan* 6.9 Yang Xiong refers approvingly to *Lunyu* 19.23, which relates a situation in which Zi Gong categorically rejects being better than Confucius:

於戲！觀書者違子貢，雖多，亦何以為？
Alas! Who in reading books departs from [the attitude of] Zi Gong (of recognizing the preeminence of Confucius), even if [he has read] many, what can he do with them?

In discussing Xunzi and Mengzi, Yang Xiong again ranks himself indirectly. Thus, Mengzi is seen as perfectly continuing the line of Confucius:

諸子者、以其知異於孔子者也。
孟子異乎？不異。
The various Masters are those who in their learning depart from Confucius. Does Mengzi depart? He doesn't!

Xunzi, who criticizes Mengzi, thus departs from the line of transmission and Yang Xiong slightly distances himself from him:

吾於孫卿，與見同門而異戶也。
As far as my relationship to Xunzi is concerned, I associate myself [with him on account that he] emerges from the same gate [as me], even though from a different door.

In Ban Gu's "Tables of ancient and modern personalities" Mengzi is ranked as a worthy, but so is Xunzi.[290] Yet Yang Xiong certainly places Mengzi before Xunzi: the latter is a different door, departing from the way of Confucius, while the former is the same door. In any case, as explained below, Yang Xiong 'humbly'

[290] *Hanshu* 20, (*Gujin ren biao*).

compares himself in his efforts with Mengzi, just as Confucius humbly compares himself with Old Peng[291]. Old Peng, as Bao Xian's commentary has it, is a worthy of the Shang dynasty who was fond of telling old tales. Confucius is himself fond of antiquity, but what he transmits is the way of the ancient kings, the culture of the Zhou. Hence the "humble" attitude expresses tactfully the conviction that he is doing something incomparably more important.

It thus seems improbable that Yang Xiong would claim that he opens another door: his is rather the same door as that of Confucius and Mengzi, the door of access to the way of the ancient kings. And it seems also plausible to assume that in his self-appointed task of keeping this way accessible, Yang Xiong believes he is able to do at least as good a job as Mengzi did, in his view.

Yang Xiong's claims have certainly been taken very differently, both in his time and in later ages, a fact arguably anticipated by Yang with some nervousness, evident in his autobiography. However, it is beyond any doubt that they were understood as such. As discussed above, Han Yu took Mengzi as the most faithful transmitter of the way of Confucius, with both Xunzi and Yang Xiong having "small blemishes"[292]; Neo-Confucian orthodoxy built on this view, entirely dismissing Yang[293]. Sima Guang placed him nevertheless before Mengzi[294]. Although he does not specifically qualify him as a worthy, in his preface to the *Taixuan* he claims the Sages would have recognized themselves in his works[295]. Li Gui does not address the matter directly, but he does seem to place Yang before Mengzi and Xunzi (cf. above, Ch.3.2) and constantly compares him to Confucius. Huan Tan thought he had reached the way of the Sages[296], Ban Gu certainly felt that his judgments were compatible with those of Confucius, as he quotes them

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[291] *Lunyu* 7.1.
[292] Han Yu, *Du Xun* in Han Yu 11. Quoted in Sima Guang's preface to the *Fayan jizhu*.
[293] The very influential assessment of Cheng Yi quoted in Han 1999:195.
[294] Cf above, Ch.3.3.
[295] Cf above, Ch.3.3.
[296] Huan Tan, *Xinlun*: 40. 子雲達聖道; Ziyun reached the way of the Sages. *Xinlun:* 60. 揚子雲才智開通，能入聖道，卓絕於眾，漢興以來，未有此也. In *Hanshu* 87 (Biography of Yang Xiong): 今揚子之書文義至深，而論不詭於聖人. "The literary import of Yangzi's writings is most profound, and his theories do not deviate from those of the Sages." (Knechtges 1982:61).

frequently in the appraisals of his *Hanshu*. Thus the amount of attention Yang's texts have received and the influence they have exerted is directly dependent on the way his claims about the status of the text and his own have been interpreted.

d) The challenge and the task of the text

In Kennedy's methodology, one of the fundamental tasks of rhetorical criticism is that of determining what he calls rhetorical situation, which he defines, following Bitzer, as:

> A particular discourse comes into existence because of some specific condition or situation which invites utterance. The situation controls the rhetorical response in the same sense that the question controls the answer and the problem controls the solution.

He then explains:

> What Bitzer means by an 'exigence' is a situation under which an individual is called upon to make some response: the response made is conditioned by the situation and in turn has some possibility of affecting the situation or what follows from it. A common example is a defendant brought before a judge; the defendant may be able to answer the charge. But the exigence may not be so immediate and need not be oral.[297]

Indeed, in this case the exigence or challenge outlined in the preface is of a more symbolic nature: the emergence of competing heterodox ideas requires the reaffirmation and defense of the orthodox position. At the same time, the situation controls the answer and the explicit acknowledgement of it directs the reader towards a particular reading strategy: this is not an academic exercise, but a polemical work, and as a consequence has to be read not only against the background of the classics, whose ideas it claims to faithfully reaffirm, but also against the background of the new and dangerous theories of the recent past, which it refutes.

This argument is again outlined in what is the most relevant self-referential statement in the text of the *Fayan* itself (2.20):

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[297] Kennedy 1984:35.

古者揚、墨塞路，孟子辭而闢之，廓如也。後之塞路者有矣，竊自比於孟子。
In the old days, as Yang [Zhu] and Mo [Di] blocked the path [opened by the Sage] Mengzi responded [to them] and unblocked [the path]. And open it was [, the path]! As others have appeared after that to block the path [again], I dare compare myself to Mengzi.

或曰：「人各是其所是，而非其所非，將誰使正之？」曰：「萬物紛錯則懸諸天，眾言淆亂則折諸聖。」
Someone said: [But if] each [individual] affirms what he considers right and rejects what he considers wrong, then whom can one turn to to correct them?
Yang Xiong replied: as for the ten thousand things, variegated and disorderly [as they are], [one understands them] in relation to (lit. suspends them from) heaven; as for the multitude of theories, profuse and chaotic [as they are], one decides [on the basis of words of the] Sage.

或曰：「惡覩乎聖而折諸？」曰：「在則人，亡則書，其統一也。」
Someone said: where can you find a Sage so as to [help] decide?
[Yang Xiong] replied: if [the Sage is] alive then [you turn to the Sage] in person; if [the Sage is] gone, then [you go by] the writings [he has left behind]. What pervades them is one and the same.

Thus Mengzi is able to assist the Sage by clearing away the theories threatening to block his path. As Yang points out in the *Fayan*, just as the sage kings manifest their wisdom in their deeds, more precisely in the rituals they institute, Confucius, who is kept away from a position of political significance, manifests his wisdom in the texts he edited and produced. This is how one is able to turn to the Sages even when they are no longer present. More importantly, in the passage above (*Fayan* 2.20) Yang compares himself to Mengzi by paraphrasing Confucius' famous comparison with Old Peng in *Lunyu* 7.1:

述而不作，信而好古，竊比於我老彭。
In transmitting and not creating, trusting and loving antiquity, I stealthily/ humbly compare myself to our old Peng.

The way of the Sages is a reflection of the way of heaven and hence exceedingly difficult to grasp, as Yang repeatedly states. As the various Masters put forth their partial and distorted theories, the *zhongren* with their reduced or absent powers of discrimination (*bian* 辨) are easy prey and the correct but

challenging teaching of Confucius is rapidly sidelined and gets lost. Yang thus claims to provide the same service as Mengzi once did, namely to reaffirm and explain the correct teachings of Confucius in face of what he considered a growing chorus of divergent and misguided interpretations.

This assessment of the state of Confucianism and the corresponding view of the Masters was shared by the intellectual group to which Yang belonged. The writings of the *zhuzi*, the various Masters, were not perceived as worthless. They did possess real insight – what they lacked was rather a correct appreciation of the proper value of that insight.

In the exposition in the *Hanshu Yiwenzhi* each school is portrayed as having inherited valuable specialized knowledge of various aspects of the Zhou government (e.g. Daoists descend from the Zhou astrologers). They each have their strong points (*chang* 長) but also their shortcomings (*duan* 短), which mainly are a result of overstating their case due to a lack of understanding for the way of the Sages as a whole[298].

諸子十家，其可觀者九家而已。
皆起於 王道既微，
　　諸侯力政，
　　時君世主，
　　好惡殊方，
是以　九家之術　　[蜂]出並作，
　　各引一端，
　　崇其所善，以此馳說，取合諸侯。
其言雖殊，辟猶水火，相滅亦相生也。
仁之與義，
敬之與和，相反而皆相成也。
[...]
仲尼有言：「禮失而求諸野。」
方今去聖久遠，道術缺廢，無所更索，彼九家者，不猶瘉於野乎？
若能修六藝之術，而觀此九家之言，舍短取長，則可以通萬方之略矣。

The various Masters, ten schools, of which only nine can still be examined: they all appeared as the way of the kings [of antiquity]

[298] Hanshu 30: 1746.

had declined and the various feudal lords governed by force, [as] the rules of the time and leaders of the age had different likes and dislikes (i.e. inclinations). That is why the methods (or: techniques) of the nine schools appeared at the same time in profusion, each taking up one lead, emphasizing what they/it were good at and based on this preaching away so as to obtain agreement from the various feudal lords. While their theories were manifold, they were like water and fire, mutually opposing and mutually reinforcing each other at the same time. *Ren* and *yi*, respect and harmony – they oppose each other and they complete each other.
[...]
Zhong Ni said: When the rites are lost [at court], one looks for them in the countryside.
Now as the Sage has been gone for a long time, the methods of the way are incomplete and have declined, and there is no place one could look for them, are these nine schools not better than the countryside? If one can master the methods of the six arts and examine the nine schools, discard their shortcomings and recover their strengths, then one could thereby understand the outlines of everything.

Thus the proper attitude towards these texts is not one of outright rejection or neglect, but an effort to put them in their right place and identify their potential contribution to the understanding of the way. This theory is quite clearly the basis of Yang's critique of the Masters, articulated in the *Fayan*.

His countertexts are indeed explicitly named and identified; and for each Yang indicates what needs to be rejected and what the student must extract (*qu* 取), just as recommended by the Lius.

Thus at *Fayan* 4.17:

老子之言道德，　　吾有取焉耳。
及　　搥提仁義，
　　絕滅禮學，　　吾無取焉耳。

Only as far as Laozi's discussion of *dao* and *de* is concerned there is something that I can take from him. As to his abandoning *ren* and *yi* and cutting off learning and destroying ritual, there is nothing I can take from him.

And similarly at *Fayan* 4.25:

或曰：「莊周有取乎？」曰：「少欲。」
「鄒衍有取乎？」曰：「自持。

至周罔君臣之義， 衍無知於天地之閒， 雖鄰不覿也。」

> Someone asked: is there something to be taken from Zhuangzi? Answer: diminishing desires.
> Is there something to be taken from Zou Yan? Answer: self-reliance.
> But as for Zhuangzi's condemnation of the correct [relations] between ruler and minister and Zou Yan's ignorance of the world, I wouldn't pay them a visit even if they were my neighbors.[299]

Sima Qian is singled out for attention in the preface and the text dedicates two chapters to a discussion of historical events and historical figures. Yang's attitude to Sima Qian is also explained in some detail. Thus, at *Fayan* 10.30 he receives a pithy appraisal:

> 「太史遷」。曰：「實錄。」
> [Someone asked about] The Grand Scribe Qian. Answer: a factual record.

This is his strong point. But as already signaled in the preface, in his treatment of history he diverged from the line established by Confucius in the *Chunqiu* as evidenced in the subtle articulation of evaluations of historical actors. Thus, the materials he provides are valuable, but they need to be put in the right perspective.

> 或曰：「淮南、太史公者，其多知與？曷其雜也！」
> 曰：「雜乎雜！人病以多知為雜，惟聖人為不雜。」

> Someone asked: Huainan and the Lord Grand scribe, their knowledge is extensive, isn't it? How come they are so heterogeneous/irregular?
> Answer: irregular indeed! It is an affliction of those whose knowledge is extensive. Only the Sage is not irregular (i.e. is pure or consistent).[300]

This, it must be remarked, is a quality that Yang attributes to himself, and must be the basis for his revision of Sima Qian's judgments in the *Fayan*:

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[299] I take this to mean that he would not pay any attention to them (Zhuangzi and Zou Yan) as far as these two aspects are concerned. An alternative reading would be "these are cases of not understanding even that which is near". This is preferred by Han Jing, but does not seem to me to make much sense.

[300] 雜 *za*, 'mixed, impure' is contrasted with 芚, 'pure', an attribute of the Sage and an ideal to which the *junzi* tends.

或曰：「《玄》何為？」　　曰：「為仁義。」
曰：「孰不為仁？孰不為義？」曰：「勿雜也而已矣。」

Someone asked: what is the *Taixuan* for? Answer: for *ren* and *yi*. Question: but what is not for *ren*? And what is not for *yi*? Answer: to not mix them (i.e. contaminate them) is all.

Again at *Fayan* 12.9:

淮南說之用，不如太史公之用也。
太史公、聖人將有取焉，淮南、鮮取焉爾。

The usefulness of the discussions of Huainan does not compare to the usefulness of the Lord Grand Scribe. From the Lord Grand Scribe [even] the Sage will have something to take away, but from Huainan little.

Zhuangzi and Sima Qian are the most important targets in the *Fayan*, with Zhuangzi being frequently referred to throughout the text and Sima Qian's judgments being the subject of two full chapters[301]. Finally, not to be forgotten are the poets, writers of *fu*, a category to which Yang himself had belonged. Their importance at the time is seen in the fact that they received their own bibliographical division in the *Yiwenzhi*, and they too receive a relatively extensive discussion in the *Fayan*, in chapter 2. The logic for their dismissal is similar:

或曰：「賦可以諷乎？」
曰：「諷乎！諷則已，不已，吾恐不免於勸也。」

Someone asked: the *fu* poetry, can it admonish? Answer: Admonish! If they could admonish [effectively] then [the behavior being criticized] would stop. If it doesn't stop then I'm afraid it can only encourage [it].

The reason for the failure of *fu* poetry to convince and move, as it is intended to, is also similar, it lies in its having departed from the model of the Sage, in this case embodied by the poems in the *Shijing*:

[301] Yang Xiong's polemic seems to be guided by the relative importance of the various targets in his own cultural context: Laozi and Zhuangzi loomed large in his education in Sichuan, Sima Qian's project engaged many intellectuals at court, including Yang's close colleague, Liu Xin, while the *fu* poetry was the main form of literary expression, one to which Yang owed his career in Chang'an.

詩人之賦麗以則，
辭人之賦麗以淫。

The expositions of the poets [from the Book of Odes] is beautiful by conforming to the model, the expositions of the *fu* poets is beautiful by being intensive (or: excessive).

e) The *Lunyu* as a model

In the particular case of the *Fayan*, the form taken by the text carries special importance and provides crucial information determining how the text should be approached, for two reasons. On the one hand, the claim is made that the ideas presented in the text are entirely compatible with those of the Sage, they are in fact simply a reformulation of these ideas in a new context, for a new audience, facing new challenges. It is thus the form they take which is the real contribution of Yang Xiong. In his defense of the *Taixuan* he makes a similar argument:

或曰：「述而不作，《玄》何以作？」
曰：「其事則述，其書則作。」

Someone asked: [if even Confucius said that he] transmits and does not create [anything new] then how come you created the *Taixuan*. Answer: as far as the matters (or: the content, i.e. the way of Heaven) are concerned, I transmitted; as far as the writing is concerned (i.e. the form) I created [a new one].

On the other hand, the choice of the *Lunyu* as a formal model is even more significant in the Western Han context than it may appear to modern scholars or even to traditional commentators. Thus for instance M. Nylan writes: "Yang's desire to show off his enviable command of rhetorical skills may have dictated the final form of *Exemplary Figures* [...] as much as his intention of emulate the Kongzi [...] of the Analects.[302]" Nylan later places the text in a "rarefied class of texts" together with the *Zhuangzi*, and denies the usefulness of a link to the *Analects*[303].

But the fact remains - and has to be interpreted – that this is not only a conscious choice, but a declared one and as such implies first of all a claim as to

[302] Nylan 2013:xii.
[303] Nylan 2015:202.

the status of the text[304]. Understanding what the *Lunyu* was taken to be in Yang Xiong's time and by Yang himself may take us a long way towards understanding what the *Fayan* aims to accomplish and how it demanded to be approached[305].

The early history of the *Lunyu* is a subject which has caused considerable scholarly interest, debate, and controversy and as a consequence generated of a huge amount of literature. In the following I do not attempt to contribute any new research to the subject or even to critically engage the literature in any systematic way. For the purpose at hand I will attempt to establish a few basic facts about the context in which the *Lunyu* was read in Yang Xiong's times. I rely in the main on two standard publications: the accounts by Makeham, "The Formation of *Lunyu*", and by Csikszentmihalyi, "Confucius and the *Analects* in the Han"[306].

In the western Han and particularly in the century immediately preceding Yang Xiong, the *Lunyu* had seen a dramatic rise in importance. Prior to the mid-second century BC there is no evidence of the *Lunyu* being an important text of reference, in fact there is only flimsy evidence for the existence of the text as such. In the early Han the preeminent classical text is the *Chunqiu*, because of the belief that this was the only text to have been written by Confucius himself, all the others having been merely edited. The image of Confucius is associated with the esoteric theory of the 'Uncrowned King', itself tied to an esoteric reading of the text, particularly through the Gongyang commentary, of which for instance Dong Zhongshu was a specialist. Quotations of the sayings of Confucius found in early texts are only rarely found in the transmitted text of the *Analects*; and the name *Lunyu* itself is never found until the mid-second century. Thus Dong Zhongshu's memorials preserved in the *Hanshu* and dated to about 130 BC are some of the first texts to use quotations from the *Lunyu*, but they are introduced by the expression *Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 "Confucius says", and only once by reference to the *Lunyu* itself.

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[304] The choice of *Lunyu* as a model to emulate has also a decisive impact on the form the text takes. This will be discussed in the following section on the articulation of the text.
[305] The reverse is of course also true: an understanding of the *Fayan* can contribute to a better understanding of the way in which the *Lunyu* was read at the time. Cf. Kieschnick 1992.
[306] Makeham 1996, Csikszentmihalyi 2002.

The crucial event for the fate of the text seems to be the discovery of a *guwen* version in 21 *pian* in the famous wall of Confucius' ancestral home in Lu, sometime in the second century BC. The account of the transmission of the text in the *Yiwenzhi* chapter of the *Hanshu*, which goes back to Liu Xin's *Qilüe* 七略 and Liu Xiang's original *Bielu* 別錄 mentions two other versions, the Qi version in 22 *pian* and the Lu version in 20 *pian*, both in modern writing, *jinwen*. One revisionistic theory[307] proposes that these are in fact copies of the *guwen* version and that as a consequence the text of the *Lunyu* did not exist as such until the discovery of the *guwen* version. However, archaeological evidence shows that at least chapters of the *Lunyu* were transmitted as such[308] and that the more likely situation is that several collections of stories about Confucius circulated side by side. Evidence of such alternative stories is to be seen not only in the excavated corpus, but also in transmitted texts, such as the ritual texts, or in collections such as the *Xinxu* and *Shuoyan* of Liu Xiang. It is thus plausible that the discovery of the *guwen Lunyu* has catapulted one of these collections to prominence, because of the prestige associated with the text in ancient characters discovered in the wall of Confucius' house. Around 100 BC Sima Qian clearly relied on a version of the *Lunyu* in his compilation of Confucius' biography.

A process of reconciling the differences between these versions seems to have been underway as evidenced in the discovery of a composite version in a tomb excavated in Ding county and dated to 55 BC. Around the same time Zhang Yu 張禹 attempted to compile something of a critical version to which he wrote a commentary for use in the instruction of the heir apparent. Earlier, around 70 BC, Marquis Sheng of Xia 夏侯勝 had also used the text for the instruction of the heir apparent, while Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之, who had previously taught Zhang Yu and who held the same position between 59 and 49 BC, was likewise an expert on the *Analects*.

As the text acquired a stable form, it was gradually canonized by receiving not only an *Überlieferungsgeschichte* but also an *Entstehungsgeschichte*, which

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[307] Cf. Makeham, 1996:20.
[308] Cf. Csikszentmihalyi 2002:144.

bolstered its claim to authority. The standard story is found in the *Hanshu Yiwenzhi*, in which the text is included in the *jing* category although it doesn't count as a classic: unlike the classics, which have passed in one way or another through the hands of Confucius, the *Analects* are not his work, although they contain his words.

> 《論語》者，孔子應答弟子時人及弟子相與言而接聞於夫子之語也。當時弟子各有所記。夫子既卒，門人相與輯而論篹，故謂之《論語》。[309]

> The *Lunyu*: it represents the words of Kongzi answering his disciples and other contemporaries as well as [the words] of the disciples talking to one another and quoting what they had heard from the master.
> At the time, each of the disciples had his own notes. As the master died, the students[310] collected [them] and evaluated and selected [them]. Hence they called it *Lunyu,* "Classified sayings."

The traditional rendering, *Analects*, "selected sayings", only partially reflects the original formulation. As it can be seen, the *Hanshu* entry gives in fact what amounts to a definition of the title, with the first sentence explaining the *yu* and the second explaining the *lun*. Grammatically *lun* is a verb with the disciples as subject. This verb is either coordinated with the next word, *zuan*, which is then also a verb: "(they) evaluated and selected"; or it takes *zuan* as a nominalized object: "evaluated (or discussed) the selection (of these words)". In any case, *lun* must be the more important element, as it is the one qualifying *yu* in the title.

Lu Deming's *Jingdian shiwen* introduces Zheng Xuan's gloss on *lun*: 綸也倫也理也次也撰也, very likely an addition/ accumulation of all glosses available to him. The first two words are etymologically related to *lun* 論, the third is a semantic gloss. The second word is mostly known to refer to the five relationships, *wulun* 五倫, but its basic meaning is "class" or "to classify." In his *Etymological*

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[309] Hanshu 30: 1717.
[310] Whether the students, *menren*, are the same as the disciples, *dizi*, is a perplexing question. The earliest explicit statement is that of Zheng Xuan, who believes the selection goes back to the original disciples. This is of course not a question of empirical fact, but one regarding the ideal intellectual ancestry of the text and hence its prestige.

Dictionary[311](*Tongyuan zidian* 同源字典), Wang Li 王力 argues based on his reconstructions that *lun* 倫 (in Wang's reconstruction *liuan) and *lei* 類 (*liuat) are etymologically related. In any case *lun* 倫 is in fact sometimes glossed as *lei* and both are often glossed as *bi* 比, 'to lay or to lie next to one another', 'to align' or 'be aligned'. The first *lun* 綸 is 'to sort out silk threads' (or the threads themselves), hence a semantic specialization. In the legal context, *lun* 論 means 'to judge', but the logic of this procedure involves assigning the crime to its correct category in a detailed classification of crimes for which suitable punishments are established.

Thus, more than a collection, the disciples aimed at a reasoned selection, tried to sort out, put in order, classify the master's words, although the results of these efforts are hardly visible in the end product. Hence, the text combines contributions from two very different sources: the subtle (and thus invaluable and hard to fathom) words of the Master on the one hand, and the editing of the disciples.

It is the first element which has allowed the text, despite its not being a classic, to occupy such an important position in the canon. For the group of intellectuals to which Yang belongs at the end of the Western Han and who had moved outside of the web of officially sanctioned transmission lines, the *Lunyu* has an even more central place. It is a *guwen* text and hence, just like the *Zuozhuan*, not under the exclusive control of a chair or professor in the Academy. It is, however, more important than the *Zuozhuan* in that it is not bound to any of the Master's works in particular, but rather helps characterize them – and his way – as a whole.

The most pregnant early statement on this comes in Ban Gu's appraisal of Yang Xiong in *Hanshu* 87, where his works are briefly reviewed and his approach explained:

> 實好古而樂道，其意欲求文章成名於後世，以為經莫大於《易》，故作《太玄》；傳莫大於《論語》，作《法言》[...]皆斟酌其本，相與放依而馳騁云。

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[311] Cf. Wang Li 1984.

> [Yang] truly loved antiquity [as Confucius also claims about himself in Lunyu 7.1] and took delight in the way [of the sage kings]. His purpose and desire was to aim for literary accomplishment so as to achieve a reputation in later generations. [Thus,] considering that among the classics there was none greater than the *Yi*, he made the *Taixuan*; [and that] among traditions [of interpretation – or: commentaries] none was greater than the *Lunyu*, he made the *Fayan*. [...] In each case he carefully weighed their [the models'] origins (i.e. their original purpose) and by taking this as his model [in his own works he] galloped far[312].

In Yang's time the *Yijing* had already replaced the *Chunqiu* as the lead classic and appeared first in the list of classical texts in Liu Xin's catalog. Not having been blacklisted by the Qin it was assumed to have enjoyed continuous transmission in written form – which made it more attractive to Yang and his group. There can be little doubt that Yang did indeed value it most, judging not just by the fact that he aimed to reproduce it in the *Taixuan*, but also by the prominent place the *Yijing* text itself (and not its *Taixuan* counterparts) occupy in the *Fayan*. The *Hanshu* text only claims that it was Yang who held the *Lunyu* in high esteem, but this too seems to be a widely shared position. It was given a special place in the classics category in the *Yiwenzhi*, by being allocated a subsection of its own, just like the *Xiaojing,* and not subordinated to any of the classics, as is the case with all other 'traditions'. Furthermore, the *Lunyu* resembles somewhat the *Zuozhuan*, which doesn't simply provide a commentary, but more comprehensively explains the background and context of the text. In this case, the *Lunyu*, unlike any other text, presents the Master himself in action, interacting with his interlocutors, and thus provides a glimpse into the doings of a Sage, not just his words.

Yang's text departs from the original ('gallops away') in two important respects. In does not present the words and actions of Confucius, but those of Yang himself. Even if he is not a Sage himself and not on a par with Confucius, then at least, according to his own assessment, he emulates Confucius to the best of his abilities, which, as explained in the previous section, very likely he thought to

[312] For the same image of galloping cf. above, Yang's preface.

surpass those of Yan Hui (as unlike Yan Hui he was blessed with long life and could realize his potential). This however also means that the model of the Sage is shown in action in the new context of the Han imperial court. Secondly, the disciples' editing Yang takes upon himself, thus eliminating the mismatch between Confucius' sagely qualities and the limited intellectual powers of the disciples[313].

From this perspective it seems possible to conclude that text was not intended and also not taken as a personal record of conversations and ideas, but as a very public text; as a statement of Confucian doctrine, entirely compatible with the teachings of Confucius; as an authoritative and even didactic text, meant to teach and reform – not prompted by opportunistic concerns, but by the need to cleanse the intellectual climate of the polluting theories of the various Masters, which deviated from and thus threatened the teaching of Confucius.

f) The historical context (*Sitz im Leben*)

Besides analyzing the symbolic set-up of the text, the nature of the challenge to which it responds, the status of the author and the authority claimed for the response, important consequences for the interpretation follow from the precise way in which this construct is anchored in the historical reality.

It is Yang Xiong himself who attempts to place the text in its historical context, both in the preface and in his autobiography as a whole. At the same time, the correct interpretation of these claims is one of the topics which have most preoccupied traditional commentators. These have turned more specifically to the question of composition and dating and attempted to extract from it information about Yang Xiong's relation to Wang Mang. But the relevance of the question is not limited to the facts: the way in which the symbolic action performed by the text articulates with the historical context determines to a large extent the interpretation – and even conversely: a fundamental hermeneutic decision about the legitimacy or authority given the text and author are reflected in the way the dating evidence is handled and the references to Wang Mang decoded.

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[313] In *Fayan* 11.1 Yang explains that the second generation disciples have rightly disappeared from memory, while the first generation disciples' claim to fame rests mainly on their having witnessed the direct presence of Confucius.

As has already been outlined in the discussion of pre-modern commentaries, the text contains several elements which refer to a particular time, yet they are not univocal. As a result several theories have been put forth.

The elements are as follows:

- in the penultimate paragraph of the *Fayan*, Yang Xiong refers specifically to Wang Mang as Duke of Han;
- in the last paragraph he counts 210 years since the establishment of the Han;
- in chapter 11 he refers to the designations Xi and He in the names of some ministries as proposed by Wang Mang;
- in his autobiography, the *Fayan* is the last work mentioned.

The theories are as follows:

- Li Gui proposed that the *Fayan* is written as subtle criticism of Wang Mang, hence implicitly placing the text after the establishment of his Xin dynasty;
- Wang Rongbao follows Li Gui and discusses some of the difficulties with this theory: he places the text after Wang Mang's usurpation because the Xi and He ministries referred to in the text were only established in AD 14. This he corroborates with the fact that the *Fayan* is the last work in the autobiography and hence must be rather late in Yang's life (who died in AD 18). The most difficult fact to account is of course the mention of Wang Mang as Duke of Han; this he explains as a rhetorical figure, as in the text he is praised as surpassing Yi Yin – which Wang takes to mean advancing from the position of minister to that of ruler. This still leaves the matter of the 210 years unaddressed, as well as the fact that in the last paragraph the accomplishments of the Han are praised.
- Sima Guang takes a different view and proposes that the text was indeed written before the usurpation, when Wang Mang was still Duke of Han (which he became in AD 4). He does not discuss the issue explicitly, but in this case the 210 years would give a date of AD 4,

considering the traditional date of the Han as 206 BC, which would explain why he says the text was completed in the reign of Pingdi (died in AD 4, as well). In this case the text does not criticize Wang Mang's usurpation but expresses the hope that he would remain Duke of Han, i.e. never claim the throne.

To the issue of the Xi and He ministries, they were for the first time established in the reign of Pingdi (Yuanshi 2, second month, i.e. AD 2), and later reestablished by Wang Mang under his own rule in AD 14. Hence the mere reference to the names does not necessarily place the text in the Xin dynasty. However in *Fayan* 8.21 a gift of vermillion bow and black arrows is mentioned: these are two of the nine gifts awarded by sage rulers to their worthy ministers and they were awarded to Wang Mang in AD 5 (Yuanshi 5) – thus invalidating the hypothesis that the text was completed in AD 4.

To the issue of the 210 years it is to be remarked that while the traditional date of the beginning of the Han dynasty is 206 BC, Liu Bang only ascended the imperial throne in 202 BC, which would yield the result AD 9. As L'Haridon observes[314], there is a certain symbolic quality to the number 210, and it is significant that Wang Mang used this number both in AD 7 and in AD 9 when he finally established his own dynasty.

This would indicate as quite plausible the placing of the text in the uncertain period after Pingdi's death, perhaps right in AD 9, but before Wang Mang ascended the throne. In fact some of the measures for which the Han was praised in the last paragraph were measures introduced by Wang Mang in AD 9.

Yang Xiong's autobiography does not give any precise indication, but he does describe how during the reign of Emperor Ai, when Wang Mang was demoted and the competing clans of Ding and Fu and Dong Xian held power, Yang retired and engaged in the composition of the *Taixuan* (not unlike the illustrious example of King Wen, who expanded the *Yijing* while detained by the tyrant Zhou in

[314] L'Haridon 2010:xxxi.

Youli)[315]. With the return of Wang Mang to power in 1 BC, the climate became much more favorable to Yang Xiong's ideas and it is quite fitting that he should contribute at this point a text such as the *Fayan*, modeled on the *Lunyu*, which was used at the time as a text of instruction for the princes[316]. The period between AD 5 and 9 would be particularly suited, since at this time Wang Mang was ruling as acting emperor and claiming to raise the little boy (born in AD 5), which he called Ruzi 孺子 (nickname given to King Cheng of Zhou 周成王 by the Duke of Zhou 周公) to become the next emperor.

Thus it would seem that Sima Guang's interpretation is fundamentally correct, even if the date proposed is likely incorrect. We can perhaps go one step further: the text was not only not meant to undermine Wang Mang's ambitions, but his leadership was seen as an opportunity to promote the way of Confucius by contributing a new work of instruction modeled on the *Lunyu* but thoroughly updated to the needs of the time. It should be remembered that regardless of the later assessment of Wang Mang's career, he belonged to the same group of intellectuals as Yang Xiong and attempted to implement ideas that were widely shared in those circles. In fact Ban Gu, who had to provide such an assessment in his account of Wang Mang in the *Hanshu* was faced with a similar predicament: as he could not explain Wang Mang's failure based on the ideas he promoted, he had to turn to personal characteristics.

That Yang Xiong would contribute the text the very year in which Wang Mang usurped the throne is quite plausible given Yang Xiong's lack of political acumen. It also shows that the text is not opportunistic in its basic intent, as Sima has already argued, and as is also confirmed by the associated rhetoric: it is quite clear that Yang aims high and takes a long view, claiming to remedy problems which had persisted since the time of Mencius. It is also clear that the stake of the text is Confucian doctrine and not current policy, of which we know Yang had no understanding. When such contemporary issues are discussed or referred to in his text, they are mere examples for deeper theoretical principles.

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[315] This is referenced in the *Fayan*, at 5.5.
[316] Cf. above for this aspect of the *Lunyu*.

Both attitudes – this type of opportunism, of seeking an opening, a friendly audience, and the determination to take the long view and formulate a message for the use of future generations – find their model in Confucius as he is presented in the *Fayan* itself.

The first aspect has been already signaled by Li Gui in his commentary to *Fayan* 8.3:

> 或問：「聖人有詘乎？」曰：「有。」
> 曰：「焉詘乎？」
> 曰：「
> 仲尼於 南子，所不欲見也； 陽虎、所不欲敬也。
> 見所不見， 敬所不敬， 不詘如何？」
> 曰：「衛靈公問陳，則何以不詘？」
> 曰：「 詘身，將以信道也。
> 如詘道而信身，雖天下，不為也。」
>
> Someone asked: does the Sage bend (i.e. compromise)?
> Answer: he does.
> Question: in what respect?
> Answer: For Zhong Ni, Nanzi was someone he didn't want to meet and Yang Hu someone he didn't want to pay his respects to. To meet whom you don't want to meet, to pay respects to whom you don't want to pay respects – isn't this to compromise?
> Question: When Duke Ling of Wei asked about arranging troops in battle why didn't he want to compromise?
> Answer: This (the former) was to compromise oneself so as to advance the way; as to compromising the way to advance oneself (i.e. the latter scenario), he wouldn't do this even for the world (i.e. if he had the opportunity to become emperor).

Thus Yang Xiong legitimizes a strategy to seek any potential opening for promoting the way of the Sages. In his commentary Li Gui directly compares Confucius' situation to Yang Xiong's circumstances under Wang Mang's rule, thus implying that he has actually followed this strategy. In *Fayan* 6.13 the *junzi* is enjoined to seize the moment:

> 辰乎，辰！ 曷 來之遲，
> 去之速也， 君子競諸。
>
> The [opportune] moment, oh, the moment! How slowly it arrives, how quickly it departs! The *junzi* engages it (i.e. takes advantage of it)!

It is however not legitimate to adapt the advice to the demands of the moment. Confucius was faced with rulers who were not able to follow his way as they did not possess adequate virtue (as explained in *Fayan* 8.6) and so he had to seek an audience in the *junzi* of future generations:

> 或問：「孔子知其道之不用也，則載而惡乎之？」
> 曰：「之後世君子。」
>
> If Confucius knew that his way would not be employed, where did he aim to take it?
> Answer: [He] took it to the *junzi* of later generations.

Thus both involvement and detachment seem to be at work: opportunism coupled with an uncompromising attitude. A claim is however made, even if only implicitly, that the right kind of flexibility and the right kind of steadfastness are employed: the author is not oblivious to the needs of his time and to what happens at court, but is not likely to compromise his ideas. In the developments of the last years of the Western Han and Wang Mang's political ascension he saw an opportunity to promote his ideas, so in that sense the work must be placed in the context. But at the same time he is unlikely to have modified his ideas to suit the tastes of the court or of Wang Mang. Thus it appears that the claim that the text is meant, as declared, to provide a faithful, uncompromising version of the way of Confucius, aimed at those who are up to the task of internalizing it, is at least plausible.

4.3 The internal articulations of the text

The most important result established in the first part of this chapter is the fact that the *Fayan* must be interpreted as an individual work, as a text. This is not a trivial result, as it implies that the *Fayan* is not loose collection of notes, a diary, a pile of papers found after the author's death, but rather was composed and meant as a text, which is given a title marking its individuality, and accompanied by prefatory material presenting it as a coherent response to an identifiable challenge, following a strategy and making claims about its own relevance and status. It is,

from this point of view, no different from the *Taixuan*, a coherent work, whose unity is marked by its strict numerical structure; or from the *fu*, which are individual pieces, whose individuality is determined by their links to a determinate historical occasion.

This result provides the basis on which to proceed with the second part of the analysis, that of determining how the text "does" what it does, how it accomplishes the task it has been designed to accomplish.

The first step in this process is that of establishing that the *Fayan* is organized on two levels of articulation: on the one hand it is explicitly segmented into 13 chapters identified by title; this division is confirmed by the autobiography, where summaries are attached to each chapter, thus pointing to the possibility that these units are meaningful. But on the other hand it is also segmented implicitly into smaller units, called *zhang* in Chinese[317], which are not formally delimited, but are meaningful, as they emerge as the text is read and interpreted.

More is always said – or in J.L. Austin's terminology[318] 'done' – by a text than is directly expressed in the language. The task of this stage of analysis is to determine how. The lower level units, the paragraphs, are meaningful, so the important questions are of a formal nature; on the other side, the higher level units, the chapters, are formally marked, so the important question is to what extent they are meaningful.

Establishing that the paragraphs are not created by the commentators or editors for reasons of convenience is not a trivial result either. For instance in her 1997 paper Nylan takes the chapters to form large continuous dialogues in one piece, which leads her to compare Yang with Plato[319]. As outlined above (ch. 3) all pre-modern commentators recognize the existence of these smaller units, even if they do not mark them explicitly. Most modern scholars follow Wang Rongbao's division but some disagree (e.g. von Zach, Nylan) – and traditional scholars are not always unanimous (as pointed out above).

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[317] Some sinological works (e.g. Shaughnessy 2006) adopt the translation 'pericope' following Biblical scholarship. I will prefer 'paragraph' for these units.
[318] Austin 1962.
[319] Nylan 1997:149.

Several interesting questions can be asked at the paragraph level, which correspond to the stylistic analysis in Western rhetoric: the alternation of dialogue and pronouncements, the use of various devices of style, rhyme, parallelism. In the following I will only be concerned with two prominent aspects: the use of formulaic language and the use of metaphorical or symbolic language.

At the chapter level the questions are: whether the division into chapters, which undoubtedly goes back to Yang Xiong, is meaningful or simply a matter of convenience (the 13 chapters being of similar length); if so, how the paragraphs are articulated into a meaningful whole in a chapter; and finally if and how the chapters form a meaningful sequence or structure.

a) The use of formulaic language

Through the highly contrived nature of the language employed the author seems to point to a specific reading strategy. The strange vocabulary and unusual formulas serve more than a stylistic purpose – they are formal markers which help guide the reader by establishing links to other texts and contexts, or even to other parts to the text and by emphasizing internal coherence and order. It seems to be a matter of conscious choice that such clues are not redundant but rather minimalistic.

In the following I will briefly review the following formal clues and argue for their possible signification:

- use of strange characters and (rare) binomials to refer to other texts.
- use rhetorical formulas (mostly imported from the *Lunyu*) to help convey the mood of the passage.

In many cases a longer formula or expression is reproduced, so the link to another text and context is clear. Thus, for instance, at *Fayan* 5.18, Yang Xiong is challenged with the famous formula from the *Lunyu*:

> 或曰：「述而不作，《玄》何以作？」
> Someone asked: [if even Confucius] "transmits and does not create",
> [then] why have you created the *Taixuan*?

However, in many more cases, the link is reduced to a binomial or even a single character. As the main task of the commentators is to render more difficult

passages intelligible, the main strategy is that of glossing difficult or unusual characters by means of common ones. It is precisely in such cases that the work of the commentators is proceeding against the intention of the author and reducing the complexity of the text, with the result that information is lost.

An interesting example is provided by *Fayan* 4.9:

> 允治天下，不待禮文與五教，則吾以黃帝、堯、舜為疣贅。
> If I were entrusted with governing the world and I would not rely on the ritual texts and the five teachings, then I would indeed take Huangdi, Yao, and Shun to be tumors and wens.

The formula 疣贅 points the reader to the text of the *Zhuangzi*, where Confucius talks admiringly about those who wander outside the world:

> 彼以生為附贅縣疣，以死為決疣潰癰，
> They look upon life as a swelling tumor, a protruding wen, and upon death as the draining of a sore or the bursting of a boil.[320]

Ultimately, they wander freely and engage in *wuwei*, and cannot be bothered with the rituals of the vulgar world 世俗之禮.

In a different passage in the *Zhuangzi*, the same image is again juxtaposed with Confucian ritual:

> 附贅、縣疣，出乎形哉！而侈於性。
> 多方乎仁義而用之者，列於五藏哉！而非道德之正也。
>
> Swelling tumors and protruding wens - these come from the body but are excretions as far as the inborn nature is concerned. Men overnice in the ways of benevolence and righteousness try to put these into practice, even to line them up with the five vital organs – but this is not the right approach to the Way and its Virtue.[321]

Thus, the wording of the passage sends the reader to a different context in the *Zhuangzi* and indicates that the pronouncement in the *Fayan* is to be read polemically against it.

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[320] Zhuangzi 6: 268; Watson 1968(2013): 50.
[321] Zhuangzi 8: 311; Watson 1968(2013): 60.

Similarly, the term 無憂 in *Fayan* 1.16 if a reference to *Laozi* 20, as pointed out above. The term 總明 used repeatedly in the *Fayan* is likewise a charged term, occurring in both the classics and in *Zhuangzi*.

Sometimes the word might be a basic one, in no need of glossing, but its use within the *Fayan* singles it out for attention. Thus the very common word 氣 occurs only once in the *Fayan*, in 3.1:

> 人之性也，善惡混。　修其善則為善人，
> 　　修其惡則為惡人。
> 氣也者，所以適善惡之馬也與？
>
> As far as human nature is concerned, good and bad are mixed indistinctly (*hun*). Cultivating what is good therein one becomes a good person; cultivating what is bad therein one becomes a bad person. As far as the *qi* goes, it is [simply] the horse on which [we] arrive at [being] good or bad, isn't it?

Here the point that the decisive role is played by the intention of will, which transforms the basic endowment of a person in the direction of good or evil is reinforced by a formulation in the *Mengzi* (2A2), which reveals that the choice of vocabulary is not random:

> 夫志氣之帥也。
> Generally speaking the will is the commander of the *qi*.

Another striking formal feature of the *Fayan* is the adoption and frequent use of a large number of formulaic expressions with a strong archaizing and pedantic flavor. Many of these come from the *Analects*, and Lan Xiulong has investigated this aspect of the phenomenon and in his study of the *Fayan* provides a long list of examples[322]. However, the most important problem for interpretation is not even touched upon. These constructions carry considerable rhetorical force and indicate the attitude of the speaker (usually Yang himself) towards what is said: approval, disapproval, enthusiasm, etc. Given that quite a lot in the *Fayan* is expressed only allusively, correct interpretation depends on the correct reading

[322] Lan 1989, ch.4.

of such structures. Furthermore, as they are used in a very stereotypical way, once correctly identified they can provide reliable guidance.

A few examples can serve to illustrate the point.

[X 哉 X 哉]

The model of this structure is *Lunyu* 6.25:

> 子曰：「觚不觚，觚哉！觚哉！」
> The Master said: if a *gu* ritual vessel is not used as a *gu* ritual vessel, is it then a *gu* anymore? [of course not!]

Fayan 10.3 discusses various astronomical models, including the *gaitian* model[323], which Yang rejects:

> 請問「蓋天」。曰：「蓋哉！蓋哉！應難，未幾也。」
> Someone asked about the *gaitian* model (of heaven being as a lid or cover). [Yang Xiong] responded: Is it (i.e. heaven) really like a lid? [of course not!] In addressing difficulties it (i.e. the model) doesn't quite reach [the truth].

Similarly in *Fayan* 2.10 Yang maintains that Confucius is the only door which leads to the way (a paraphrase on *Lunyu* 6.17: 誰能出不由戶？何莫由斯道也？"Who can go out except through the door? So why does nobody follow this way of ours?").

> 曰：「子戶乎？」曰：「戶哉！戶哉！吾獨有不戶者矣。」
> [The interlocutor] asked: Are you master also a door? [Yang Xiong] replied: Could I be a door? [of course not!] I only have that which cannot serve as a door.

Thus if the *zai* 哉 particle is normally taken to indicate an approving exclamation ('indeed!'), the reduplicated structure seems to involve irony and exaggeration ('yeah, right!') – although it is fair to say that neither *Lunyu* commentators nor *Fayan* commentators are unanimous, or even consistent, on this.

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[323] Cf. Nylan 2013:153, fn13 for a brief discussion.

[X 乎 X 乎]

> 或欲學《蒼頡》、《史篇》。曰：「史乎！史乎！愈於妄闕也。」
> Someone wanted to study the *Cang Jie* and the *Shipian* [which Yang valued greatly]. [Yang Xiong] said: Scribes were these, indeed! So superior to the forgetting and omitting [of our days].

The parallel passage in the *Analects* is *Lunyu* 14.25:

> 蘧伯玉使人於孔子。孔子與之坐，而問焉。曰：「夫子何為？」對曰：「夫子欲寡其過而未能也。」使者出。子曰：「使乎！使乎！」
>
> Qu Boyu sent a messenger to Confucius. Confucius sat down with him and questioned him. He said: What is your master doing? The answer: The master wishes to reduce his errors but hasn't managed yet. The messenger left. Confucius said: What a messenger, what a messenger.

The commentary explains:

> 再言『使乎』者，善之也。言使得其人。
> The reason why it repeats the expression "shi hu" is because he appreciates him. Meaning the messenger understood people.

Incidentally, Li Gui's commentary to the *Fayan* passage is aware of the parallel text and its exegesis, which he follows:

> 再言史乎者，善之也。言胜于不學而妄名，不知而闕廢。
> The reason why it repeats the expression "shi hu" is because he appreciates them. It means: it is better than not studying and omitting the proper names, not knowing and overlooking.

In some cases the structure is clearly borrowed, but the wording itself is entirely replaced. An interesting example is *Lunyu* 6.18:

> 質勝文則野，
> 文勝質則史。
> 文質彬彬，然後君子。
>
> When substance overcomes form, this is being an [uncultivated] peasant.
> When form overcomes substance, this is being a [pedantic] archivist[324].

[324] The words 野 and 史 have a wide range of meanings, but must be read here in contrast to one another. In my understanding the former connotes unrefined, uncivilized

> When from and substance match, one then [can one be considered] a *junzi*.

The structure is used in two different occasions in the *Fayan*, once to define the *junzi* in terms of the balance between actions and words, and once more to define ritual as a matter of equilibrium between function and form (*Fayan* 2.7):

> 事勝辭則伉，
> 辭勝事則賦，
> 事、辭稱則經。
>
> If the actions surpass the words, this is haughty (or: brutish).
> If the words surpass the actions, this is bombastic (lit. *fu*-like)
> If words and actions are in balance, this conforms to the classical model.

And *Fayan* 3.16

> 實無華則野，
> 華無實則賈，
> 華實副則禮。
>
> Substance (lit. fruit) without ornament (lit. flowers) is rude.
> Ornament without substance is dishonest.
> When ornament and substance correspond, this is [accordance with[ritual.

b) Implied meanings

The task Yang Xiong sets up for himself is to faithfully pass on the words of the Sage, but, by virtue of their mirroring the heart, *xin* 心, of the Sage, their meaning is endless.

> 聖人之言，似於水火。或問「水火」。曰：「水、測之而益深，窮之而益遠；火、用之而彌明，宿之而彌壯。」
>
> The words of the Sage resemble water and fire. Someone asked about [how they resemble] water and fire. [Yang Xiong] replied: [They resemble] water, since as one tries to probe them, they [prove to be] still deeper, and as one tries to exhaust them, they [prove to go] still farther away. [And they are like] fire, since as one uses them,

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vitality, while the latter something like academic dryness, pedantry. Cf. also Dawson 1993:22, “churlishness” vs “pedantry”.

> they become still brighter, and as one tries to contain them, they grow still mightier. [*Fayan* 4.7]

The preferred technique Yang adopts for accommodating such rich content is to articulate his message at two distinct levels, one superficial, which can be grasped directly, the other deeper, from which meaning has to be recovered or extracted (qu 取). The notions of metaphor, allegory, or simile convey something of the nature of the phenomenon, but are too restricted to characterize it accurately. The constructions have the structure of a proxy, where in a very general way something does duty for something else. While sometimes both terms are present, very often in the *Fayan* only one is explicit, while the other is implied.

Hence, the task facing the reader is that of probing beyond the surface through the layers of meaning in an effort to cover the sometimes considerable distance between what is being said and what is being meant.

This reading strategy is explicitly endorsed by the text itself in cases where Yang participates in and guides the exegesis of his own pithy pronouncements, such as in the fragment above, or even more explicitly in 6.21:

> 朱鳥翾翾，歸其肆矣。或曰：「奚取於朱鳥哉？」曰：「時來則來，時往則往。能來能往者，朱鳥之謂與？」
>
> The wild goose flies *huanhuan*, returning to its nest [beyond the sea]. Someone asked: What should we extract from [the example of] the wild goose? [Yang Xiong] replied: When it is time to come, it comes; when it is time to go, it goes. The ability to come and go [according to the proper time] – this is what the wild goose teaches us, is it not?

The archetype of this situation is to be found in some of the exchanges Confucius has with his disciples, e.g. in *Lunyu* 1.15:

> 子貢曰：「　貧而無諂，富而無驕，何如？」
> 子曰：「可也。未若貧而樂，富而好禮者也。」
> 子貢曰：「《詩》云：『如切如磋，如琢如磨。』其斯之謂與？」
> 子曰：「賜也，始可與言《詩》已矣！告諸往而知來者。」
>
> Zigong said: ' "Poor but avoiding obsequiousness, rich but avoiding arrogance"—what about that?' The Master said: 'That will do, but it is not at all as good as "Poor but delighting in the Way, rich but loving ritual".' Zigong said: 'The Songs say: "As cut, as filed, as chiseled, as polished." Presumably this applies to what you have

just said?' The Master said: 'As far as Si is concerned, now it is definitely possible to talk about the *Odes* with him: if I report what has already occurred, he knows what is to come.'[325]

Another example occurs at *Lunyu* 3.8:

子夏問曰：「『巧笑倩兮，美目盼兮，素以為絢兮。』何為也？」
子曰：「繪事后素。」
曰：「禮后乎？」
子曰：「起予者商也！始可與言《詩》已矣。」

Zixia asked: [the lines] "smooth smile – and beautiful; lovely eyes – and longing; pure silk – made into an embroidered piece": what do they convey?
The Master said: that the embroidery follows after the pure silk.
[Zixia said:] ritual comes after? (i.e. to ennoble what is originally good)
The Master said: Shang (i.e. Zixia) is the one who takes my point. Now it is possible to discuss the *Odes* with him.

Yang also sometimes tries his disciples by leaving them to guess what is to come, as in 9.17:

鼓舞萬物者，雷風乎！	鼓舞萬民者，號令乎！
雷不一，	--
風不再。	--

What brings the ten thousand things into motion is thunder and wind; what brings the people into motion is commands and ordinances. [Now,] thunder is not heard only once, but wind does not blow twice.

In other cases a metaphorical answer is provided to a perfectly straightforward question:

或曰：「為政先殺後教。」曰：「於乎！天先秋而後春乎？將先春而後秋乎？」
Someone asked: In governing [the people] does one first execute and then teach? [Yang Xiong] answered: Alas! Does heaven first send Fall and only then Spring? Or is it first Spring and then Fall?[326]

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[325] Dawson 1993:5.
[326] It was of course common knowledge that, following the great rhythms of nature, the proper time for executions was in autumn.

Occasionally Yang's deeper point does not come across (*wei da* 未達, an expression also lifted from the *Lunyu*) and exasperated by such obtuseness he chides his interlocutors for not getting it (cf. below). More often than not, however, Yang chooses the safe option of providing himself the key, as in 8.10[327]:

> 赫赫乎日之光，群目之用也；渾渾乎聖人之道，群心之用也。
> Brilliant is the light of the sun, for all eyes to use; rich is the way of the Sage, for all minds to use.

The commentators, of course, are quick pick up on this preferred reading strategy and apply it where needed. In the example 9.17 above, Yang Xiong's unmistakable indication that a parallel must be drawn between commands and ordinances on one hand and wind and thunder on the other is taken up by Li Gui, who proceeds to explicitly articulate the conclusion:

鼓舞万物者，雷風乎！鼓舞万民者，號令乎！ **What brings the ten thousand things into motion is thunder and wind; what brings the people into motion is commands and ordinances.**	天以雷風鼓舞万物，君以號令制御万民。 Commentary: Heaven uses thunder and wind to bring the ten thousand things into motion, while the ruler uses commands and ordinances to govern and lead the people.
雷不一， **[Now,] thunder is not heard only once,**	三令五申 Commentary: orders and injunctions are numerous.
風不再。 **but wind does not blow twice.**	制無二也。 Commentary: But the system must be one.

Sometimes the commentators do not agree on exactly what the missing term is, but even then the disagreement is a clear sign that they agree on the issue that a missing term must be supplied. To the passage above Sima Guang writes:

[327] A long but perhaps not exhaustive list of such cases is provided by Lan Xiulong in his study of the *Fayan*. Cf. Lan 1989.

一再，言其少。洊雷隨風，乃能動物。三令五申，乃能齊衆。

One and two means they are few. Repeated thunders follow the wind and the things are put in motion. Orders and injunctions follow each other and the multitudes are aligned.

In 7.18, the commentary similarly takes the last step, only implied in the text:

乘國者，其如乘航乎？航安，則人斯安矣。 **Steering the country, is it not like steering a boat? When the boat is secure the passengers will be secure.**	Commentary: 航傾則人危，法亂則國亡。 Should the boat capsize, the passengers will be in danger; should the model [provided by the ruler] be chaotic, the country will be lost.

In a case such as 7.16, below, the commentator can draw on this explicit comparison to provide the missing term:

灝灝之海濟，樓航之力也。 **Crossing the infinite sea, this is [as the Great Appendix to the *Yijing* points out] the feat of the boat.** **航人無楫，如航何？** **If the boatman has no paddle, how can he navigate?**	Commentary: 言度大海在舟船，興大治在禮樂。[the text] says that crossing the great sea lies in the [capacity of] the boat, [just as] bringing about great order lies in [employing the correct] rituals and music. Commentary: 雖有舟航，而無楫棹，不能濟難；雖有民人，而無禮樂，不能熙化。Should one have a boat but no paddle, one will not be able to cross the difficult [sea]; although one may have the people, if one lacks rites and music, one cannot bring about the [civilizing] transformation.

Similarly, in 9.15, the commentary uses the correlation between the dragon and the enlightened ruler explicitly established elsewhere in the text in order to resolve the fragment in question:

象龍之致雨也，難矣哉！ **As for the semblance of a dragon bringing about rain, this is difficult indeed!** **曰：“龍乎！龍乎！”** **Is this a dragon, is it [really] a dragon? [of course not!]**	Commentary: 言畫繒刻木以為龍而求致雨，則不可得也。[The text] says that painting silk and sculpting wood to make it [look like] a dragon and then seek to bring about rain [by using it] – this will not work. Commentary: 歎非真龍。真龍而后能致云雨，明君而后道化行也。It sighs that it is not a real dragon. There must be a real dragon, only then can it bring about clouds and rain; there must be an enlightened ruler, only then can the [civilizing] transformation of the way be carried out.

c) Chapters as units

The easiest and so far one of the most influential assumptions shaping the study of the *Fayan* has been articulated by Knechtges in his overview of the text in Loewe's *Early Chinese Texts*. There he proposes that "the *Fa yen* was not composed all at one time, but represents Yang Hsiung's random jottings over a period of a decade or more.[328]" The theory very likely goes back to M. Barnett's study (in his unpublished 1983 dissertation on Yang Xiong's philosophy), where he conjectures that Yang might have "kept a file of witty sayings and significant bits of wisdom he had coined or collected over a span of some years and drew from them to write the Fa yan."[329].

It is certainly Knechtges' merit that he gave such a clear formulation to what seems to be a widely shared view and one with major consequences for the interpretation of the text. As this appears in a brief introductory overview in Michael Loewe's *Early Chinese Texts*, these assumptions are naturally not given any critical discussion. Yet the very clear formulation of the thesis serves to highlight some of its problems immediately.

One issue is that the idea of a collection of jottings does not fit the author's own claims about the nature and importance of the text, as they are made in the

[328] Knechtges 1993.
[329] Barnett 1983:132.

preface. The text is presented as a very serious statement of doctrine and one that is meant to save Confucianism from the attacks it was subjected to since Mencius.

Secondly, the notion of presenting any kind of text in a random sequence conflicts with assumptions about the proper order of discourse in the Han dynasty. It should be pointed out that this is a modern idea: pre-modern commentaries, as shown above, all take the form of the text to be meaningful. It is entirely possible that Yang Xiong might have attempted a major innovation in this respect, something resembling for instance the stream of consciousness practice in modern literature, but such major departures do not occur quietly, neither on the part of the author nor on the part of the audience[330].

Thirdly, this is a very weak hypothesis, in the sense that it makes the least demands of the text and it would fit any form of evidence. It is better thought of as a fall back solution, for the case in which no other more ambitious hypothesis can be proven.

At the other end of the spectrum, the most demanding hypothesis is that the text presents a clearly defined structure, with each chapter devoted to a theme or topic which is outlined in the summary and treated systematically in the text itself. As Li Gui already pointed out, this hypothesis is not tenable. Not only that no logical sequence can be discerned for the paragraphs in one chapter, but it is impossible to bring all paragraphs in one chapter in direct relation to the title and the summary and it is impossible as well to show that all paragraphs taking up a certain topic are confined to one chapter only. For instance, in Li Gui's example, the notion of *junzi*, which is highlighted in the title of the 12th chapter and is indeed a major topic in the text, is not discussed only in chapter 12, but throughout.

This is in fact not surprising, as a weaker hypothesis seems to better fit the way in which the text is framed by Yang himself: In the *Fayan* he aimed to provide a restatement of Confucian doctrine for the use of his time and chose for his exposition – and it must be considered a deliberate choice – a specific and peculiar form. The most obvious choice would have been a reasoned discussion,

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[330] From the earliest statements on the *Fayan*, already in the Han, no one complained about the form of the text being difficult or strange, no matter what the opinion on the quality of the content.

lun, and there is no doubt that he could have relied on the illustrious models of the preceding centuries, just as he had done in the case of his *fu*. In taking the *Lunyu* as a model he opted for a fragmentary form, of seemingly disparate occasional conversations and pronouncements on a dazzling array of unconnected topics.

The text of the *Fayan* itself provides some clues as to why this form was deemed most appropriate for the task. In discussing the classics, Yang Xiong is asked (*Fayan* 5.10):

> 聖人之經不可使易知與？
> The classical books of the Sage (Confucius) – can they not be made easier to understand?

His answer:

> 不可。天俄而可度，則其覆物也淺矣。
> 地俄而可測，則其載物也薄矣。
> 大哉！天地之為萬物郭，
> 五經之為眾說郛。
>
> They can't. If heaven could be measured instantly then its ability to cover the [ten thousand] things would be diminished. If the earth could be probed instantly then its ability to support the [ten thousand] things would be thinned down.
> Great indeed, how heaven and earth encompass the ten thousand things, how the five classics contain all theories.

Thus, the difficulty of the classics is not only a result of the decay of scholarship, as explained elsewhere (*Fayan* 7.8), but also a consequence of their function, that of articulating the all-encompassing model established by the Sages. Yang Xiong's text cannot live up to the task of articulating the same model if adopting a straightforward exposition.

The model established by the Sages is of course coherent and pure (*bu za* 不雜), but this coherence and unity must be discovered behind the multifarious surface of the text(s).

> 多聞則守之以約，　多見則守之以卓。
> 寡聞則無約也，　寡見則無卓也。
>
> Hearing many [things] one retains them by means of what holds them together.

> Seeing many [things] one retains them by means of what is beyond them (or: outstanding among them).
> If one hears only a few things, one lacks that which holds them together.
> If one sees only a few things, one lacks that which is beyond them.

It is plausible that Yang Xiong would apply the same principles to his own restatement of Confucian doctrine, so below I will try to formulate and test a corresponding hypothesis about the articulation of the text into chapters as meaningful units, which is stronger than Knechtges' hypothesis but weaker than the untenable idea of a strongly structured text.

Following the practice of the *Lunyu*, the titles of the individual chapters in the *Fayan* are drawn from the first meaningful characters of the text. I will start by examining the possibility that this is a deliberate and meaningful choice. Such a modification of the practice in the *Analects* is not unprecedented, as it was already adopted by Lu Jia for his essays in the *Xinyu* 新語[331]. This would imply that Yang Xiong, like Lu Jia before him, uses the choice of titles for the chapters in which he segments the text in order to highlight a number of concepts or ideas around which the whole will coalesce.

Such a model of textual order is also not unprecedented in the cultural context, with Wang Bi arguing that the 81 *zhang* of the *Laozi* exhibit such a central symmetry, all revolving around or pointing towards a common topic, the relationship between the one and the many[332]. In this case, the structure of chapters would define a net of such points around which the individual *zhang* would coalesce.

In order to identify and characterize these ideas, I will consider the titles together with the summaries of the respective chapters: on the one hand, the summaries seem to be meant to circumscribe topics of discussion, yet due to their difficult language they can in most cases only be understood when read against the text itself; on the other hand, the phrase which constitutes the title has to be

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[331] Cf. Loewe's overview in Loewe 1993: 171-177.
[332] Cf. Wagner 2003: 98 for a translation of the relevant passage in Wang Bi's essay on the *Laozi*.

read in the context of the sentence and paragraph in which it occurs, and which are themselves embedded in the text of the chapter.

Below I will consider some of the chapters for which a relatively strong case can be made for the correlation between title, summary and text:

First chapter.

The first chapter is entitled *xue xing*; these are the first two characters in the text of the chapter and their occurrence there indicates the way they should be construed:

學　　行之，上也；
　　言之，次也；
　　教人，又其次也；
咸無焉，為眾人。

> As far as learning [from Confucius] is concerned: putting it into practice is best; discussing it (or: articulating it) comes after; instructing others [on its basis] comes after that; those who do not partake in any of the above (i.e. have nothing to do with Confucian learning) are *zhongren*.

- in the first line the grammatical structure is 行學, verb + object; this can be read as putting the learning into practice, i.e. carrying out what one has learned, but also practicing learning, i.e. engaging in learning;
- as it becomes clear from the discussion in the text of the chapter, learning is not pure, academic scholarship, but a transformational activity of self-cultivation, hence the two options are not that far apart;
- the discussion in the text of the chapter contrasts various false reasons for studying (prolonging one's life, obtaining wealth and honor, etc.) with the correct reason, i.e. being transformed by learning; hence the second reading "(the proper way to) engage in learning" is also supported;
- in any case, the combination *xue xing* has to be understood as a topicalization of the regular verbal phrase through fronting of the object, thus not two elements "learning and practicing" but one, "putting the learning in practice" or "the practice of learning", "engaging in learning";

- the learning involves learning from a master and the only suitable master is Confucius himself, as is detailed further on in the first chapter and later on in the second chapter;
- the four-way division of human beings with relation to learning is somewhat puzzling, as Yang Xiong proposes in the text a hierarchy with only three steps: *zhongren – xianren – shengren*;
- the lowest category, "ordinary people", refers to those untouched by the civilizing influence of Confucian learning, but may also concomitantly refer to human beings in their raw, uncivilized state, as below; perhaps a rhetorical effect is sought by the conflation of the two possible meanings (implying that being exposed to the wrong ideas is no better than entirely lacking education).The last point is further elaborated in the chapter summary:

天降生民，　　倥侗顓蒙，
　　恣乎情性，
聰明不開，訓諸理。　　譔《學行》。

[As] heaven brings about living people, [they] are ignorant and uneducated, follow their natural instincts, [their] mental faculties not [yet] developed. They [must be] instructed by means of the principles [established by Confucius]. [On this subject I have] compiled [the chapter titled] "*Xue xing*"

- the model for the first line is a line from the *Shangshu* quoted in the *Mengzi* (but no longer extant in the transmitted *Shangshu*): As heaven brings about the lowly people it sets up for them ruler and it sets up for them teachers[333].
- I follow Wagner in taking this to be a general statement about the human condition and not a historical narrative[334]; this reading is supported by the text of the *Fayan*: human beings in their raw state

[333] Cf. Wagner 2014: 322.
[334] Cf. Wagner 2014: 322.

are considered by Yang Xiong undistinguishable from animals and this original state is negatively valued;

- the terms 侗 and 蒙 are used in the text of the *Fayan* in order to characterize this state and are clearly negative in connotation, as Yang Xiong makes clear by contrasting his views with Daoist notions of returning to or preserving this original state.
- following feelings and desires (從情欲) is in the text the mark of the *zhongren* and what puts them in the same category as beasts (禽).
- 聰 and 明 are literally aural and visual acuity, but are used here in the more abstract sense of mental faculties, as evidenced from their use in the text, e.g. in *Fayan* 6.2: 不聰，實無耳也；不明，實無目也。 Perhaps to be translated as "to not be perceptive is to truly have no ears; to not be enlightened/intelligent is to truly have no eyes." Li Gui in his commentary ties the former faculty to the ability to perceive the tiniest details of existence and the latter to the ability to perceive the great principles of the universe (the way of the Sage).
- the two occur together in the *Yijing* (巽而耳目聰明) and as a binomial in various early texts (including *Xunzi* and *Zhuangzi*); in the *Shangshu* they are attributes of heaven itself (天聰明), an idea echoed in Fayan 6.2: 惟天為聰，惟天為明.
- the instruction necessary in order to develop these faculties and civilize human beings is exposure to the teaching of Confucius, particularly as they preserve the civilization (rituals) of the ancient kings, which were designed specifically for this purpose;
- the summaries to the individual chapters seem to circumscribe a subject, a topic, on which the author (mostly in the text of the respective chapter, but usually all through the *Fayan*) articulates a position; hence I have translated "on this subject I have compiled".

Contrary to what might be expected from the outline above, Yang Xiong's main interest in this context is not how Confucian ideas can be put into practice, either in the personal or in the social realm, but rather the proper function of

education as well as the correct motivation and purpose for engaging in study of the classics.

Several false ideas are rejected:

- that one should engage in learning for honors or in order to advance one's career:

> 吾未見好斧藻其德若斧藻其棌者也。
> I have not yet seen someone as fond of polishing (i.e. building up) his *de*, as of polishing the columns [of his residence]

- that one should engage in learning for profit:

> 大人之學也，為道；小人之學也，為利。
> As far as the learning of the great man is concerned, it is for the way; the learning of the common man, it is for profit.

- that one should engage in learning to achieve long life:

> 或曰：「人羨久生，將以學也；可謂好學已乎？」
> 曰：「未之好也，學不羨。」
> Someone asked: if one engaged in learning because of the desire for long life, could he be said to be fond of learning?
> Answer: he never was fond of it, in learning there is no desire [for some ulterior purpose].

- that learning does not bring anything since the original endowment is all:

> 夫有刀者礪諸，有玉者錯諸，不礪不錯，焉攸用？
> As a general rule: who has a knife, whets it, who has a jade, polishes it. Without whetting, without polishing, what use are they?

Thus, the main thrust of the argument is to affirm Yang Xiong's specific understanding of the true function of education and the proper way to engage in it:

- learning is a transformative experience though which one perfect's one's original nature:

> 學者、所以修性也。
> 視、聽、言、貌、思，性所有也。　學則正，否則邪。
> Learning is the means whereby one cultivates one's original nature. Seeing, hearing, speaking, appearance and thought

are given in the original nature. Through learning these become correct, without they [remain] incorrect.

- several images are presented to emphasize this point: the transformation of the disciples under the influence of Confucius is compared to the metamorphosis of insects; the formation of Yan Hui under the influence of Confucius is compared with the casting of metal vessels.
- learning is the way to become a *junzi*, which in Yang's system is a stage towards becoming a Sage.

學者、所以求為君子也。
Learning is the means whereby one seeks to become a *junzi*.

Third chapter.

Chapter 3 is entitled 修身 *xiu shen* "self-cultivation" or "self-refinement" and the phrase comes from the following passage:

修身以為弓，
矯思以為矢，
立義以為的， 奠而後發，發必中矣。

Cultivating oneself serves the role of the bow;
Straightening one's thought serves the role of the arrow;
Setting up *yi* serves the role of the target:
If one accomplishes this and then shoots, the shot will hit the mark.

An equivalent is presented further in the text as 治己 *zhi ji*, "mastering oneself".

However the background as well as the main thrust of the argument are only visible in the next passage:

人之性也，善惡混。 修其善則為善人，
修其惡則為惡人。
氣也者，所以適善惡之馬也與？

As far as human nature is concerned, good and bad are mixed indistinctly. Cultivating what is good therein one becomes a good person; cultivating what is bad therein one becomes a bad person. As far as the *qi* goes, it is [simply] the horse on which [we] arrive at [being] good or bad, isn't it?

Although the passage is linguistically not particularly demanding, its precise emphasis has been misinterpreted, with the result that the direction of the

argument has not been clearly recognized. It will be instructive to compare the various solutions proposed by commentaries and translations so as to highlight the difficulties which this type of analysis faces.

Li Gui's commentary correctly identifies the comparison:

> 御气為人，若御馬涉道
> Driving the *qi* to become a human being is like driving a horse to advance on a road.

In Erwin von Zach's interpretation the active role is assigned to the horse, or to the *qi* respectively, making for an awkward continuation of the previous statement on human nature:

> Es ist die Energie, die uns wie ein Pferd in die gute oder in die schlechte Richtung führt.[335]

L'Haridon's translation is clearly more to the point, yet the precise nature of the claim is still missing:

> L'energie vitale, n'est-elle pas le cheval sur lequel l'homme galope aussi bien vers le bon ou le mal?[336]

Nylan's translation follows closely: "Is not the *qi* the steed by which one hastens to the good or ill?[337]", but a note to the passage appears to roll back the progress in understanding, as agency is again given to *qi*:

> *Qi* seems to function as the material carrier for development; it directs our energies to a task and thereby hastens the effect of our habitual activities upon our inclinations.

Yet a decisive passage from the *Mengzi* (supplied in Wang Rongbao's commentary) is also quoted, which throws light on the actual point:

> 夫志，氣之帥也。 Generally speaking the will is the commander of the *qi*.

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[335] Von Zach 1939: 11.
[336] L'Haridon 2010:21.
[337] Nylan 2013: 39.

As is well known and highlighted in every introduction into the subject, the idea that human nature contains both good and bad is Yang Xiong's innovation against the background of preceding Confucian thought, with Mengzi arguing for inherent goodness, which needs to be cultivated through education, and Xunzi for inherent evil, which needs to be eliminated through education. This is however not the thrust of Yang Xiong's argument: neither in this chapter nor anywhere else in the text are these competing views combated. Instead, the argument seems to be that in the process of development of the person through self-cultivation, which can take one towards the good or the bad, the *qi* is the passive element, the active role belongs to the will, the determination of the individual in question.

Indeed the text quotes further down a line attributed to Mengzi (but not extant in the transmitted version):

> 有意哉！孟子曰：「夫　　有意而不至者有矣，
> 未有無意而至者也。」

> Be determined! Mengzi says: as a matter of principle, to be determined and not get there happens; but to get there without determination has never been the case.

Von Zach follows again Wang Rongbao's commentary and his translation again misses the point. It takes the initial imperative to express Yang's approbation of the following saying and it supplies the object of the intention as being the teaching of Confucius:

> Wie herrlich sind doch die Worte des Mengtzu (die sich übrigens bei Mengtzu nicht vorfinden): Es kommt vor, dass Leute den Wunsch (nach der Lehre des Konfuzius) hegen, aber erfolglos; dagegen kommt es nicht vor, dass Leute ohne diesen Wunsch in den Besitz der Lehre des Konfuzius gelangen.[338]

Nylan's translation departs from all existing versions in not translating the imperative and rendering the object of the intention much vaguer than it is the case. The text does not specify what it is that one might intend, but it leaves open

[338] Von Zach 1939: 12.

the possibility that it may be something specific, which is understood from the context. The translation bars this possibility by explicitly providing a dummy object:

> Of the phrase "to have an intention," Mengzi says: surely there have been cases where a person has a certain intention but it goes unfulfilled, but there has never once been a case where a person has no intention to do something yet he succeeds at it.[339]

L'Haridon follows Han Jing but unjustifiably weakens the imperative[340]:

> La détermination! Mengzi a bien dit: il en est qui eurent la détermination sans y arriver, mais il n'est personne qui y soit arrivé sans avoir la détermination.[341]

The topic of the will or of determination recurs several times in the text:

> 或問「銘」。
> 曰：「銘哉！銘哉！有意於慎也。」
> Someone asked about admonitory inscriptions (which articulate a warning or injunction).
> Answer: the admonition (i.e. the motto one follows in one's conduct) should be: have determination in being cautious.

Further down in the text, the *junzi* is said to pay attention (*shen*) to his words, deeds, and writings (either those he produces himself, or, more likely, those he studies). In so doing he maintains his purity (*chun* 純). In the same chapter the image of the pure sacrificial animal (i.e. whose skin is monochrome to symbolize purity to the gods) is introduced.

A historical example illustrates the same point (*Fayan* 3.11):

> 公儀子、董仲舒之才之邵也，使　　見善不明，
> 用心不剛，儔克爾？
>
> The brilliant qualities of Gongyi Zi and Dong Zhongshu: if when faced with the good the one would have ignored it, and in applying his mind the other would have been weak, which of them could have approached these (= the brilliant qualities)?

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[339] Nylan 2013: 43.
[340] Han Jing's translation has "立志呀！"; Han 1999: 16.
[341] L'Haridon 2010:24.

In the case of chapter 3 the summary is so difficult to read on its own that it is not further useful in circumscribing the topic. Below I attempt to read it from the perspective of what has been established so far:

> 事有本真
> 陳施於意
> 動不克咸
> 本諸身。　　譔《修身》。
>
> Things have their original substance.
> It unfolds through determination.
> If in acting [to develop the original nature] completion cannot be achieved
> the causes [of this failure] can be traced back to oneself.
> [On this subject I have] compiled [the chapter entitled] "Self-development".

- in the first line I follow Knechtges in reading *shi* as things, although, of course, *wu* would have been more satisfying; reading *ben zhen* as "original substance", as Han Jing does, is meant to echo the discussion on the inborn nature;
- the language is so vague that the first line could plausibly be read very differently: "Toute activité doit prendre racine dans l'authenticité".[342]
- in the second line I read yi 意 and not 億, as some editions, on account of the text of the chapter itself, in which 意 plays a prominent role;
- in this I follow Sima Guang, whose reading is nevertheless very different: 人欲陳施其意 "if someone wants to unfold their intention (to civilize the world)";
- I also follow Sima Guang in including 咸 *xian* on the third line;
- this I read as "to complete", based both on the discussion in the text as well as on a parallel passage in the *Shijing*: 克咸厥功; in the *Fayan* itself the character occurs once at 10.7：迄始皇，三載而咸。"When it

[342] L'Haridon 2010: 149.

came to the First Emperor, in three years he ended them (the six states)". Sima's reading is again very different: "(if in one's intention to civilize the world) one acts but cannot reach others."

If this reading is correct, then Yang Xiong engages in the same strategy of drawing the reader in a wrong direction and then correcting course: if the cause of failure is to be found in oneself, then not in the original endowment of the individual, but in his determination or lack of determination on bettering himself by following the teaching of the Sage.

Sixth chapter. The summary reads:

明哲煌煌，
旁燭無疆，
遜于不虞，以保天命。　　譔《問明》。

Enlightened understanding, brilliant [it is!]
[it] shines in all directions without limit
[one with such qualities] Escapes the unforeseen [troubles]
So as to preserve Heaven's command (destiny)
[On this subject I have] compiled [the chapter entitled] "About intelligence".

- the grammar exhibits similarities with the summary of chapter 5, with a couplet of rhyming phrases followed by a non-rhyming explanation.
- 明哲 is translated by Knechtges as "the man of intelligence and wisdom" following a suggestion of Song Xian (明哲之人) because the last two lines require a personal subject; but this does not work very well with the first lines;
- in the first line 煌煌 is a binomial occurring in the *Shijing* as "brilliant, bright";
- Yan Shigu provides glosses for the first two lines in Yang's biography: 煌煌，盛貌也。燭，照也。無疆猶無极也。*Huanghuang* [describes] the appearance of [a flame] flourishing. *Zhu* [torch] is to shine. *Wu jiang* [without border] is like "without limit".
- *Xun* 遜 is etymologically the same word as *dun* 遁, the title of hexagram 33, "retreat";

- 不虞 are unforeseen events, “unexpected developments,” but the term always has a negative connotation – perhaps “untoward”.

In the first line the notion of *ming* is defined:

[1] 或問「明」。曰：「微。」或曰：「微，何如其明也？」曰：「微而見之，明其諰乎？」
Someone asked about *ming*. [Yang Xiong] replied: the subtle. Someone asked: The subtle? How is the subtle bright (*ming*)? [Yang Xiong] replied: If one can distinguish what is subtle, does that not mean his brightness (*ming*, capacity to distinguish, to make out) is resplendent?

Thus *ming* is the capacity to make out the subtle, which is equated in the third paragraph with the ability to know the principles of the universe (*da zhi* 大知), as opposed to the capacity to distinguish every minute thing, every detail.

[3] 或問：「小每知之，可謂師乎？」曰：「是何師與！是何師與！天下小事為不少矣。每知之，是謂師乎？師之貴也，知大知也。小知之師，亦賤矣。」
Someone asked: the small details – if one knows all of them, can one be a master? [Yang Xiong] replied: how could this mean to be a master? How could this mean to be a master? The details of the universe are not few. To know every one of them – could this make one a master? What one values in a master is that he knows the great knowledge. The master of small knowledge is of course low quality.

或問「活身」。
Someone inquired about [Zhuangzi’s central concept of] *huoshen*, preserving oneself.

曰：「明哲。」
[Yang Xiong] replied: by bright knowledge.

或曰：「童蒙則活，何乃明哲乎？」
Someone asked: But even the young ignorant preserves his life. What need is there for bright knowledge?

曰：「君子所貴，亦越用明保慎其身也。如庸行翳路，衝衝而活，君子不貴也。」
[Yang Xiong] replied: What the *junzi* values is, of course, using *ming* in being cautious and protective about oneself. [As for a situation] like moving on a dark road, living without purpose, the *junzi* does not value this.

The young ignorant, *tongmeng*, is taken from the fourth hexagram, *meng* 蒙. He is devoid of any knowledge and lost without instruction, but at the same time ready to receive instruction. Should he be unable to receive instruction at the right time he will turn resentful, *lin* 吝 (which Wang Bi glosses as *bi* 鄙, to become debased). The young ignorant deprived of instruction and lost in the dark is contrasted with the *junzi*, who possesses knowledge and uses it to on the one hand preserve his integrity, while on the other to advance the way.

[16] 或問「君子」。「在治，曰若鳳，在亂，曰若鳳。」或人不諭。曰：「未之思矣。曰：治則見，亂則隱。鴻飛冥冥，弋人何慕焉？鷦明遶集，食其 絜者矣；鳳鳥蹌蹌，匪堯之庭。」

> Someone asked about the *junzi*. [Yang Xiong answered:] In times of [good] order I would say he should be like the phoenix. In times of disorder I would say he should be like the phoenix. The person did not get it. He said: You did not think about it. What I meant is[343]: in times of order the phoenix comes out in the open, in times of disorder it hides. The *hong* bird flies unknown, how could the archer hit it? The *jiaoming* birds carefully chooses on which branches to rest, so as to eat only the purest [of fruits]. [Just like in the case of these two, the place where] the phoenix treads, that can only be the court of Yao.

All three examples illustrate the basic idea expounded by chapter 6, the quality of *ming* as the capacity to retreat and advance at the proper time so as to preserve one's integrity.

The chapter furnishes further metaphorical images: the dragon, the phoenix, the wild goose; as well as several historical examples:

[8] 或問：「人何尚？」曰：「尚智。」曰：「多以智殺身者，何其尚？」
曰：「昔乎，皋陶以其智為帝謨，殺身者遠矣；箕子以其智為武王陳《洪範》，殺身者遠矣。」

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[343] The second 曰 is unusual. I translate it as part of Yang Xiong's answer, but this kind of explanation reminiscent of an (auto)commentary is problematic. There are unfortunately no textual grounds to eliminate it as an interpolation. Han Jing simply translates it as "and then I said:", but this is also unusual.

> Someone asked: What does one treasure in people? [Yang Xiong] replied: One treasures knowledge. [The person] asked: [But] many got themselves killed because of their knowledge. How were they valued? [Yang Xiong] replied: In the old days, Gao Yao with his knowledge made the "Plan" for the emperor [Shun] – far from getting himself killed; and Jizi with his knowledge outlined the *Hong Fan* for King Wu – far from getting killed.

Jizi is the model for hexagram 36, *mingyi*, "the receding of the bright" – he is in fact the *ming* who recedes. According to the traditional account, the viscount of Ji was an uncle to tyrant Zhou, the last Shang ruler. After realizing that his efforts were in vain he feigned madness and retired, awaiting better times. Gao Yao is Shun's minister of justice, who brought universal submission to the law and was able to suspend punishments.

Finally, the notion of destiny, *ming*, is also taken up in the text of the chapter:

[11] 或問「命」。曰：「命者、天之命也，非人為也，人為不為命。」請問「人為」。曰：「可以存亡，可以死生，非命也。命不可避也。」或曰：「顏氏之子，冉氏之孫。」曰：「以其無避也，若立巖牆之下，動而徵病，行而招死，命乎！命乎！」

> Someone asked about what is ordained. [Yang Xiong] replied: What is ordained is ordained by heaven, it is not man made. What is man-made is not ordained. [The person] begged to ask about what is man-made. [Yang Xiong] replied: when one can either be preserved or perish, live or die, this is not ordained. What is ordained cannot be escaped. The person said: [How about] the son of the Yans [Yan Yuan] or the grandson of the Rans [Ran Boniu]? [i.e. was this ordained or not]. [Yang Xiong] replied: [It was ordained by heaven] because it could not be escaped. However: if one sits under a crumbling wall, by moving one brings disaster, by doing something one causes death. Is this ordained, could this be ordained? [Obviously not!]

Within the space offered by what is predetermined one must make the most of the opportunities one gets.

***

The preceding analysis reveals that this weaker hypothesis is also difficult to defend. Reading the titles and the summaries against the text of a chapter does

not circumscribe very precisely any of the seminal ideas. Even allowing for a lot of slack in formulating such ideas, topics, or theses, they do not seem to be able to bind the text together, with a lot of the most interesting formulations and most striking images falling outside of this net.

However, giving up on the idea of chapters as meaningful units is not justified either. The historical chapters (numbers 10 and 11) present an interesting test case. In his commentary Li Gui comments on the titles and on the summaries of each chapter, but there is no comment for chapter 11, thus suggesting that he might have understood chapters 10 and 11 to be one unit. The preface in the *Hanshu* does contain a summary for each of the 13 chapters, but Yang Shuda 楊樹達 has proposed that the summary for chapter 11 is an interpolation[344]. As both chapters deal with historical examples, the thematic unity of each of them is even more difficult to discern so that the division of the historical material into two distinct chapters may be doubted.

As is proper in the case of historical material, the first thing to ask is whether the presentation follows a chronological sequence. This is indeed the case. However, it is not the case that all historical material in the two chapters follows a chronological sequence with a break in the middle so as to form two chapters of roughly equal length. Rather each chapter presents material in chronological order, but the time frame is roughly the same: chapter 10 covers material from the end of the *Chunqiu* period to the present, apparently according to themes, while chapter 11 starts with Confucius' disciples and proceeds more rigorously chronologically to the present.

I will begin with chapter 11 and try to establish the logic of the sequence of the characters discussed, also considering their treatment in the *Shiji* 史記:

- Yan Hui and Min Ziqian and their disciples (*Shiji* 67)
- Mencius (*Shiji* 74)
- Lu Zhonglian and Lin Xiangru (*Shiji* 83)
- Zou Yang (*Shiji* 83)

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[344] Yang 2006: 678.

- Xin Ling, Ping Yuan, Meng Chang, Chun Shen[345] (*Shiji* 75 - 78)
- Shuli zi: younger brother of King Huiwen of Qin (337–311 BC) (*Shiji* 71)
- Kings Huiwen and Zhaoxiang of Qin (306–251 BC)
- Meng Tian: general of the First Emperor (died 210 BC) (*Shiji* 88)
- Lü Buwei (291–235 BC) (*Shiji* 85)
- Bai Qi: served King Zhao (died 257 BC) (*Shiji* 73)
- Wang Jian: general under the First Emperor (ca. 225 BC) (*Shiji* 73)
- Yao Li, Nie Zheng, Jing Ke (*Shiji* 86)
- Zhang Yi and Su Qin (*Shiji* 69 and 70)
- brief evaluations of early Han advisors (*Shiji* 97-99)
- early Han ministers: Xiao He (died 193 BC) (*Shiji* 53) and Cao Shen (*Shiji* 54) (both HS 39)
- Yuan Ang (died 148 BC), Chao Cuo (ca. 200–154 BC) (*Shiji* 101) (HS 49)
- Gongsun Hong and Dong Zhongshu (179–104 BC) (*Shiji* 121)
- ministers and generals of the mid Western Han: Huo Guang, etc.
- Zhang Qian and Su Wu: Han foreign envoys
- Dongfang Shuo ca. 160 – ca. 93 BC (*Shiji* 126, Biographies of Jesters, but HS 65, full chapter)
- Li Zhongyuan: Yang Xiong's teacher in Sichuan

Thus chapter 11 seems to do precisely what is promised in the preface: reevaluate the material in the *Shiji* according to the criteria of the Sage. The sequence does not follow the sequence of chapters in the *Shiji* but proceeds roughly chronologically.

Chapter 10 seems to be concerned less with the assessment of historical personalities, than with the causes of decline and fall, success and failure. It is not so much people as events, principles, and values that are discussed:

[345] four important ministers at the end of the Zhanguo period.

- the wars between Chu, Wu, and Yue: Wu Zixu, Wenshi Zong, Fan Li
- the rebellions of Chen Sheng and Wu Guang
- Qin unification
- fall of Zhou
- fall of Qin
- the civil war: Xiang Yu and Liu Bang
- the civil war: Xiang Yu and Liu Bang
- loyalty and treason: Han Xin and Qing Bu
- loyalty: Chunyu Yue: Qin scholar
- Mao Jiao and Cai Sheng: served Qin Shihuang and Xiang Yu
- loyalty: Gan Luo and Zhang Biqiang: ministers
- loyalty: Li Yiji: envoy of Liu Bang
- loyalty: Kuai Tong: adviser to Han Xin
- loyalty: Li Si and Huo Guang
- Feng Tang: adviser to Wen di
- Guan Fu and Dou Ying: Jing di
- Ji Bu: adviser to Xiang Yu
- Han ministers
- Han ministers: true to themselves vs self-destructive
- Sima Qian

Historical figures are evaluated in other parts of the *Fayan* as well, and neither chapter is dedicated exclusively to one task or another. However, the material is by no means random, with clear distinctions between the two: chapter 11 provides evaluations which claim to be in line with the evaluations implied by Confucius in the *Chunqiu*, while chapter 10 deals with more general or abstract issues.

From the perspective of the above analysis, the problem seems to be neither that the concepts or ideas highlighted by the chapter titles are random or irrelevant, nor that the units at the lower level are not well enough defined formally, but rather that we cannot properly explain the articulation between the units on the two levels. Before resigning to the *faute de mieux* solution of a random distribution it must be examined to what extent Yang Xiong himself might have

intentionally spread paragraphs dealing with one topic among chapters nominally dedicated to other topics.

Here it is worth reconsidering Li Gui's observation already discussed before, that while the *junzi* is a major topic of the text, its occurrence is not limited to the chapter so titled.

> Now generally speaking it is clear that that by which the *junzi* becomes outstanding is spread and scattered through all the chapters, could it be that this is only dealt with here? Yet the reason that it is put up in the title of the chapter is simply that the text ends with "Piety, the utmost" and there is no place to add it anywhere (else).

Li Gui's remark implies that due to its importance the topic has to be highlighted as a chapter title, but that the author has chosen not to concentrate his discussion in this chapter but rather distribute his remarks all through the text.

As the *junzi* is an easily identifiable topic, it is relatively easy to survey its occurrence in the text: indeed, the analysis shows that while the term occurs considerably more times in chapter 12, it is nevertheless to be found in all chapters (except for chapter 10). Other topics, such as learning or the way of the Sages are not so easily pinned down to one term, so the analysis is more laborious, but even a preliminary examination reveals the same pattern: a concentration in the titular chapter, but a more or less constant distribution throughout the text. Even if the discussion of one topic naturally touches on a related one, the systematic distribution of all topics across the entire text can plausibly be construed as intentional.

Indeed, in *Fayan* 5.7 the strict order of the *Yijing* is set against the relative randomness of the *Liji*.

> 或曰：「《易》損其一也，雖憃、知闕焉。至《書》之不備過半矣，而習者不知。惜乎！《書序》之不如《易》也。」曰：「彼數也，可數焉故也。如《書序》，雖孔子亦末如之何矣。」
>
> Someone said: from the *Yi*, if one were to remove even one [hexagram – or perhaps: line], even an idiot could tell that it is missing; but as to the fact that in the *Shu* more than half is missing, not even those who know it by heart could tell [which parts are missing]. Such a pity that the order of the *Shu* is not like that of the *Yi*. [Yang Xiong] answered: the former is [based on] numbers, [the situation that one can immediately tell if something is missing]

> is due to the fact that everything in there can be counted. As for the order of the *Shu*, even if [one were a Sage like] Confucius, [one] could not do anything about it anymore (i.e. once something is lost).

From this perspective the intentional distribution of paragraphs concerning one topic throughout the text might be construed as a device aimed at compensating the potential loss of text: the many occurrences of paragraphs dealing with the *junzi* indicate to the reader that this is a cardinal issue of the text, even if the corresponding chapter were to be lost.

If this reasoning is correct then the more important task is not determining the algorithm used to distribute the paragraphs among the chapters, but examining the articulations of Yang Xiong's ideas starting from the conceptual framework indicated by the chapter titles.

d) The matrix of the text

Finally I will turn to the question, broached already by some traditional commentators, of the overall order of the text and whether the sequence of chapters, or at least of the titles that stand for them, can be explained as a meaningful choice.

Pre-modern scholars have speculated on the overall structure of the text. As mentioned above (Ch.3) Li Gui finds some logic to the sequence of chapters, particularly in the first on learning and the last on filial piety. However he might have considered chapters 10 and 11 as one unit and found chapter 12 *Junzi* to possess no real thematic unity. In his comments on the chapter titles Song Xian has proposed a detailed linear sequence, with each chapter following necessarily the previous one.

Modern scholars have also attempted to find an overall coherence to the text. Thus, Xu Fuguan 徐復觀 projects the structure outlined in the preface on the text, with the first nine chapters refuting the wrong views of the Masters and the last chapters the incorrect judgments of Sima Qian[346]. While this is on the one hand too vague to be meaningful, it leaves out on the other hand the last chapters,

[346] Xu 1974:502.

which clearly do not correct any judgments. It is however Xu Fuguan's merit to have insisted that the historical chapters must be seen as an integral part of the whole and not as some random additions.

In his 2006 dissertation Guo Junming 郭君銘 proposes a more elaborate structure, with three groups, chapters 1-3 and 4-6 forming the first two groups of chapters characterized by thematic unity; and the rest forming a third group dedicated to evaluations of historical events and characters[347].

In 2012 I proposed in a conference paper[348] that a series of formal clues indicate that the sequence of the ideas highlighted by the chapter titles is not random and that it might also not be linear, leading to a structure characterized by four groups of three chapters, with the last chapter standing alone[349]. Below I present the evidence in more detail.

The text contains markers whose function is to highlight internal links and to underline the internal organization of the text. Thus, it is very clear from the very beginning that the sequence of chapters cannot be random. The chapter on learning could not have been the third, as in Yang Xiong's time there is already a tradition of beginning with ruminations on the value of learning, following the arrangement of the *Lunyu*. Likewise it is clear that the chapter titled 孝至 could not occupy a position somewhere in the middle. The chapters on 神 and 明 could hardly have been reversed, as the two concepts tend very strongly to occur in this order.

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[347] Guo 2006: 83.
[348] Statu 2012.
[349] In her 2015 paper on "Structure and Anti-structure in the Fayan", M. Nylan discusses a similar structure as the one presented above (but without quoting either Guo's dissertation or my 2011 paper) and then argues against its validity: "Blocks 1 – 4 cannot be reasonably construed as building one upon the other. No reason can be adduced to explain, for example, why Block 4 (mainly devoted to "historical figures" interspersed with comments about other subjects) should not be Block 2." (Nylan 2015:223) She concludes that no other unifying principle can be found in the text except the person of Yang the author: "the single point of contact joining the units is the literary Yang himself. [...] Yang clearly means the reader to understand that his statements on what we might take to be a single subject are shaped by the context in which they are made and also by his mood when replying the questions." (Nylan 2015:224)

The text also provides a series of formal indications that the sequence of chapters is not linear, but is based on a primary level of organization in triads. The first clue is to be found in the identical structure of the titles of chapters four, five and six: 問道, 問神, 問明. It is true that the titles of the chapters are made up of the first two significant characters in the text of the chapter, following the practice of the *Lunyu*. However, just as the choice of the form of the *Lunyu* as model is not random but has to be understood as a deliberate choice, the selection and ordering of the paragraphs in a chapter is also a deliberate choice of Yang Xiong, who wrote the passages in question in the first place and is responsible for the choice of vocabulary.

Another formal clue is the presence in the text of chapters one, two, and three of three different phrases of identical structure:

> 求而不得者有矣，夫未有不求而得之者也。[1.17]
> It is possible to seek it and not to get it; what is not possible is to not seek it and get it.
>
> 述正道而稍邪哆者有矣，未有述邪哆而稍正也。[2.14]
> It is possible that he who transmits the correct way slightly errs, but it is not possible that someone who transmits an erroneous way is slightly correct.
>
> 夫有意而不至者有矣，未有無意而至者也。[3.12]
> It is possible to be determined and not succeed; but it is not possible to succeed without being determined.

In the case of other chapters too, a series of parallel formulations with identical structure can be identified, for instance in chapters 7 and 8:

> 7.13: 在德不在固
> It is their virtue and not their strategic position (which made them successful).
>
> 8.14: 在德不在星
> It is their virtue and not the stars.

Following these pointers we can posit a matrix structure for the whole text and proceed to investigate whether at the level of content there are any connections between the ideas and positions corresponding to the units in the table.

《學行》	《吾子》	《修身》
《問道》	《問神》	《問明》
《寡見》	《五百》	《先知》
《重黎》	《淵騫》	《君子》

I will first examine the extent to which the triads on the rows form a coherent group.

As already established, chapter one is concerned with learning, chapter two with the proper master, chapter three with self-development. The argument of chapter one is that the purpose of learning is self-development (as opposed to pursuing a career, wealth, long life, etc.). The argument of chapter two is that the only proper teacher or master is Confucius himself (in the form of his transmitted texts). The argument of chapter three is that self-development, through which one develops the good qualities of the inborn nature, is not spontaneous but requires determination.

Besides the formal links, the text contains formulations which explicitly establish logical links between the topics of the three chapters:

> 學者所以修性 (1.9)
> Learning is the means whereby one perfects one's nature.
>
> 務學不如務求師。
> Engaging in learning is not as important as trying to find a master.
>
> 師者人之模范也 (1.10)
> The master is an individual's mold.

From this perspective the three ideas form a coherent unit: human beings are endowed with an original nature containing both good and bad; the development of the good qualities is not spontaneous but the result of determined action: the pursuit of learning; in pursuing learning one must follow the example

of a master; the only suitable master is Confucius himself, available to all in the form of his texts. Thus learning is the study of Confucian texts and its purpose is self-cultivation – or conversely: the only suitable form of self-cultivation is the study of Confucian texts.

In chapter 4 the way of heaven is defined as the way of the ancient kings, which embraces everything, all times and all situations. It consists in the cultivation of the five virtues by means of ritual and music. In chapter 5, the spirit-like potential of the human mind is realized in the Sage, because of his capacity to embody this way of heaven. As the way embraces, or in fact defines, every possibility of human existence, these are all present in the Sage. This does not set the Sage apart as a supernatural being and he is in fact under the constraints of the human conditions: constraints of time and fate. Intelligence, the subject of chapter 6, is defined against this background, as the capacity to deal with such constraints by advancing and retreating accordingly.

The third group of ideas is placed in the social and political register. Chapter seven is concerned with the proper way of governing by employing the model of the Sages (the "distant words" – as opposed to expedient solutions). Chapter eight is concerned with the presence of the Sage in the social or political arena. Chapter nine is concerned with the proper implementation of the way, by paying attention to the circumstances of the people.

As outlined above, the last three chapters all seem to deal with evaluation: the evaluation of the factors shaping history, the evaluation of conduct – and in chapter 12 self-evaluation, which is a constitutive characteristic of the *junzi*. The ability to correctly distinguish the authentic from the fake is a recurring theme in the *Fayan*: the fake dragon, the fake Confucius, the fake *ru*, the fake officials.

Secondly, the columns of the matrix can be examined so as to establish whether any similarity exists between ideas placed in equivalent positions inside the groups. Indeed, the chapters in the middle column are all concerned with the Sage: only Confucius is the "door" in chapter 2, only the Sage is able to fully realize the spirit-like quality of the human mind, and finally the Sage is the one who may or may not emerge every five hundred years.

The chapters in the third column also present similarities. All of them are connected with the idea of finding the correct balance so as to achieve the right

results. In chapter 3 determination is required so as to cultivate the good and eliminate the bad in human nature; in chapter 6 knowledge is required so as to take advantage of the proper time, advance or retire accordingly so as to make the most of one's lot; in chapter 9 a balancing act is also required in order to implement the way of the former kings in government.

Chapters in the first column all address more general issues: the way of learning, the way of cultivating the five virtues through ritual and music, the former kings' way of governing. Learning as a means of self-cultivation is defined against other situations which are deemed wrong: learning for profit, etc. The way of cultivating the five virtues is set against other more partial or wrong ways of cultivation. The demanding way of governing through ritual – the "far-reaching words" – is contrasted with other more opportunistic or facile solutions – the "shallow words".

4.4 Conclusion

The present chapter aims to provide a contribution to the study of Yang Xiong's *Fayan* by reconstructing the perspective that an ideal contemporary reader might have had on the text. This approach is justified both by theoretical considerations and an examination of the cultural context in which the text was produced and received. Concretely it takes the form of identifying and evaluating direct and indirect claims made by the author as to his authority and the status of his text and working out the consequences these have on the interpretation of the text. Unlike in the previous chapter, the emphasis is not on reconstructing the reading of concrete historical witnesses, but the plausibility that the author's claims were understood as such. In this respect a clear rejection of a claim testifies to its effective articulation.

Following the example of "rhetorical criticism" I structured the analysis in two phases, one approaching the text as a unit to be placed against a complex background of shared structures, the other as a framework within which smaller units are articulated.

On the first level, the author presents the text as a response to a preeminent challenge posed to the way of Confucius by the emergence of

alternative and misguided views and analysis shows that the text makes good to some extent on the promise to refute the positions of the various Masters and affirm the message of the classics. Furthermore, the author claims for himself a position of higher insight and indicates that his insights are not communicated in an argumentative form but affirmed, proclaimed from this position of authority, following the form of the *Analects*. Indirectly a claim is also made that this is not an opportunistic work, tailored for the immediate context, but meant for the distant generations.

From the second perspective, it can be established that the text presents two levels of articulation, in chapters, formally marked by titles, and paragraphs, whose unity is based on their internal coherence. An analysis of the paratextual material as well as of the text itself shows that the division of chapters must be considered meaningful – the chapters must have some internal coherence – but this is not easy to pin down: the logic of articulation is not following the polemical program as the individual chapters cannot be construed as answers to specific challenges; it is also not determined by the formal model of the *Analects*. The only possible option is that an internal logic controls the articulation of the lower-level and higher-level units and indeed the concepts or ideas chosen as headers for the chapters exhibit a certain level of coherence and order. It was however not possible to identify the articulations between the two levels either from a top-down or a bottom-up perspective: it was not possible to show how individual paragraphs build larger structures of meaning either within a chapter of between chapters; or to show how the composition of the chapters or of the text as a whole can be deduced from the matrix of topics defined by the titles. Remarks in the text itself as well as by commentators indicate that the distribution of paragraphs dealing with a certain topic throughout the entire text can reasonably be construed as intentional.

5. BIBLIOGRAPHY

5.1 *Fayan* editions

1. 揚子法言 Yangzi *Fayan* (Directorate edition)

[13 juan, with Li Gui comm. and *Yinyi* appendix (orig. edition 1065, lost)]

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[4 vols, format 10/18/2x23-25; Held by the Natl. Lib. Beijing: #09600]
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[10 *juan*, with comm. by Li Gui, Liu Zongyuan, Song Xian, Wu Mi, Sima Guang.]
4 vols. Format 11/19-21/2x25. Held by the Natl. Lib. Beijing: #07486

Facsimile:
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Reprint:
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[10 juan, no commentaries[350]; text based on No.4]

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7. APPENDIX

Critical text of chapters six and seven of the *Fayan*

Variants are highlighted in the text with blue and given in the right margin. Further comments are given in the footnotes. For ease of reference I indicate the segmentation in paragraphs, which I number in the left margin. I also reproduce the traditional punctuation found in the Leiti edition, marking departures in red.

H Han Jing	L Leiti	Q Qin Enfu	S Sima Guang	SD Shidetang
SX Song Xian	T Tang	TF Tianfu	W Wang Rongbao	WM Wu Mi
WX Wenxuan	Y Yinyi	YL Taiping yulan		

6. 問明卷第六

1. 或問明。曰微。或曰微，何如其明也。曰。微而見之。明其誖乎。

2. 聰明其至矣乎。不聰實無耳也。不明實無目也。敢問大聰明。曰。眩眩乎。惟天為聰。惟天為明。夫能高其目而下其耳者。匪天也夫。

3. 或問小每知之。可謂師乎。曰。是何師與。是何師與。天下小事為不少矣。每知之。是謂師乎。師之貴也。知大知也。小知之師亦賤矣。 — 問 L/SD: 曰.

4. 孟子疾。過我門而不入我室。或曰。亦有疾乎。曰。摭我華而不食我實。

5. 或謂[1]。仲尼事彌其年。蓋天勞諸病矣夫。曰。天非獨勞仲尼。亦自勞也。天病乎哉。天樂天。聖樂聖。 — 謂 L/SD: 問.

6. 或問鳥有鳳，獸有麟。鳥獸皆可鳳麟乎。曰。群鳥之於鳳也。群獸之於麟也。形性。豈群人之於聖乎。

7. 或曰。甚矣。聖道無益於庸也。聖讀而庸行。盍去諸。曰。甚矣。子之不達也。聖讀而庸

[1] S doesn't record a variant, so either the L/SD line or the T/Q line has been corrupted. 或謂 occurs only once again, in FY 1.21., where it is however shared between the two traditions.

行。猶有聞焉。去之抏[2]也。抏秦者。非斯乎。投諸火。

抏 L/SD: 阬.

8. 或問人何尚。曰。尚智。曰。多以智殺身者何其尚。曰。昔[3]皋陶以其智為帝謨。殺身者遠矣。箕子以其智為武王陳洪範。殺身者遠矣。

昔 Q: 昔乎.

9. 仲尼聖人也。或[4]劣諸子貢。子貢辭而精之。然後廓如也。於戲。觀書者違子貢。雖多亦何以為。

或 Q: 或者.
於戲 SX/WM: 烏

10. 盛哉[5]。成湯丕承也。文王淵懿也。或問丕承。曰。由小致大。不亦丕乎。革夏以天。不亦承乎。淵懿。曰。重易六爻。不亦淵乎。浸以光大。不亦懿乎。

盛哉 L/SD: 慎哉.

11. 或問命。曰。命者天之命也。非人為也。人為不為命。請問人為。曰。可以存亡。可以死生。非命也。命不可避也。或曰顏氏之子。冉氏之孫。曰。以其無避也。若立巖牆之下。動而徵病。行而招死。命乎命乎。

12. 吉人凶其吉。凶人吉其凶。

13. 辰乎辰。曷來之遲。去之速也。君子競諸。

14. 譚言敗俗。譚[6]好敗則。姑息敗德。君子謹於言。慎於好。亟於時。

譚 T/Q: 譚.

15. 吾不見震風之能動聾聵也。

16. 或問君子。在治曰若鳳。在亂曰若鳳。或人不諭。曰。未之思矣。曰。治則見。亂則隱。鴻

[2] S follows SX and WM in adopting 阬.
[3] T, L, and SD agree on reading 昔, which W also prefers. 昔乎 seems to be an interpolation of Q.
[4] T, L, and SD agree on reading 或, which W also prefers. 或者 seems to be an interpolation of Q.
[5] S follows SX and WM in adopting 慎哉 and appending it to the previous *zhang*. T has 盛哉 but follows the segmentation in S.
[6] Li Gui, SX and WM all had the latter, S adopts the reading in TF as preserved in Y.

飛冥冥。弋人何慕[7]焉。鷦明遰集。食其潔[8]者矣。鳳鳥蹌蹌。匪堯之庭。

慕 L/SD: 篡
潔 T/Q: 絜

17. 亨龍潛升。其貞利乎。或曰。龍何[9]可以貞利而亨。曰。時未可而潛。不亦貞乎。可而升[10]。不亦利乎。潛升在己。用之以時。不亦亨乎。

何 T/Q:何如.
可而升
T/Q: 時可而升.

18. 或問活身。曰。明哲。或曰。童蒙則活。何乃明哲乎。曰。君子所貴。亦越用明。保慎其身也。如庸行翳路。衝衝而活。君子不貴也。

19. 楚兩龔之絜。其清矣乎。蜀莊沈冥。蜀莊之才之珍也。不作苟見。不治苟得。久幽而不改其操。雖隋和何以加諸。舉茲以旃。不亦珍[11]乎。吾珍莊也。居難為也。不慕由即夷矣。何鬼欲[12]之有。

珍 T/Q/L/SD: 寶
鬼欲 SX/WM: 利欲.

20. 或問堯將讓天下於許由。由恥。有諸。曰。好大者為之也。顧由無求於世而已矣。允哲堯儃舜之重。則不輕於由矣。好大累克。巢父洗[13]耳。不亦宜乎。靈場之威。宜夜矣乎。

洗 Y/L/SD: 灑

21. 朱鳥翾翾。歸其肆矣。或曰。奚取於朱鳥哉。曰。時來則來。時往則往。能來能往者。朱鳥之謂與。

22. 或問韓非作說難之書。而卒死乎說難。敢問何反也。曰。說難蓋其所以[14]死乎。曰何也。曰。君子以禮動。以義止。合則進。否則退。確乎不憂其不合也。夫說人而憂其不合。則亦無所

蓋其所以
SX/WM: 蓋所以.

[7] S restores the variant 篡 preserved in Y, which quotes the HHS, which carries this quotation together with the Song Zhong commentary to it. SD has a graphical variant: 纂
[8] S doesn't register this variant, which suggests the possibility that neither did the original Directorate edition and T and Q were interpolated. W follows S.
[9] S doesn't register a variant, pointing to a possible interpolation in T and Q. W follows S.
[10] S doesn't register a variant. W follows S.
[11] All Song texts read 寶 and S doesn't register a variant. SX preserves the reading 寶 in the commentary as well. However, Y preserves the variant 珍, which W restores. H follows.
[12] W follows SX/WM.
[13] S notes: 光曰宋吳本克作刻灑作洗今從李本. Indeed WM has 洗 in the commentary and Y has 灑. However, 洗 is confirmed by the Li commentary. W prefers 灑.
[14] W follows SX/WM.

不至矣。或曰。說之不合。非憂耶[15]。曰。說不由道憂也。由道而不合。非憂也。

23. 或問哲。曰。旁明厥思。問行。曰。旁通厥德。

7. 寡見卷第七

1. 吾寡見人之好假[16]者也。邇文之視。邇言之聽。假則偪焉。或曰。曷若茲之甚也。先王之道滿門。曰。不得已也。得已則已[17]矣。得已而不已者寡哉。

假 T/Q/L/S 假 WM: 遐

己 SX/WM: 至

2. 好盡其心於聖人之道者君子也。人亦有好盡其心矣。未必聖人之道也。

3. 多聞見而識乎正道者至識也。多聞見而識乎邪道者迷識也。

4. 如賢人謀之美也。詘人而從道。如小人謀之不美也。詘道而[18]從人。

而 L/SD: 以

5. 或問五經有辯[19]乎。曰。惟五經為辯。說天者莫辯乎易。說事者莫辯乎書。說體者莫辯乎禮。說志者莫辯乎詩。說理者莫辯乎春秋。捨斯辯亦小矣。

辯 SX/WM: 辨

6. 春木之茁兮。援我手之鶉兮。去之五百歲其人若存兮。或曰譊譊者天下皆說也。奚其存。曰。曼是為也。天下之亡聖也久矣。呱呱之子。各識其親。譊譊之學。各習其師。精而精之。是在其中矣。

7. 或曰。良玉不彫。美言不文。何謂也。曰。玉不彫。瑣璠不作器。言不文。典謨不作經。

美 YL: 至

8. 或問司馬子長有言曰。五經不如老子之約也。當年不能極其變。終身不能究其業。曰。若是則周公惑。孔子賊。古者之學。耕且養。三年通一經[20]。今之學也。非獨為之華藻也。又從而

一經 T/Q: 一

[15]說之不合，非憂耶 S/W: 非憂說之不合非邪
[16] W restored the reading 假 which is confirmed by Y.
[17] W follows SX/WM.
[18] S doesn't record a variant, possible interpolation in L/SD.
[19] S records this variant in SX/WM, most likely throughout the paragraph.
[20] W follows SX/WM. *Hanshu* 30 has 古之學者耕且養，三年而通一藝.

繡其[21]鞏帨。惡在老不老也。或曰學者之說可約邪。曰。可約解科。

9. 或曰君子聽聲乎。曰。君子惟正之聽。荒乎淫。佛[22]乎正。沈而樂者。君子弗[23]聽也。

佛 T/Q: 拂

弗 T/Q: 不

10. 或問侍君子以博乎。曰。侍坐則聽言。有酒則觀禮。焉事博乎。或曰不有博弈者乎。曰。為之猶賢於已爾[24]。侍君子者賢於已乎。君子不可得而侍也。侍君子晦斯光。窒斯通。亡斯有。辱斯榮。敗斯成。如之何賢於已也。

爾 T/Q: 耳

有 SX/WM: 存

11. 鷦明沖天。不在六翮乎。拔而傅尸鳩。其累矣夫。

12. 雷震乎天。風薄乎山。雲徂乎方。雨流乎淵。其事矣乎。

乎 WX: 揚

乎 WX: 於

13. 魏武侯與吳起浮於西河。寶河山之固。起曰。在德不在固。曰。美哉言乎。使起之用兵[25]每如斯。則太公何以加諸。

之用兵 Q: 之用固兵 T/L/SD: 之兵

14. 或問周寶九鼎寶乎。曰。器寶也。器寶待人而後寶。

15. 齊桓晉文以[26]下。至於秦兼。其無觀已。或曰秦無觀。奚其兼。曰。所謂觀。觀德也。如觀兵。開闢以來。未有秦也。

以 L/SD: 已

16. 或問魯用儒而削。何也。曰。魯不用儒也。昔在姬公用於周。而四海皇皇。奠枕于京。孔子用於魯。齊人章章。歸其侵疆。魯不用真儒故也。如用真儒。無敵於天下。安得削。

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[21] Q has 其其, which already the prefatory material lists as an interpolation. This is confirmed by T.

[22] S doesn't record a variant, interpolation in T/Q. T/L/SD carry to this passage a commentary by Li Gui, not present in Q, and which has the gloss 佛違也. W follows S.

[23] S doesn't record a variant, possible interpolation in T/Q. W follows S.

[24] S doesn't record a variant, possible interpolation in T/Q. W follows S.

[25] S commentary: 光曰李本作使起之固兵今從宋吳本惜起之用兵多尚狙詐不能充其言也. Thus, it appears that S saw a Li version with 使起之固兵, confirmed by Q, and SX/WM having 使起之用兵, confirmed by Pei Yin's *Shiji jijie*. T/L/SD are affected by an omission. W follows S.

[26] S doesn't record a variant. Possible interpolation in L/SD.

17. 灝灝[27]之海。濟樓航之力也。航人無楫。如航何。

灝灝 L/SD: 浩浩

18. 或曰。奔壘之車。沈流之航。可乎。曰否。或曰焉用智。曰。用智於未奔沈。大寒而後索衣裘。不亦晚乎。

19. 乘國者其如乘航乎。航安則人斯安矣。

20. 惠以厚下。民忘其死。忠以衛上。君念其賞。自後者人先之。自下者人高之。誠哉是言也。

21. 或曰。弘羊榷[28]利而國用足。盍榷諸[29]。曰。譬諸父子。為其[30]父而榷其子。縱利如子何。卜式之云。不亦匡乎。

榷 SD: 搉

諸 L/SD: 取

其 L/SD: 人

22. 或曰。因秦之法。清而行之。亦可以致平乎。曰。譬諸琴瑟。鄭衛調。俾夔因之。亦不可以致簫韶矣。

23. 或問處秦之世。抱周之書。益乎。曰。舉世寒。貂狐不亦燠乎。或曰。炎之以火。沃之以湯。燠亦燠矣。曰。燠哉燠哉。時亦有寒者矣。

24. 非其時而望之。非其道而行之。亦不可以至矣。

25. 秦之有司。負秦之法度。秦之法度。負聖人之法度。秦弘違天地之道。而天地違秦亦弘矣。

[27] S doesn't record a variant. The variant may be considered a graphical variant. 灝灝 occurs three times in *Fayan*, 浩浩 doesn't occur.
[28] S doesn't record a variant. Interpolation in SD, confirmed by L, which has 榷.
[29] S doesn't record a variant.
[30] S doesn't record a variant.