# RITUAL, TEXT, AND THE FORMATION OF THE CANON: HISTORICAL TRANSITIONS OF WEN IN EARLY CHINA

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#### I. Historicizing wen

The word wen 文, in Xu Shen's 許慎(c. 55-c. 149) Shuowen jiezi 說文解字 defined as "criss-cross pattern" (cuohua 錯畫),1 has been ruminated upon numerous times during the last two millennia, and it is still under sophisticated deliberation wherever students of traditional Chinese culture and literature meet. This phenomenon is in itself remarkable, revealing the genuine depth of a word that in its significance is rivalled by only a few others, like dao 道 or qi 氣. Such profound words, in this respect comparable to logos or pneuma in the West, embody almost universal significance through their originally most concrete meanings, relating physical matter, human activity, and cosmological order to one another. For wen, we hear of the different "patterns" of Heaven, Earth, and Man, and it is wen that mediates between these three, at least in analogical thinking.2 But at the same time, even a word like wen, together with whatever meaning can be proposed for it, is not located beyond the realms of general cultural history; in its usage, it is a genuinely historical phenomenon, changing with times and therefore remaining continuously meaningful in subsequent ages and to different social orders. Wen

<sup>1</sup> See Shuowen jiezi zhu 說文解字注, Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735-1815) comm. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1981 [reprint of the Jingyun lou 經韻樓 ed., 1815], 9A.20a).—I wish to thank Professors David R. Knechtges, William G. Boltz, Lothar von Falkenhausen, Michael Nylan, and Pierre-Étienne Will for their most helpful comments and corrections.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A still valuable investigation into the various semantic levels of wen is Tsetsung Chow, "Ancient Chinese Views on Literature, the Tao and Their Relationship," Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR) 1 (1979): 1-29.

is neither static nor universal; strenuous claims on its unwavering continuity beyond the realities of social and intellectual processes never escape the aporetic nature of any suprahistorical concept, i.e., being itself a child of its times and hence historically confined.

The inexhaustible efficacy of a word like wen may therefore be found not in its supposed timeless truth, but, on the contrary, in its basic openness which allows it to absorb different meanings according to different circumstances, in other words, to change historically. Instead of adding either to the traditional autochthonous Chinese constructs of cosmology and poetics or to modern Western semiotic theories gone East, the present essay is therefore intended to historicize the "concept" of wen through one of its crucial stages, namely, when the written text rose to its enduring status of being the highest expression of Chinese culture, or, to phrase it more succinctly, when the idea of Chinese culture (wen) collapsed into that of written text (wen). At the same time, it is my hope that certain phenomena bearing the designation wen gain sharper contours not only through the historical perspective but also as significant elements of early Chinese cultural and political history.

I will not deal here with the very origins of the term wen, nor with its earliest occurrences, but enter its history when this is already centuries old. At this stage—in Warring States and then Qin and Han times—wen becomes heavily laden with cosmological meaning and related to a great variety of changing and accumulating cultural practices; and beyond denoting specific phenomena, the term may carry the general meaning of something like "cultural accomplishment," as is reflected in its ongoing use in posthumous epithets. How is, then, such a general meaning related to the various concrete meanings of the same word? One attempt to answer this question has been to propose that we are actually dealing with different words here, albeit homophonous and written with the same graph; a valuable hypothesis that certainly deserves further attention.

In the present essay, however, I will not address the issue on the level of the word. Instead of evacuating the more general—essentially untranslatable-meaning of wen into a word of its own, I assume that it actually is related to one or more of its specific meanings. This hypothesis bears radically historical implications: the general notion of wen, I propose, flexibly comprises concrete meanings according to their particular status in the whole system of cultural expression at a given time. Consequently, the word wen, when applied in a general sense, may refer preeminently to a peculiar phenomenon of wen only at a moment when this phenomenon is regarded as the foremost expression of "cultural accomplishment," current in and confined to an identifiable social framework, i.e., historical context. As an example, the general wen, as it appears in posthumous names, can refer to a person's literary or philosophical excellence only when the written word is elevated to be the privileged medium and expression of individual perfection. This was not the case with the Western Han emperor Liu Heng 劉恒 who became venerated as the Han emperor Wendi 文帝 (r. 180-157 B.C.); but it certainly was with the classicist genealogical enshrinement of literati and philosophers in later imperial China.4 Yet, even then, the uniformity of designations like wenzhong gong 文忠公 or wen gong 文公 as honorific posthumous titles seems to blur meaningful differences in the understanding and evaluation of wen through subsequent phases and contexts of later imperial intellectual history.5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Analyzing the use of wen in epithets in Zhou times, especially in posthumous designations (shi ≧) of deceased ancestors, Lothar von Falkenhausen, following Arthur Waley, has proposed to separate the more general meaning of wen, as it is used in posthumous designations, from the more concrete "pattern." He carefully avoids to assign any particular meaning to the former, using "accomplished" only as a stop gap translation. See his "The Concept of Wen in the Ancient Chinese Ancestral Cult," Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR) 18 (1996): 1-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I use the terms "classicism" and "classicist" in their ideological sense, where "classicism" denotes the conscious evocation of a model from the past to be juxtaposed to the supposedly degenerated and deficient practice of the present. In many instances, "classicist" (both the adjective and the noun) is the best translation of ru 儒; see Michael Nylan, "A Problematic Model: The Han 'Orthodox Synthesis,' Then and Now," in *Imagining Boundaries: Changing Confucian Doctrines, Texts, and Hermeneutics*, ed. Kai-wing Chow, On-cho Ng, and John B. Henderson (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), pp. 17-56. Following Nylan, I avoid the term "Confucian."

<sup>5</sup> On the enshrinement, see Thomas A. Wilson, The Genealogy of the Way: The Construction and Uses of the Confucian Tradition in Late Imperial China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995). Eminent examples of Tang and Song times include Han Yu 韓愈 (768-825, posthumously Han wen gong 韓文公), Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072, Ouyang wenzhong gong 歐陽文忠公), Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101, Su wenzhong gong 蘇文忠公), Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086, Wang wen gong 王文公), and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200, Zhu wen gong 朱文公). Although to a certain extent sharing concerns and ideals when referring back to antiquity, these men cherished very different notions of wen and of its relation to dao 道.

Aiming at a historical understanding of wen, we need to identify shifts of relative status among the various forms of cultural practice. Especially for Eastern Zhou times, this indirect procedure is the only promising way since many of the numerous instances of wen in pre-imperial texts are general enough to allow all kinds of speculations across a broad range of cultural phenomena. Again for pragmatic reasons, I suggest to work retrospectively, setting out from early Eastern Han times and looking back from thereas Eastern Han writers actually did when they tried to legitimize the cultural accomplishments (wen) of their own times primarily in terms of "literary writings." Certainly, wen had been related to writing early in Zhou times; yet the social context, function, and status of the written text was fundamentally different in the fourth century B.C. compared to the second century A.D.—as again a fourth century B.C. "philosophical" writing has to be distinguished in both function and nature from a ninth century B.C. ancestral temple hymn or inscription.

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In the course of the Eastern Zhou, "writing" had assumed a great variety of forms, including charts (tu B) and inscriptions,6 but it still was but one aspect of wen, and certainly not the central one. The situation had changed by Eastern Han times, however: now wen, beyond the universally applicable "criss-cross pattern," predominantly meant "writing" and "writings," "script" and "scriptures," and in particular the written composition as an emblem of civil achievement.7 Moreover, at this time the all-encompassing word wen had been differentiated into a number of compounds,

denoting chosen aspects of the general notion: one may think of wenxue 文學, wencai 文采, wenzhang 文章, wenci 文辭, and others. Of these, the word wenzhang is probably the one that most concretely refers to "writing" and "writings," and to trace the history of this more narrowly defined word may therefore allow us to delineate with relative accuracy the historical process through which the general notion of wen became gradually satiated with its particular aspect of "written text."

What also makes wenzhang an ideal starting point for this analysis is that the term itself figured prominently in the discourse on culture long before referring specifically to the written text. By comparison, the term wenci ("patterned phrases") may be less significant for our considerations than it would appear at first glance, because it narrowly refers to the art of verbal expression -i.e., rhetoric in both senses of embellishment and persuasionfrom early times on, including both the oral and the written modes of expression.9

The other term most pertinent to the issue of wen is, of course, wenxue. The locus classicus for wenxue is a relatively late passage in the Lunyu 論語<sup>10</sup> where Confucius's disciples are individually recognized with respect to their abilities in the fields of "virtuous conduct" (dexing 德行), "speech" (yanyu 言語), "matters of government" (zhengshi 政事), and, finally, "wen learning" (wenxue). Here, the term wenxue defies any straightforward translation; Arthur Waley's rendering as "culture and learning," also adopted by D.C Lau, is probably not a lucky choice: on the one hand, the construction of two entities, "culture" and "learning," does not fit the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Note that these forms attach additional aesthetical dimensions to the text not intrinsic to its meaning or wording. They also do not necessarily corroborate intrinsic textual features; in the case of a bronze inscription, for example, the textual arrangement on the material carrier is usually incongruent with the internal textual structure of rhyme and meter. For the complex relations between the "internal" and "external" textual organization-including cases of texts divided and spread over a number of different material carriers, or texts being repeated in their entirety on various carriers—see my The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang: Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Imperial Representation (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2000), pp. 119-125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> This meaning was by then enriched by a cosmological dimension in which the notion of "writing" (wen) was constructed as based on the natural patterns (wen) of Heaven and Earth; see Xu Shen's postface (xu 欲) to his Shuowen jiezi (Shuowen jiezi zhu 15A.1a-2a), together with the discussion by William G. Boltz, The Origin and Early Development of the Chinese Writing System (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1994), pp. 134-38.

<sup>8</sup> Beyond its general meaning of "patterned ornament," wencai was used in particular for embroidered textiles (with 文緒 = 文采, for both writings see Shiji 史記 [10 vols., Peking: Zhonghua shuju 21982] 129.3265 and 129.3274) and to denote the patterns of music (probably melodies, complementary to the rhythmic structure [jiezou 節奏]); for the latter see the Liji 禮記 chapter "Records of Music" ("Yueji" 樂配) in Liji zhengyi 禮配正義 (Shisan jing zhushu ed.) 38.307b, 309a (and compare the Shiji "Book on Music" ["Yueshu" 樂書] 24.1208, 1215).

<sup>9</sup> In the Thirteen Canonical Books (Shisan jing +三級) of the classicist tradition, wenci appears altogether six times; all these passages are in relatively late narratives of the Zuo zhuan 左傳; see Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi 春秋左傳正義 (Shisan jing zhushu ed.) [Xiang 25] 36.283a, 283c, [Xiang 27] 38.293c, [Zhao 13] 46.369c, [Zhao 26] 52.413a (twice). All instances refer to oral speech; it seems that in its early usages, wenci primarily referred to oral presentation and only gradually was applied to the written text in early imperial times.

<sup>10</sup> Lunyu zhushu 輪籠注疏 (Shisan jing zhushu ed.) [11.3] 11.42b. On the stratification of this text, see below.

pattern of the other three binomial phrases, which all denote only a single accomplishment. Moreover, "culture" is devoid of any concrete meaning and, as such, is also out of place when compared to the other terms.

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In Warring States times, wenxue is clearly related to textual learning, a meaning that may even apply for the Lunyu passage in question, since Confucius, like later Mencius and Xunzi, already drew lessons from two exemplary texts, the Songs (the later Shijing 詩經) and the Documents (the later Shangshu 尚書).11 Later, in the Han imperial bureaucracy, officials were frequently appointed to high positions because of their wenxue, referring to their acquaintance with the textual heritage, in particular the gradually emerging state-sponsored canon which provided the knowledge of model cases to draw upon for political, ritual, and legal decisions.12 Wenxue was the domain of the ru 儒 scholars and was regarded as their genuine learning (rushu 儒術, also jingshu 經術).18 It is this semantic stability of the term wenxue in Warring States and early imperial times14 that makes it appear less fruitful for our analysis of cultural changes. Nevertheless, in our discussion of wenzhang we will have to come back to wenzue and to the eventual association of both terms in late Western Han times.

## II. What is wenzhang?

In the first lines of the preface to his "Rhapsody on the two capitals" ("Liang du fu" 兩都賦), Ban Gu 班固 (32-92), the most accomplished writer of his time, 15 recalls the revival of literature

under the Western Han (202 B.C.-A.D. 9), centuries after "the sounds of the *Eulogia* had ceased" and "the *Songs* no longer flourished":<sup>16</sup>

When the Great Han was consolidated in its initial years, [the emperor], day after day, did not get enough leisure. <sup>17</sup> Reaching the eras of [emperors] Wu and Xuan, <sup>18</sup> they venerated the offices of ritual and examined the wenzhang. <sup>19</sup> Within [the palace] they set up the institutions of the Bronze Horse [Gate] and the Stone Canal [Pavilion]; <sup>20</sup> outside [the palace] they initiated the task of harmonizing the pitch pipes in the Office of Music. <sup>21</sup>

Capital Fu of Pan Ku and His Contemporaries," in Thought and Law in Qin and Han China: Studies Dedicated to Anthony Hulsewé on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday, ed. Wilt L. Idema and Erik Zürcher (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), pp. 118-39.

16 Ban Gu locates the decline of the royal sacrificial hymns (song 質), and of the Shijing songs in general, after the reigns of the early Western Zhou kings Cheng 成 (1042/35-1006 B.C.) and Kang 康 (1005/3-978) (dates after Edward L. Shaughnessy, Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991], p. xix). Kings Cheng and Kang are eulogized together in Mao shi 毛詩 # 274; see Mao shi zhengyi 毛詩正義 (Shisan jing zhushu ed.) 19-2.321c.

17 I follow Yan Shigu's 颜師古 (581-645) commentary in Hanshu 1B.81, where Ban Gu uses the same wording to describe the restless efforts of Han Gaozu 黃商祖 (r. 206/2-195 B.C.) after founding the dynasty. As Professor Knechtges has noticed, the line implies that Gaozu "had no time for cultural matters." See Knechtges, transl., Wen xuan: Selections of Refined Literature (to date 3 vols., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982-96), 1:92, n. 4. Statements like these by Ban Gu have defined our view of the Han cultural situation prior to Han Wudi 黃黃帝 (r. 141-87 B.C.). I have argued elsewhere that this traditional understanding needs to be re-examined; see my Die Hymnen der chinesischen Staatsopfer: Literatur und Ritual in der politischen Repräsentation von der Han-Zeit bis zu den Sechs Dynastien (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997), pp. 144-59, and The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang, chapter 5.

18 Han Xuandi 漢宣帝 ruled 74-49 B.C.

19 The phrase kao wenzhang 考文章 appears in a similar context in Ban Gu's Hanshu 80.3324, and also in the Liji (Liji zhengyi 34.278c), where Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200) explains wenzhang as "the rules of ritual" (lifa 禮法), and Kong Yingda 孔額達 (574-648) glosses kao 考 as jiao 校 ("to compare"), with the extended meaning of "to examine."

20 The Bronze Horse Gate (Jinma men 金馬門) was the place where scholars "in attendance" awaited their appointment to a position in the imperial bureaucracy; the Stone Canal Pavilion (Shiqu ge 石渠閣) was the name of the imperial library; see Knechtges, Wen xuan, 1:92-94, n. 6.

21 (Liu chen zhu 六臣注) Wen xuan 文理 (Sibu congkan ed.) 1.1b-2a. The Office of Music (Yuefu 樂府) was mainly concerned with providing musical pieces and hymns for the state sacrifices; its head under Han Wudi was Li Yannian 李延年 (c. 140-87 B.C.), who received the newly invented title of Commandant for Harmonizing the Pitch Pipes (xielü duwei 協律都尉). See my Die Hymnen der chinesi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See John B. Henderson, Scripture, Canon, and Commentary: A Comparison of Confucian and Western Exegesis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See, e.g., Shiji 28.1384 (parallel 12.452).

<sup>18</sup> The terms rushu and jingshu appear to be almost synonymous, with rushu probably encompassing a broader range of learning. The usage of both terms in the Shiji (rushu: eleven times; jingshu: eight times) and in the Hanshu 漢書 (12 vols., Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 51987) (rushu sixteen times; jingshu forty times) indicates that rushu was gradually replaced by jingshu after the mid-Western Han. This development matches my argument below that during the Han, the scholars of traditional learning developed from ritual to textual experts.

<sup>14</sup> See Kōzen Hiroshi 奥勝宏, "'Bungaku' to 'bunshō'" 「文學」と「文章」, in Satō Kyōgen hakase shōju kinen Tōyōgaku ronshū 佐藤図玄博士頌壽紀念東洋學論集 (Kyōto: Hōyū shoten, 1990), pp. 3-4.

<sup>15</sup> On Ban Gu, see David R. Knechtges, "To Praise the Han: The Eastern

大漢初定,日不暇給。至於武宣之世,乃崇禮官考文章。內設金馬石渠 之署,外興樂府協律之事。

The text goes on to mention some of Han Wudi's state sacrificial hymns as well as the auspicious omens that became employed as heraldic reign devices from his times on, and then turns to the literary compositions of the Han. After mentioning the great Western Han scholar-officials and fu  $\bowtie$  authors, Ban Gu uses the term wenzhang again:

The pieces that were presented to the throne were more than a thousand, and henceforth, the wenzhang of the Great Han were brilliant and equal in style to those of the Three Dynasties [Xia, Shang, and Zhou].<sup>22</sup>

蓋奏御者千有餘篇,而後大漢之文章炳焉,與三代同風。

What is wenzhang in these two passages of Ban Gu's preface? What were the wenzhang of the Han, matched by Ban Gu with the ritual institutions? What were the wenzhang of the Three Dynasties? What could the historian, poet, and scholar Ban Gu have seen as the common cultural accomplishment of both the Three Dynasties and the Western Han? In the Thirteen Canonical Books, the term wenzhang appears altogether ten times: twice in the Lunyu, twice in the Zuo zhuan, and six times in the Liji; in addition, the "Minor Preface(s)" ("Xiao xu" 小序) of the Songs, dating from the Han, employs wenzhang twice, in the introductions to Odes # 55 ("Qi yu" 淇奥) and # 255 ("Dang" 高).

In the passages of the Lunyu-both of them probably belong-

<sup>22</sup> Wen xuan 1.3b.

ing to the early strata of the text<sup>23</sup>—wenzhang seems to denote Confucius's personal appearance:

Zigong said: The Master's patterned appearance (wenzhang) can be known, but what the Master says about human nature and the Way of Heaven cannot be known.<sup>24</sup>

子貢曰:夫子之文章可得而聞也。夫子之言性與天道,不可得而聞也。

The Master said: Great indeed was Yao acting as a ruler! How lofty, lofty—it is Heaven that is great; it was Yao who modelled himself upon it! How vast, vast—so that the common people could not give a name to this! How lofty, lofty he was in his accomplishments and merits! How lucid he was in his patterned appearance (wenzhang)!<sup>25</sup>

子曰:大哉堯之為君也。巍巍乎唯天為大,唯堯則之。蕩蕩乎民無能名 焉。巍巍乎其有成功也,煥乎其有文章。

The first passage closely parallels two other famous sections of the Lunyu:

When the Master was in danger in Kuang, he said: "With King Wen dead, are the figured patterns (wen) not here? If Heaven had wanted these figured patterns to be destroyed, those who died later would not have been able to be in accordance with these figured patterns. Since Heaven has not wanted these figured patterns to be destroyed, what can the people of Kuang do to me?" 26

24 Lunyu zhushu [5.13] 5.18a. He Yan 何長 (190-249) glosses the passage as follows: "Zhang 章 is clearly shining (ming 明). The patterned embellishment (wencai 文彩), manifest and appearing, can be followed by the ear and the eye."

schen Staatsopfer, pp. 59-61 (with references to the relevant recent scholarship). Since about the fourth/third century B.C., the regulation of the pitch pipes was a crucial undertaking to adjust the state ritual music to cosmic harmony, see ibid., pp. 41-50. By Han times, this regulation occupied the very center of an idealized ritual administration of the world, being closely related to the calendar and serving as the basis for all other systems of measurements; see Hanshu 21A.966-70; cf. also Joseph Needham and Kenneth Girdwood Robinson, Science and Civilization in China, vol. 4: Physics and Physical Technology, Part I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp. 199-202, and Kenneth DeWoskin, "Early Chinese Music and the Origins of Aesthetic Terminology," in Theories of the Arts in China, ed. Susan Bush and Christian Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 188-94. The cosmological significance of music is reflected in the very sequence of the ten Hanshu "Monographs" (zhi 志) which epitomize the administrative essence of the empire: the first is the "Monograph on Pitch Pipes and Calendar" ("Lüli zhi" 律層志), the second is the "Monograph on Ritual and Music" ("Liyue zhi" 禮樂志), which also contains the texts of the sacrificial hymns.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Steven Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), p. 26, summarizes the discussion as follows: "We can distinguish four strata. First, a group of five 'core chapters' composed of chapters 3–7 is probably the earliest material. Second, four chapters—1, 2, 8, and 9—seem to have been added at a later date around the core chapters but contain many early materials. Chapters 10 through 15 seem to constitute another, still later layer, and the last five chapters, 16 through 20, are marked by linguistic criteria as latest of all." The two passages with wenzhang are from chapters 5 and 8; the passage in chapter 8, with Confucius himself speaking, may belong to the earlier materials.

 $<sup>^{25}</sup>$  Lunyu zhushu [8.20] 8.31b. He Yan glosses the final phrase 煥乎其有文章 as follows: "Huan 媄 is clearly shining (ming 明). The figured patterns (wen 文) he had established and the regulations he had conferred are again manifest and shining."

<sup>26</sup> Lunyu zhushu [9.5] 9.34a. Peter Bol has made this passage the starting point for his important study, "This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), translating si wen 浙文 as "This Culture of Ours." This translation certainly reflects the significance of the term in Tang and Song times but I am not sure whether it should

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子畏於匡,曰:文王既沒,文不在茲乎?天之將喪斯文也,後死者不得 與於斯文也。天之未喪斯文也,匡人如予何?

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The Master said: "I wish not to speak." Zigong said: "If the Master does not speak, what do we lesser ones have to transmit?" The Master said: "Does Heaven speak? The four seasons take their course from it, the hundred beings are born from it-does Heaven speak?"27

子曰:予欲無言。子貢曰:子如不言,則小子何述焉?子曰:天何言 哉?四時行焉,百物生焉,天何言哉?

Michael Puett has pointed to these two passages in his analysis of the notions of creation and transmission in the Warring States; both express the idea of a transmission not of doctrinal statements but of outward patterns of speech and action: "What can be transmitted, in other words, is patterned behavior: true transmission, Confucius is claiming, is not through words but rather through replicating the patterns that were initially found in Heaven."28 It is in this perspective that I propose to understand the first Lunyu passage on wenzhang quoted above: rather than providing arguments about the fundamental issues of Heaven and Man, the Master presents himself as a model of superior ritual form. Again, he does not commend a certain doctrine issued by Yao, but the lucidity of his appearance.

apply to the early Lunyu passage in its original context; other usages of wen and its most closely related term wenzhang seem to indicate more concrete meanings, especially of ritual practice, rather than a general idea of "culture." Again, the cosmological significance of wen as a figured, transfiguring, and all-embracing force, which was established in texts like the Shuowen jiezi postface (see above) and the first chapter ("Yuan dao" 原道) of Liu Xie's 劉勰 (c. 467-c. 522) Wenxin diaolong 文心雕龍, and was fully developed by Tang times, cannot be projected too far into Zhou times, or too deep into the Eastern Zhou discourse on culture and cosmos. Judged on the basis of our available sources, the cosmological notion of wen as writing was not a relevant issue in pre-imperial and early imperial times. A similar problem of historical contextualization arises with the use of the term wenzhang. In a step beyond my argument below that its meaning of "literary compositions" is not valid for any time before the late Western Han. I would suggest that earlier, more "material" understandings of wenzhang remained significant even in the intellectual discussions of later ages; at least the learned Tang and Song commentators of the traditional canon were always cautious not to conflate the contemporary "literary composition" with the wenzhang of pre-imperial times.

<sup>27</sup> Lunyu zhushu [17.19] 17.70a.

The two passages in the Zuo zhuan employ wenzhang in the context of military and political ritual. Here, wenzhang are forms of emblematic value, that is, again, clear signs; the early commentaries gloss these concretely as "guidons and pennants" (jingqi 旌旗) attached to the war (and ritual) chariots:

Every three years, [the ruler, in a military maneuver, leads out] the military forces and aligns them; he leads them in and rearranges the battalions. They return [to the ancestral temple] and perform the [ritual of] drinking to the correct limit. [All this, the ruler does] in order to count the army's possessions. They show forth guidons and pennants (wenzhang), clarify noble and base, distinguish ranks and array, and follow the order of young and old. [All this] is to practice the majestic demeanor.<sup>29</sup>

三年而治兵。入而振旅,歸而飮至,以數軍寶。昭文章,明貴賤,辨等 列,順少長。習威儀也。

[The state of Jin] has merits that are not neglected and has achievements that are recorded. It has been invested with territory and fields, mollified with ritual vessels and instruments, distinguished with chariots and vestments, and illuminated with guidons and pennants (wenzhang).30

夫有勳而不廢,有績而載。奉之以土田,撫之彝器,旌之以車服,明之 以文章。

In the Liji, wenzhang appears on the level of normative ritual form:

Establishing the measures of weight, length, and capacity, examining the refined forms (wenzhang), adjusting the commencement of the year and the month, changing the colors of the [ritual] vestments, discriminating the banners and pennants, altering vessels and weapons, and distinguishing the clothing—these are matters [in sagely rulership] that can be changed in accordance with the people.31

立權度量,考文章,改正朔,易服色,殊徽號,異器械,別衣服:此其 所得與民變革者也。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Michael Puett, "Nature and Artifice: Debates in Late Warring States China concerning the Creation of Culture," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 57 (1997): 479.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi [Yin 5] 3.25a-b. The translation follows the early commentaries by Du Yu 杜預 (222-284) and Kong Yingda. I translate lü 旅 as "battalion" and jun # as "army" according to Zheng Xuan's commentary to Zhouli 周禮 (Zhouli zhushu 周禮注疏 [Shisan jing zhushu ed.]) 11.73a: a lü consisted of 500 men (with five lü forming one shi fit ["regiment"]), a jun, the largest military unit, of 12,500. According to Guanzi 管子 (Dai Wang 戴望, Guanzi jiaozheng 管子校正, Zhuzi jicheng ed.) 8.123, however, a lü in the state of Qi 齊 had 2,000 men. In general, the relatively common pairing of terms like lü, shi, and jun usually operates as a synecdoche, indicating the entire body of troops.

<sup>30</sup> Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi [Zhao 15] 47.376a.

<sup>31</sup> Liji zhengyi 34.278c.

The square fu and round gui vessels, the sacrificial stands and the plates: the stipulated measures and the refined forms (wenzhang)—these are the instruments of ritual.32

#### 簠簋俎豆,制度文章,禮之器也。

Above, the ru scholar does not act as an official to the Son of Heaven; below, he does not serve the feudal lords. He is cautiously still and venerates generosity. He is strong and resolute to deal with [the improper behavior of] others. He broadens his learning in order to know the proper duties. He keeps himself close to the refined form (wenzhang), polishing and smoothing the edges and angles [of his behavior].33

儒有上不臣天子,下不事諸侯。慎靜而尚寬。強毅以與人。博學以知 服。近文章, 砥厲廉隅。

In the other three passages of the Liji, the term wenzhang is according to the early commentaries—a compound denoting two different textile patterns for ritual use: wen is explained as the pattern of azure and red, zhang as one of red and white.34 Whether or not we accept this rather specific explanation, in these passages—as well as in many other texts, as we shall see wenzhang clearly refers to some kind of textile ornament.

Finally, there are two appearances of wenzhang in the so-called "Minor Preface(s)" to poems of the Shijing, written during the Han dynasty:35

"Qi yu" praises the virtuous power of Duke Wu [of Wei]. He had refined form (wenzhang); again, he could listen to corrections and admonitions. By ritual, he restrained himself.36

淇奥,美武公之德也。有文章,又能聽其規諫。以禮自防。

King Li was without the Way. The world under Heaven is vast, vast; [but King Li] was without the control-line and net and without the refined form (wenzhang) [of political order].37

#### 厲王無道。天下蕩蕩,無綱紀文章。

The two preface passages to Odes # 55 and # 255 use the word wenzhang in the same sense, denoting-parallel to the "controlline and net" (gangii 綱紀)—some abstract key instrument of good rule.

In sum, the occurrence of the word wenzhang in the Thirteen Canonical Books allows several conclusions. First, the term does not occur in the oldest parts of the transmitted texts, that is, the early strata of the Shangshu or the Shijing; the earliest, actually rather late, instances may well be those in the Lunyu. Second, the single text where wenzhang appears most frequently is a ritual canon, the Liji; note that this also applies for the broader term wen, which is uniquely recurrent in the Liji chapter "Records of Music," always denoting the appearance of ritual (musical) form.38 And, finally, there is no instance where wenzhang can be reasonably interpreted in any sense as "literature" or "writings." Instead, the term seems to comprise the following meanings:

- a) the refined personal outward appearance of a scholar (Lunyu, Liji);
- b) the refined personal appearance of a ruler or some abstract qualities of good rule (Lunyu, Shijing preface);
- c) military/ritual insignia (Zuo zhuan);
- d) normative ritual forms and standards (Liji);
- e) textile patterns on ritual vestments (Liji).

This set of meanings for wenzhang can be traced throughout Warring States writings. In the Xunzi 荀子—the text that is most intensively centered around the conceptualization of traditional ritual and its application to social order—the term appears no less than fourteen times: as textile patterns (seven times), the refined appearance of the sage (three times), insignia of rank (two times), and, more generally, ritual forms (two times). 99 In

<sup>32</sup> Liji zhengyi 37.302b. In this passage, the early commentaries remain silent on wenzhang. My translation as "refined forms" is derived from its seemingly complementary nature to the "stipulated measures" (zhidu 制度).

<sup>33</sup> Liji zhengyi 59.443a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Liji zhengyi 16.143a, 48.370b, and 50.383a. The other two patterns, conventionally mentioned together with wen and zhang, are fu 躺 (white and black) and fu 敞 (black and azure). Martin J. Powers, "The Figure in the Carpet: Reflections on the Discourse of Ornament in Zhou China," Monumenta Serica 43 (1995): 223, notes on the binomial form fufu: "[I]t would appear that, by mid-Warring States times, the term often served simply as metonymy for any sumptuous counterchange pattern, i.e., a pattern in which figure and ground are reversible."

<sup>35</sup> On the complex problem of identifying and dating the different parts of the Mao preface, see Van Zoeren, Poetry and Personality, pp. 90-115.

<sup>36</sup> Mao shi zhengyi [# 55] 3-2.52c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Mao shi zhengyi [# 255] 18-1.284c.

 $<sup>^{38}</sup>$  In contrast, and complementary, to wen denoting the outward pattern, li理 would refer to the inner structure, as in a piece of jade; see Shuowen jiezi zhu 1A,30b-31a.

<sup>39</sup> Wang Xianqian 王先謙, Xunzi jijie 荀子集解 (Zhuzi jicheng ed.) 3.53, 3.60, 4.84, 6.116, 6.117, 6.121, 7.141, 8.156, 8.157, 13.231, 13.239, 14.257, 18.317, 20,362.

the Han Feizi 韓非子, which is in many respects indebted to the Xunzi, wenzhang denotes ritual form, the accomplishment of the sage, and refined ritual embellishments of material objects. In the Yanzi chunqiu 晏子春秋, it again refers once to crafted ornaments and in another passage to the patterned brilliance in the speeches of a wandering persuader (youshi 游士). In the Mozi 墨子, the term appears only once (pejoratively) in the context of ritual ornament related to musical performance. In the Guanzi 管子 as well as in the Guoyu 國語, the term refers to textile ornament. In the Zhuangzi 莊子 and in the Lüshi chunqiu 呂氏春秋, likewise, wenzhang appears three times each to denote visual, including textile, patterns or insignia. In the Zhanguo ce 戰國策, it refers to the general system of laws and regulations.

In sum, throughout all major Eastern Zhou texts (the Zhanguo ce stories tentatively included) that contain the term wenzhang, there is not a single instance in which it can be read unambiguously as "literary composition" or as directly denoting texts or even words at all. The phrase yan you wenzhang 言有文章 in the Yanzi chunqiu, also as yan wei wenzhang 言為文章 in the Han compilations Da Dai Liji 大戴禮紀 and Huainan zi 淮南子, 46 is informative here: wenzhang is not the words themselves, but a quality of both order and brilliance that distinguishes them from other, ordinary verbal expressions. Wherever the term wenzhang means something concrete—that is, beyond a "refined" or "patterned" appearance in general—in Warring States writings, it relates to

ritual forms (including a well-ordered way of speaking), and in particular to textile ornament and military/ritual insignia on pennants and blazons.

In this set of meanings, the perfected outward appearance is nothing superficial: "The presence of the sage's inner power manifests itself in external signs, which can be seen in the forms (wen 文) and outward signs that others recognize. The ritual objects of rulers were intended to display the excellence of their inner power. This could be seen in the ornaments of distinction on a ruler's robes, in the tinkling of the bells of his chariot, and in the heavenly bodies displayed on his flags and standards."47 Here, we are not in the mediated world of ideological doctrines and their rhetorical formulations but confronted with the immediate aesthetic expression of ritualized political representation: "[C]eremonial ornament was not simply 'ornament'—rather, it was the means by which the allocation of resources and prerogatives was expressed, enforced, and discussed. The apportionment of good food and the music proper to each was, theoretically, in direct proportion to the character, merit and de of the various nobility."48

In this overall context of Eastern Zhou material culture, wenzhang is the word for correct and appropriate ornament: we hear of the wenzhang of the sage, of the scholar, or of the perfect ritual order. As such, wenzhang does not merely denote marks of distinction but bears already emblematic significance: in this abstraction, "to have wenzhang," now in a general sense of ritual demeanor, distinguishes by itself the model person. 49 Although the broader term wen can mean the pattern of writing in early texts, having reviewed all cases of concrete and unambiguous meanings of the more narrow term wenzhang we find no support to read it as (spoken or written) "literary text." Furthermore, the emblem-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Wang Xianshen 王先慎, Han Feizi jijie 韓非子集解 (Zhuzi jicheng ed.) 3.49, 6.96, 6.108.

<sup>41</sup> Zhang Chunyi 聚純一, Yanzi chunqiu jiaozhu 晏子春秋校注 (Zhuzi jicheng ed.) 2.52, 5.146. In the second passage, the text notes that the persuader's way of speaking had patterned brilliance (yan you wenzhang 盲有文章) and that his learning/techniques (shu 術) had orderly structure (tiaoli 徐理).

<sup>42</sup> Sun Yirang 孫治議, Mozi jiangu 墨子開始 (Zhuzi jicheng ed.) 8.155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Guanzi jiaozheng 1.10; Guoyu (Sibu congkan ed.) 2.10a; for an interpretation of the Guoyu passage see Powers, "The Figure in the Carpet," pp. 216-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Guo Qingfan 郭慶籌, Zhuangzi jishi 莊子集釋 (Zhuzi jicheng ed.) 1.16, 8.141, 10.160; Lüshi chunqiu (Zhuzi jicheng ed.) 6.54, 10.98, 14.138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> He Jianzhang 何建章, Zhanguo ce zhushi 歐國策注釋 (3 vols., Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 1:74.

<sup>46</sup> Wang Pinzhen 王聘珍, Da Dai Liji jiegu 大穀禮配解點 (Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 1983) 5.94; Xu Shen 許慎/Gao You 高誘, Huainan honglie jie 淮南鴻烈解 (Sibu congkan ed.) 9.1a, 20.10a; cf. also a memorial from very late Western Han times in Hanshu 67.2920.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> John Knoblock, Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works (3 vols., Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988-94), 1:304, n. 55.

<sup>48</sup> Powers, "The Figure in the Carpet," p. 218.

<sup>49</sup> This common assumption is indirectly confirmed even by its rejection, e.g., in the pejorative use of wenzhang in Han Feizi 3.49 where the proliferation of wenzhang among the latter sages is presented as inferior to the utmost simplicity of Yao 亳. The passage is but one reflection of the critical dichotomy between substantial simplicity (zhi 質) and ornamental structure (wen 文), pervasive in Eastern Zhou and Qin-Han discussions on ritual. In subsequent ages the problem became translated into the rhetoric of literary values, programmatic in Tang and Song statements on guwen ("ancient style literature").

atic character of the notion of wenzhang itself, clearly derived from its concrete denotations of ritual emblems, seems to require to read the more ambiguous passages that employ wenzhang, e.g., those of the Lunyu, in a somewhat abstract sense within the same semantic horizon. There is no indication that "the wenzhang of Confucius" that "can be known" could have anything to do with speech or writing—despite the fact that the great ritual specialist of the Tang dynasty and Hanshu commentator Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581-645) understands wenzhang here as the writings attributed to Confucius, i.e., those "of the kind of the 'Xici' 繁華 and 'Wenyan' 文言 [commentaries to the Yijing] and of the Chunqiu 春秋."50 It is this kind of retrospective reasoning by later scholar-officials that we have to surmount in order to reconstruct the earlier meanings of words in their own historical context.

The texts of the second century B.C.—again as far as they include the term wenzhang—also use the term entirely within its earlier range of meanings:<sup>51</sup> these are Jia Yi's 賈誼 (200-168 B.C.) Xin shu 新書,<sup>52</sup> Lu Jia's 陸賈 (c. 228-c. 140 B.C.) Xin yu 新語,<sup>53</sup> the sacrificial hymn cycle of the "Anshi fangzhong ge" 安世房中歌 of around 200 B.C.,<sup>54</sup> the Han shi waizhuan 韓詩外傳,<sup>55</sup> the Da Dai Liji,<sup>56</sup> and the Huainan zi.<sup>57</sup>

The next major text to consider is Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (c. 145-c. 86 B.C.) Shiji. Here, wenzhang occurs in eight passages—most of which are not Sima Qian's own words but quotations from earlier texts or later interpolations into the Shiji. One instance of a quotation is the Lunyu passage on "the wenzhang of Confucius." In another passage, the Shiji includes the famous letter that the Qin chancellor Li Si 李斯 (d. 208 B.C.) wrote in prison, using wenzhang in the same sense of normative ritual form, re-

lated to the correct weights and measures, in which the term appears in the Liji. 59 In two passages of the "Book on Ritual" ("Lishu" 禮書), the term refers to textile ornament, as it did in the Xunzi and Liji. 60 The "Book on Music" ("Yueshu" 樂書) includes the Liji passage where wenzhang denotes the "instruments of ritual." 61 Both "books," however, belong to the famous "lost ten chapters" of the Shiji, that is, they are later replacements of the original text: the "Book on Music" is almost entirely a reproduction—with some minor rearrangements of the text—of the Liji "Records of Music" ("Yueji"), whereas the "Book on Ritual" draws on a variety of sources, in particular from the Liji and Xunzi. It is impossible to date these chapters precisely; the only safe terminus ante quem is the early fifth century A.D. 62

Another of the "lost chapters," the "Hereditary Houses of the Three Princes" ("San wang shi jia" 三王世家), 63 includes wenzhang in an appended passage that is attributed to the supposed compiler of this chapter, Chu Shaosun 豬少孫 (c. 105-c. 30 B.C.). Here, in a narrative placed in the reign of Emperor Zhao 昭 (r. 87-74 B.C.), the ritual specialist Gonghu Manyi 公戶滿意 64 claims to "draw upon the comprehensive principles of past and present, the great rituals of the state, and wenzhang that approached classical correctness." This passage is closely parallel to a memorial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> See Yan Shigu's commentary in Hanshu 75.3195.

<sup>51</sup> To the following list, one could also add Sima Xiangru's 司馬相如 (179-117 B.C.) Changmen fu 長門賦 (Wen xuan 16.13a) and, purportedly earlier, the pseudo-Song Yu's 宋玉 (c. 290-223 B.C.) Shennü fu 神女賦 (Wen xuan 19.9a), but these works are most probably not authentic and are of an uncertain date.

<sup>52</sup> Xin shu (Congshu jicheng ed.) 1.13, 6.64.

<sup>53</sup> Xin yu (Zhuzi jicheng ed.) 1.1, 7.12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Hanshu 22.1049; see my Die Hymnen der chinesischen Staatsopfer, pp. 100-73, esp. pp. 132-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Han shi waizhuan (Sibu congkan ed.) 5.1a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Da Dai Liji jiegu 1.12, 5.94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Huainan honglie jie 1.12b, 1.14b, 2.2b, 2.7b, 5.7a, 8.9a, 9.1a, 9.10b, 11.15a, 20.10a.

<sup>58</sup> Shiji 47.1941.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Shiji 87.2561.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Shiji 23.1158, 1161; the second passage is modelled on Xunzi 13.231.

<sup>61</sup> Shiji 24.1189, cf. Liji zhengyi 37.302b.

<sup>62</sup> See Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, "Taishi gong shu wangpian kao" 大史公書亡篇考, in Yu Jiaxi lunxue ji 余嘉錫論學集 (2 vols., Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1963), 1:38-49; Qiu Qiongsun 丘瓊藻, Lidai yuezhi lüzhi jiaoshi 歷代樂志律志校釋 (Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), pp. 1-12; and my "A Note on the Authenticity and Ideology of Shihchi 24, 'The Book on Music'," Journal of the American Oriental Society 119 (1999): 673-77.

<sup>63</sup> See Yu Jiaxi, "Taishi gong shu wangpian kao," 1:58-65.

<sup>64</sup> The erudite Gonghu, a specialist probably of the Yili 儀禮, is mentioned in the Shiji only twice (60.2118, 121.3126), and in the Hanshu only once (88.3614). He nevertheless seems to have occupied the high position of a Grand Palace Grandee (taizhong dafu 太中大夫), that is, a personal adviser to the emperor; see the Hanshu passage and Sima Zhen's 司馬貞 (eighth century) commentary in Shiji 60.2119.

<sup>65</sup> Shiji 60.2118. The translation of wenzhang er ya 文章爾雅 as "wenzhang that approach classical correctness" is tentative. Er ya can either mean "approach classical correctness" or, possibly, "to cause to draw near classical correctness"; the same applies for the following quotation. Moreover, in the present passage wenzhang er ya may be separated from the previous phrases and would then refer directly to Gonghu: "His wenzhang approach classical correctness."

by the chancellor Gongsun Hong 公孫弘 (200-121 B.C.) on the official promotion of ru scholars:

Your servant has respectfully investigated the edicts, laws, and commands that have been sent down—they illuminate the demarcations of Heaven and Man and comprehend the principles of past and present. Their wenzhang approach classical correctness, their phrases of instruction are deep and profound, their bounty is manifest in great beauty.66

臣謹案詔書律令下者,明天人分際,通古今之義。文章爾雅,訓辭深 厚,恩施其美。

The context of wenzhang in these two passages is still ritual and rulership, like in some passages of the Liji, and if the term would refer now to (written?) verbal expression, then it should denote a rather particular form, contents, and function of ritualized expression, maybe monitory writings that could be considered as a means of good rule. In this case, the patterns of normative ritual form were now extended to include official writings.

Altogether, the Shiji shows no instance of wenzhang in the sense of "literature" beyond the most narrowly defined spheres of ritual and rulership-with one significant exception which is a much later addition: chapter 112, the "Biographies of the Lord of Pingjin and Zhufu Yan" ("Pingjin hou Zhufu liezhuan" 平津侯主父列傳), includes an appendix by the Hanshu compiler Ban Gu in which he enumerates the outstanding scholars and officials of the Western Han who have excelled in various domains; listing the scholars in a sequence of these domains, the text also mentions the category of wenzhang: "As for wenzhang, there are Sima Qian and [Sima] Xiangru." In addition, Ban Gu notes a few lines later that "Liu Xiang 劉向 [79-8 B.C.] and Wang Bao 王褒 [d. 61 B.C.] became prominent through wenzhang."67 This passage marks a fundamental shift: the term wenzhang, clearly meaning "(court) literary writings" here, is transferred from the sphere of ritual order to that of, however officially functional and ritualized, writings.

What kind of a development does this shift imply? Are we confronted with a simple semantic change of a word, or does this change bear deeper significance, representing the transfer of what was embodied in the sensual order of ritual to the domain of literary writing? In other words, does this shift point to a new

status of the literary text,68 absorbing and replacing to some extent the genuine ritual act as the most significant expression of good rule and thereby representing some overall transformation of the immediate ritual expression into a textually mediated one? What kind of "literature" is under discussion here, and should the designation wenzhang indeed be reserved for specific types of writings, e.g., of particular ritual significance? What is the relation between old wenzhang (meaning ritual demeanor and political order) and new wenzhang (meaning the literary text), given the fact that Ban Gu uses the word in both senses, although mostly in the new one?69 And finally: can we date the semantic shift in the word wenzhang more precisely, relating it to some overruling phenomena of Han cultural and intellectual history? To approach these questions we have to look at the criticism of wenzhang as ritual ornament on the basis of the emerging ritual canon.

### III. Ritual canon versus ritual practice

A number of texts indicate that the shift in the meaning of wenzhang is indeed a late Western/early Eastern Han phenomenon, i.e., relatively recent in Ban Gu's times. The earliest instance of wenzhang meaning the written text that I have been able to locate is, surprisingly enough, in Huan Kuan's 桓寬 (first century B.C.) Yantie lun 鹽鐵論, the account of a court debate of 81 B.C. concerned with the political and economic policies of the day. Here, in one of altogether three instances the term denotes written legal statutes or articles, in other words, a corpus of texts that are as far removed from any notion of belles lettres as we can imagine.70 By contrast to this apparently unique case, the Hanshu, in addition to some earlier quotations of memorials and other

<sup>66.</sup> Shiji 121.3119; cf. also Hanshu 88.3594.

<sup>67</sup> Shiji 112.2965; see also Wen xuan 49.2b, 3b.

<sup>68</sup> If not noted otherwise, I always use terms like "literature," "literary writings," etc. in the broadest sense, including, for example, official panegyrics, memorials, and other forms of functional texts.

<sup>69</sup> In the Hanshu, Ban Gu uses wenzhang a number of times in the sense of "literary writings" (see Hanshu 28B.1645, 30.1701, 58.2628, 58.2634, 87B.3557, 87B.3583, 99B.4046) but only twice in the earlier sense of ritual order (6.212, 25B.1270); the passages quoted above from his preface to the "Liang du fu" seem to balance the two meanings (see the discussion below).

<sup>70</sup> Yantie lun (Zhuzi jicheng ed.), [paragraph 55] 56. In two other instances p. 5 [paragraph 3] and p. 30 [26]—wenzhang is used in the established meanings of textile ornament and visible patterns.

primary texts,<sup>71</sup> contains one edict by Emperor Xuan from 55 B.C.<sup>72</sup> and three memorials to Emperor Cheng 成 (r. 33-7 B.C.)<sup>78</sup> that all use *wenzhang* within its earlier range of meanings.

The single original Western Han document in the *Hanshu* that contains the term in the sense of literary writings (or even texts in general) is Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (53 B.C.-A.D. 18) preface to his *Changyang fu* 長楊賦.<sup>74</sup> Again in his *Fayan* 法言, he notes that Confucius's disciples were not sufficient in producing wenzhang, which here refers obviously to written texts;<sup>75</sup> in another passage of the same work he lists the *Songs* and the *Documents* among a sage's features of outward ritual demeanor.<sup>76</sup>

A contemporary to Yang Xiong, the textual erudite and imperial bibliographer Liu Xiang, employs wenzhang in his Shui yuan 說苑<sup>77</sup> altogether six times, of which only one instance can be understood as "writing": here, the text notes that the "men of resolve" (zhishi 志士) have been reciting the wenzhang of Confucius's Chunqiu.<sup>78</sup> Most interesting, four of the five other passages include wenzhang in a negative sense similar to its earlier

appearance in *Mozi* and *Han Feizi*, i.e., as a brilliant yet superficial or even deceitful pattern of material ornament or speech.<sup>79</sup>

Kuang Heng 匡衡 (chancellor 36-30 B.C.) used the term in this same negative meaning in his famous memorial of 32 B.C., when he proposed to abolish the densely ornamented purple *Taiyi* 太一 altar in Ganquan 甘泉, claiming that its *wenzhang* and various features of embellishment "cannot take their model from antiquity." From Kuang Heng's memorial it is clear that the ritual structures of Emperor Wu's reign were still in use at this time:<sup>80</sup>

At the purple altar of the Great [Unity] sacrificial site at Ganquan, the passages in the eight corners represent [the spirits of] the eight directions. The altars of the Five Thearchs encircle it below, and again there are the altars of the manifold spirits. According to the Shangshu, there is the principle of sacrificing to the Six Venerated Ones, offering the sacrifice from the distance to the mountains and rivers, and sacrificing all around to the manifold spirits.81 [But] the purple altar has the decoration of patterned ornament (wenzhang), of multicolored carvings, and of the white-black and blackazure counterchange patterns (fufu); moreover, it has nephrite and female musicians; its stone altars and shrines for the immortals, buried carriages with simurgh-bells, red horses and strong foals, and [wooden] figures of dragon steeds [all] cannot find their models in antiquity. According to the principle of the burnt offerings to the thearchs at the suburban altar that Your Subject has learned, one [simply] sweeps the ground and sacrifices this is venerating substantial simplicity. 82 One sings [based on the pitch standard] dalü and dances "Cloud Gate" ("Yunmen") to await the heavenly spirits; one sings [based on the pitch standard] taicou and dances "Encompassing Pond" ("Xianchi") to await the earthly spirits.83 For the sacrificial victim one uses a calf, for the seat brushwood and straw, for the vessels earthenware and gourd, in all these following the nature of Heaven and Earth, cherishing sincerity and venerating substantial simplicity.<sup>84</sup> One does not dare to elaborate on the patterns (wen). One believes that the merits and virtuous power of the heavenly and earthly spirits are of utmost greatness, and even if one embellished [the paraphernalia to their] refined and minute

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> See *Hanshu* 56.2510, 64B.2809, 88.3594, together with the *Lunyu* quotations in 75.3194, 88.3589, 100B.4235, and the passage in the "Anshi fangzhong ge" from around 200 B.C. in *Hanshu* 22.1049.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Hanshu 8.267.

<sup>73</sup> Hanshu 25B.1256, 67.2920, 80.3324.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Hanshu 87B.3557, see also Wen xuan 9.2a. This text was probably composed in 10 B.C.; see David R. Knechtges, The Han Rhapsody: A Study of the Fu of Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.-A.D. 18) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 115.

<sup>75</sup> See Wang Rongbao 汪桑寶, Fayan yishu 法盲義疏 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1968) 16.2a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Fayan yishu 12.6b-7a. In Fayan yishu 14.15a, he includes "embellished phrases" (wenci 文辭) among the outward attributes (biao 表) of a sage.

The prose genres shui 觀 and shuo 觀 in the light of the Guwenci leizuan 古文辭類案 of 1779," in Ad Seres et Tungusos: Festschrift für Martin Gimm, ed. Lutz Bieg, Erling von Mende, and Martina Siebert (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), pp. 221-43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Shui yuan (Sibu congkan ed.) 5.2a. The other passages are 2.3a, 8.9b, 20.7b, 20.9b, 20.13a. Of course, this passage cannot serve to explain pre-Han occurrences of the term wenzhang, e.g., in the Lunyu.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Shui yuan 2.3a, 20.7b, 20.9b, 20.13a.

<sup>80</sup> From Yang Xiong's autobiography in *Hanshu* 87A.3534-35 we know that these structures were actually used as late as around 11 B.C. (the probable composition date of Yang Xiong's "Ganquan fu" 甘泉赋), after the sacrificial sites at Ganquan had been temporarily abandoned between 31 and 16 B.C.; on these issues, see Knechtges, *The Han Rhapsody*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>81</sup> See Shangshu zhengyi 尚書正義 (Shisan jing zhushu ed.) 3.14b, parallel Shiji 28.1355. Hanshu 25A.1191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> See Liji zhengyi 26.225b; also the discussion of the Qin ru scholars in Shiji 28.1366. Hanshu 25A.1201.

<sup>88</sup> See Zhouli zhushu 22.150c-151b.

<sup>84</sup> See Liji zhengyi 26.224b, passim, as well as Shiji 28.1366, Hanshu 25A.1201.

[details] and prepared numerous goods, it would still not suffice to repay their merits. Only utmost sincerity can do this, and therefore one venerates substantial simplicity and does not provide ornament, in order to display the virtuous power of Heaven. As for all the artificial adornment of the purple altar and the likes of female musicians, red horses and strong foals, dragon steeds and stone altars, it is appropriate to abandon them.<sup>85</sup>

甘泉泰畤紫壇,八觚宣通象八方。五帝壇周環其下,又有群神之壇。以尚書禋六宗,望山川,徧群神之義。紫壇有文章采鏤黼黻之飾及玉,女樂;石壇,僊人祠,瘞鸞路,騂駒,寓龍馬不能得其象於古。臣聞郊柴饗帝之義,搔地而祭,上質也。歌大呂舞雲門以竢天神,歌太蔟舞咸池以竢地祇。其牲用犢,其席蔥豬,其器陶匏,皆因天地之性,貴誠上質,不敢修其文也。以為神祇功德至大,雖修精微而備庶物,猶不足以報功。唯至誠為可,故上質不飾,以章天德。紫壇偽飾,女樂,鶯路,騂駒,龍馬,石壇之屬,宜皆勿修。

This memorial is largely based on quotations from the Shangshu and from what are now the received versions of the Liji and Zhouli, although only the former is explicitly mentioned, the references to the ritual texts being only implicit. Such difference probably reflects the status of these texts: whereas the Shangshu had long been venerated as a canonical text, the Zhouli (or Zhouguan 周官), although certainly of pre-Han origins,86 did not rise into prominence until the final years of the Western Han, after it had been rediscovered by the imperial bibliographer—and successor to his father Liu Xiang—Liu Xin 劉歆 (d. A.D. 23) and promoted by Wang Mang 王莽 (45 B.C.-A.D. 23),87 The received text of the Liji, allegedly edited by Liu Xiang, was probably not compiled until about A.D. 100 and did not become recognized as a distinct canonical work until late Eastern Han times (through Zheng Xuan's commentary). The final compilation of the "book" Liji notwithstanding, its various (and largely heterogenous) parts must have gradually accumulated from the late Warring States

<sup>85</sup> Hanshu 25B.1256. For an account of the ritual reforms under Emperor Cheng see Michael Loewe, Crisis and Conflict in Han China, 104 BC to AD 9 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974), pp. 154-92.

onwards and were frequently quoted in early Han official writings.88 That Kuang Heng would not cite the book titles Zhouli and Liji does not necessarily diminish the actual authority of his references; on the contrary, they may-at least in part-have been common property among the scholar-officials of his times, albeit still in a stage of textual fluidity. Such "fluid texts," to be sure, are already "texts," that is to say demarcated entities of distinctive meaning, and as such can be recognized, respected, and transmitted. What distinguishes them from works of canonical status is the fact that they are not yet "closed"; they are still open to subtractions, additions, emendations and all other ways of textual continuation and editing; in other words, to actualization.89 Yen-zen Tsai has noted that still in Eastern Han times, the Liji, in contrast to the Yili—the official ritual canon during the Western Han and Zhouli, was regarded not as belonging to the canon (jing 經) proper, but as a collection of expository writings on ritual that served as a complement to, or teaching tradition (zhuan 傳) of,

<sup>86</sup> See Bernhard Karlgren, "The Early History of the Chou Li and Tso Chuan Texts," Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities 3 (1931): 1-59, and William G. Boltz, "Chou li," in Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China/The Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993), pp. 24-32.

<sup>87</sup> See Hanshu 99A,4069.

<sup>88</sup> For a brief summary on the ritual texts in Han scholarship see Michael Nylan, "The Chin wen/Ku wen Controversy in Han Times," *T'oung Pao* 80 (1994): 99-101, 129-30; for the *Liji* see also Jeffrey K. Riegel, "Li chi," in *Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 293-97. Nanbu Hidehiko 南部英彦,"Zen-Kandai no seishō jōsō nado ni mieru rei no jiku no yinyō ni tsuite: Zen-Kandai ni okeru keijutsu shugi no ichi sokumen" 前漢代の制部・上奏等に見える権の費句の引用について:前漢代における經濟主義の一機面,*Shūkan Tōyōgaku* 集刊東洋學 77 (1997): 1-21, who also accepts a date around A.D. 100 for the compilation of the *Liji*, has traced individual passages or chapters of its text through Western Han edicts and memorials. Moreover, the excavated "Ziyi" 緇衣 manuscript from Guodian 郭店 shows that individual chapters of the *Liji* can indeed—in one version or another—date back from Warning States times.

<sup>89</sup> On the formation of the traditional Chinese canon, and a comparison to other scriptural traditions, see Henderson, Scripture, Canon, and Commentary. In addition to Henderson, substantial contributions to the issue of the canon from a cross-cultural perspective are Jan Assmann, Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1992), pp. 103-129, and the collection Kanon und Zensur, ed. Aleida and Jan Assmann (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1987). For a discussion of the multidimensional concept of the canon, both works provide excellent theoretical and historical foundations that could profoundly enrich our understanding of the Chinese canonical tradition, beyond the mere accounts of names and data. Complementary to Henderson's chapters 4 and 5, the Assmanns' "Kanon und Zensur als kultursoziologische Kategorien" in Kanon und Zensur, pp. 7-46, gives a complex account on the interdependent phenomena of canon, censorship, and commentary.

the *jing*.<sup>90</sup> These freely applicable texts served Kuang Heng's purpose since they not only accompanied the canon, but indeed actualized its significance for the project of ritual reforms around 32 B.C.: where the canon requires to be fixed "to the single iota" and becomes therefore more and more removed from reality, it is the commentary that relates the elevated and increasingly unintelligible canonical truth to the current times.<sup>92</sup> Although initially only on the periphery of the ritual canon, the fluid expository texts of the *Liji* bridged the distance to the fixed canonical texts of the *Shangshu* and the *Yili* and in this function were valuable to Kuang Heng's argument.

With the chancellor's memorial we are at the core of the late Western Han ritual classicism that was launched directly against imperial ritual splendor as it had been inherited from the times of Emperor Wu. As the latter had purportedly designed his system of cosmological state sacrifices on the model provided by writings (shu 書) and charts (tu 圖) handed down from the reign of the Yellow Emperor,98 the later criticism and partial reform of this system was in turn based on the texts of the gradually emerging state-sponsored canon. In both cases, changes of ritual practice were grounded in references to a textual canon, however imaginary; yet we are dealing with canons of very different qualities: the writings and charts associated with the Yellow Emperor represented a tradition of secret knowledge and were introduced to the emperor personally by individual "masters of methods" (fangshi 方士, often labelled "magicians") from the old state of Oi 齊. Different from the writings cherished by the ru scholars under Emperor Wu the clearly defeated rivals of the fangshi in the court struggle for imperial favor and ritual competence-

<sup>90</sup> Yen-zen Tsai, "Ching and Chuan: Towards Defining the Confucian Scriptures in Han China (206 BCE-220 CE)" (Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 1992), p. 319.

these texts were apparently not open to commentary or public disputation, and they do not seem to have constituted a scriptural tradition.

And, when Kuang Heng marshalled passages from the ritual texts and the Shangshu against the inherited ritual wenzhang of Emperor Wu, he operated on the basis of a canon that was fundamentally alien to the state rituals of that ruler: as he correctly observed, Wudi's system of cosmic sacrifices, including the worship of the heavenly deity Taiyi and the five cosmic thearchs (wu di 五帝) at Ganquan, the worship of the earth deity Houtu 后土 at Fenyin, the feng 封 and shan 禪 sacrifices and the erection of the Hall of Light at the foot of Mt. Tai, had no support from those traditional texts that were promoted by the late Western Han classicists:94 the nineteen "Hymns for the suburban sacrifice" ("Jiaosi ge" 郊祀歌), dating from between 113 and 94 B.C., include almost no references to passages from the Five Canons (Wu line 五經: Yi 易, Shu 書, Shi 詩, Li 禮, and Chungiu 春秋) for which Emperor Wu allegedly had established official teaching chairs in 136 B.C.; 95 moreover, in both contents and form these texts differ radically from their most natural model, the traditional Shijing hymns.<sup>96</sup> From this perspective, and again by comparison with the two preceding cycles of imperial eulogies—the imperial stele inscriptions of the First Qin Emperor (Qin Shihuangdi 秦始皇帝, r. as emperor 221-210 B.C.) and Han Gaozu's "Anshi fangzhong

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> The earliest instance of this famous "canon formula," to the effect that nothing should be subtracted from nor added to the work, as we know it from the Deuteronomy, may be found in a Babylonian colophon; see Jan Assmann, Das kulturelle Gedächtnis, pp. 103-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> See Jan Assmann, "Text und Kommentar: Einführung," in Text und Kommentar, ed. Jan Assmann and Burkhard Gladigow (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1995), pp. 9-33.

<sup>93</sup> Both the feng 對 and shan 鞹 sacrifices and the design for the "Hall of Light" (mingtang 明堂) at Mt. Tai were traced to the Yellow Emperor; see Shiji 28.1393 (parallel Shiji 12.467, Hanshu 25A.1227-28) and 28.1401 (parallel Shiji 612.480-81, Hanshu 25B.1243).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> I am unable to follow Robert P. Kramers, "The development of Confucian schools," in *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. I: *The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.-A.D. 220*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 755, who claims that Han Wudi, relying on the *ru* scholars at court, reinstated "the main rituals harking back to the founders of Chou." The opposite was the case, at least with respect to the state sacrifices which are by far the most important: neither did Wudi rely on the traditional scholars in re-organizing these rituals, nor did he refer to the Western Zhou.

<sup>95</sup> On the establishment of the chairs for the Five Canons in 136 B.C. we do not find a word in the Shiji; the Hanshu includes nothing but three laconic statements (Hanshu 6.159, 19A.726, 88.3620), without providing any details. Beyond these brief passages, we have no evidence for the appointment of the "erudites of the Five Canons" (Wu Jing boshi 五經博士) under Emperor Wu. In addition, one should note that even the term Wu Jing does not appear in the Shiji, except once in the "Book on Music," which was incorporated into Sima Qian's original work only later (see above).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> The "Jiaosi ge" are preserved in *Hanshu* 22.1052-70; for a translation and study of these texts and their underlying ritual system see my *Die Hymnen der chinesischen Staatsopfer*, pp. 174-303.

ge"—the "Jiaosi ge" reflect nothing less than a self-conscious turn away from the established norms of ritual expression. 97 Should it be possible, then, that for whatever reason the assumed official state ideology was indeed excluded from the most solemn texts of official imperial representation?

To solve this enigma—an issue crucial for our entire understanding of Western Han political culture—one may be inclined to follow Fukui Shigemasa 福井重雅, who in a string of meticulously researched articles has questioned the historical reality of the notion of the *Five Canons*, of the appointment of official erudites, and of the overarching establishment of ru learning as the imperial state ideology under Emperor Wu. 98 According to Fukui, the designation *Five Canons* cannot be traced back to a date prior to 51 B.C., when Emperor Xuan summoned the erudites to discuss the *Five Canons* in the Shiqu 石渠 palace pavilion; 99 the *Hanshu* account about the establishment of the Wu Jing

boshi 五經博士 at the court of Emperor Wu should therefore be regarded as a later interpolation, either by Ban Gu or by his sources.

One does not need to follow Fukui in this last conclusion; more relevant, however, is his observation that even if we are ready to accept the scarce Hanshu notes on the Wu Jing boshi as trustworthy, we are still dealing with a phenomenon of marginal, if any, historical significance: there is no evidence that the erudites of the Five Canons, and with them the Canons themselves, played any role in the rulership and representation of Emperor Wu. This is not to deny that the texts of the Five Canons were available to, and studied by, individual scholars, some of them serving as high officials;100 but the availability or even prominence of certain texts is still different from their exclusive instrumentalization as an official ideology. While our historical sources do not fail to mention that the elevation of the Five Canons under Emperor Wu was accompanied by the censorship of competing texts and doctrines, 101 it is primarily with Emperor Cheng that we see the classicist pressure on rivalling ideologies emerging with full force. 102

known original text is probably that in Yang Xiong's Fayan, that is, again decades later. The Fayan indeed refers repeatedly to the Wu Jing as the normative canon (see, e.g., Fayan yishu 10.2b-3a), while on the other hand denigrating several of the famous Warring States philosophers (as in Fayan yishu 11.25a).

<sup>97</sup> For the stele inscriptions see my The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang; for the "Anshi fangzhong ge" see my Die Hymnen der chinesischen Staatsopfer, pp. 100-173. In a self-referential gesture, text 8 of the "Jiaosi ge" explicitly praises the "new tones" (xinyin 新音) of the state sacrifices; see Hanshu 22.1058. Note that not only Han Wudi's ritual texts are at odds with the established understanding of early Chinese imperial intellectual and political history. Both the Qin imperial inscriptions and the ancestral hymns from the outset of the Han dynasty-divided from one another by about a decade-compellingly disqualify the common view that in Qin and early Han times the texts of the traditional canon, in particular the Shijing and Shangshu, had been burned and suppressed (under the Qin), or at least were despised and unavailable (under the early Han). The ritual hymns and inscriptions of early imperial China, which tend to be completely ignored in historical scholarship, suggest a revision of common wisdom; see my The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang, 154-96. Such wisdom, to the effect that ru learning was rescued by Emperor Wu from the Qin and early Han suppression was defined by later generations of Han historians and scholars who did not write without their own political interest or obligations. It is not surprising to find Sima Qian's or Ban Gu's narratives fundamentally biased, creating meaningful visions of history that were instrumental to their own times.

<sup>98</sup> See his "Rikukei · rikugei to gokei: Kandai ni okeru gokei no seiritsu" 六經六藝と五經: 漢代における五經の成立, *Chūgoku shigaku* 中國史學 4 (1994): 139-64; "Shin Kan jidai ni okeru hakase seido no tenkai: Gokei hakase no secchi o meguru gigi sairon" 奏漢時代における博士制度の展開: 五經博士の設置をめぐる疑義再論, *Tōyōshi kenkyū*" 東洋史研究 54 (1995): 1-81; "Tō Chujo no taisaku no kisoteki kenkyū" 董仲舒の對策の基礎的研究, *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌 106 (1997): 157-204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> See Hanshu 8.272. Note also that in this passage the term Wu Jing does not appear in the quotation of the original edict but only in Ban Gu's narrative paraphrase. As Fukui points out, the earliest occurrence of the term in any

<sup>100</sup> For substantial recent accounts of Han canonical learning, incorporating the full scope of traditional Chinese and modern scholarship, see Yen-zen Tsai, "Ching and chuan," Hans van Ess, Politik und Gelehrsamkeit in der Zeit der Han (202 v.Chr.-220 n.Chr.): Die Alttext/Neutext-Kontroverse (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), and Michael Nylan, "The Chin Wen/Ku Wen Controversy in Han Times." Studies like those by Fukui and Nylan (who questions the reality of a strong "old text" versus "new text" controversy in Han times) demonstrate how often we rely on common assumptions without being able to verify them. A number of these unquestioned assumptions form the backbone of Yen-zen Tsai's study (which nevertheless is in many respects a valuable contribution), where, for example, the terms Liu Yi 六 ("Six Arts") and Wu Jing are anachronistically conflated, even referring to early Han times. Wherever Tsai uses the unclear wording "the Six Arts or Five Scriptures"—and this happens frequently—the sources include only the former term; the addition "or Five Scriptures" is Tsai's own conjecture and cannot stand up to precise analysis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> See Hanshu 6.212, 88.3593.

<sup>102</sup> While in other respects rather traditional, Wang Baoxuan 王葆玹, Xi Han jingxue yuanliu 西漢經學演流 (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1994), pp. 108-27, provides a clear assessment of this issue. By comparison, Tang Zhiyun 湯志鈞 et al., Xi Han jingxue yu zhengzhi 西漢經學與政治 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1994), pp. 13-19, offers nothing but another simplistic reiteration of conventional wisdom.

Fukui's skepticism about the elevation of classicist learning under Wudi is corroborated by the harsh attacks that from late Western Han times were launched retrospectively against this emperor's state ritual and its music. The passage from the Hanshu immediately following the cycle of the "Jiaosi ge," which seems to include fragments of a memorial written between 32 and 7 B.C., 103 accuses the Emperor of having discarded orthodox music, of having used musical pieces that were not "correct sounds" (yasheng 雅聲) for the suburban and temple sacrifices, and, worst of all, of having spread the lascivious "sounds of Zheng" (Zheng sheng 鄭聲) throughout the court—which was understood as the definite emblem of the ruler's moral degeneration and as announcing the imminent downfall of the state. 104 Few, if any, criticism could have been more fundamental, more authoritative, and more devastating, since nothing was more detested as a deep violation of traditional ritual values than the "sounds of Zheng." Confucius himself, speaking in two of the later passages of the Lunyu, had once and for all exposed the desastrous effects of the "sounds of Zheng";

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Yan Yuan asked how to govern a state. The Master said: "Enact the calendar of the Xia, ride in the carriage of the Yin, and wear the ceremonial hat of the Zhou. For music, there is the 'Shao' dance. Abandon the sounds of Zheng and keep at distance eloquent flatterers; the sounds of Zheng are lascivious, and eloquent flatterers are dangerous." 105

顏淵問為邦。子曰:行夏之時,乘殷之輅,服周之冕,樂則韶舞。放鄭 聲,遠佞人。鄭聲淫,佞人殆。

<sup>105</sup> Lunyu zhushu [15.11] 15.61b.

The Master said: "I detest how the purple encroaches upon the crimson. I detest how the sounds of Zheng bring confusion to the correct music. I detest how sharp tongues overthrow the state and the families." 106

子曰:惡紫之奪朱也,惡鄭聲之亂雅樂也,惡立口之覆邦家者。

Despite many centuries of debate there is no conclusion on the actual nature of the "sounds of Zheng" in Eastern Zhou times, if we reject the conflation of Confucius's concern with music and the Mao 毛 interpretation of the "Zheng feng" 鄭風 texts during Han times as overtly anachronistic. By the end of the Western Han, however, the "sounds of Zheng" and the notion of "correct music" had long turned from musical realities into rhetorical formulae, epitomizing the paradigms of cultural achievement and degeneration. When the late Western Han critics of Emperor Wu exploited a rhetoric that referred to the venerated and idealized music of the past, they accused him of having violated the ritual and musical ideals of antiquity as they were preserved in the traditional canon.

Probably predating the fragmentary *Hanshu* memorial, Kuang Heng, again in 32 B.C., had made another concrete effort to improve the state ritual music in the spirit of high antiquity. Concerned with the texts of Emperor Wu's sacrificial hymns for the suburban altars—which therefore must have been still in use under Emperor Cheng—the chancellor proposed two textual changes: in text seven of the "Jiaosi ge" he asked to change the line "The simurgh carriage [glitters with] dragon scales" (*luanlu* 

106 Lunyu zhushu [17.18] 17.69c.

<sup>103</sup> See Hanshu 22.1070-71. The passage speaks of "today's poems and songs for the Han [sacrifices of the] suburban altars and ancestral temple" and mentions the Office of Music in charge of them. The office was abolished in 7 B.C., which would therefore be the logical terminus ante quem for this textual fragment. 32 B.C. refers again to Kuang Heng and his followers, who are the fountain of all the following criticism of Emperor Wu's ritual system.

<sup>104</sup> Since Warring States times, "sounds of Zheng," "sounds of Zheng and Wei" (Zheng Wei zhi sheng 鄭衛之奏), "new sounds" or "tones" (xinsheng 新藥 or xinyin 新音), "lascivious sounds" (yinsheng 淫聲), or "sounds of a perishing state" (wangguo zhi sheng 亡國之聲) were all synonymous designations for the depraved "new" against the noble "old music" (guyue 古樂). For a discussion of this key issue of cultural discourse in ancient China, see Jean-Pierre Diény, Aux origines de la poésie classique en Chine: étude sur la poésie lyrique à l'époque des Han (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), pp. 17-40; Kurihara Keisuke 栗原圭介, Chūgoku kodai gakuron no henkyū 中國古代獎論の研究 (Tokyo: Daitō bunka daigaku, 1978), pp. 63-70.

<sup>107</sup> Both the archaeological record (see Lothar von Falkenhausen, Suspended Music: Chime-Bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993]) and the transmitted Eastern Zhou texts provide evidence that music served as the emblem of cultural achievement well into Warring States times. According to a passage from the Zuo zhuan (Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi [Xiang 29] 39.304a-305c)—to quote just one of the most famous examples-during his visit to Lu 魯 Prince Ji Zha 季札 from Wu 吳 listened to the music of the various states and immediately judged their political condition and destiny. The rulers of high antiquity were accompanied by their music master, not by their poeta laureatus, as in later imperial times: in the same way as Shun 舜 personally appointed Kui 姜 in this capacity (see Shangshu zhengyi 3.19b-20a), so the last ruler of the Shang, the tyrant Zhou 紂, had his music master compose-of course-"new sounds" and "sounds of a perishing state" (see Han Feizi jijie 3.42-45, Shiji 3.105). Within the same context of music as the emblem of culture, the fundamental attack against ru ritualism in Mozi (Mozi jiangu 8.155-62) is launched under the notion "Rejecting Music" ("Fei yue" 非樂).

longlin 鶯路龍鱗) into "[We] choose the accomplishment of blessings" (juan xuan xiu cheng 涓選休成); in text eight he wanted to replace the line "The axe-patterned embroideries are spread out in circles" (fu xiu zhou zhang 黼繡周張) with "Respectfully [We] follow the old statutes" (su ruo jiu dian 肅若舊典). 108 These two changes, totalling eight characters in the complete text of the prestigious state sacrificial hymns, illustrate succinctly the overall program of late Western Han ritual classicism, according to which the dynasty's legitimacy depended upon its conformity with the venerated past. In both cases, abstract notions of good rulership are substituted for ritual ornament, that is, the genuine wenzhang of immediate aesthetic expression. 109 In the second phrase, moreover, the term jiu dian 舊典 ("old statutes") means either "the old canonical texts" in general or, more concretely, certain ritual rules preserved in them. In any case, it was again the written canon that furnished the basis for Kuang Heng's intervention: its texts, containing the ritual models of high antiquity, were now truly canonical in the sense of providing authoritative norms against which the present ritual practice could—and must—be judged. With the words of the sages, believed to be faithfully preserved in the written canon, ritual practice was confronted with an absolute standard that could be invoked and commented on, but not negotiated. Revising those descriptive parts of the sacrificial hymns that eulogized the ritual ornament, Kuang Heng proposed to discard the ornamental structures of both the actual ritual setting and its self-referential verbal description.110

Although Liu Xiang opposed some of the sacrificial reforms initiated by Kuang Heng, <sup>111</sup> claiming that the emperor should not abolish the sacred sites that had been established and worshipped by his ancestors, he also belonged to the group of scholars who

108 Hanshu 22.1057-58; for annotated translations and discussions of the two hymns see my Die Hymnen der chinesischen Staatsopfer, pp. 210-23.

111 Hanshu 25B.1258-59, see also Loewe, Crisis and Conflict, pp. 176-77.

were critical of imperial extravagance and of the display of ritual magnificence. 112 As the foremost scholar to redefine and secure the traditional canon, as editor of important pre-Han works and as imperial bibliographer, 113 Liu Xiang, more than any other scholar in his time, imagined the inherited culture as resting solidly on the authoritative canon of the written word, rather than on ostentatious ritual demeanor. It may therefore be more than merely coincidental that the first mention of wenzhang as referring to a particular text—the Chunqiu—should be found in Liu's Shui yuan, side by side with a preponderantly critical view of wenzhang as ornamental display. The turn to the written canon, which corroborated the rejection of ritual ornament as now "mere ornament," was instrumental for the redefinition of the term wenzhang.

Around the year 50, Ban Gu's father, the distinguished scholar-official Ban Biao 斑彪 (3-54), presented a memorial on the education of the Heir Apparent. In this early Eastern Han document the new meaning of wenzhang as "classicist writing" emerges with relative clarity, although the original bonds to ritual practice are by no means cut off:

When the Han had risen, the Great Ancestor [i.e., Emperor Wen, r. 180-157 B.C.] ordered Chao Cuo [200-154 B.C.] to instruct the Heir Apparent about the rules and methods [of good order]; Jia Yi taught the Songs and the Documents to the Prince of Liang. The Middle Ancestor [i.e., Emperor Xuan] also commanded men such as Liu Xiang, Wang Bao, Xiao Wangzhi [c. 110-47 B.C.], and Zhou Kan [fl. 46 B.C.] to raise and tutor [those] in the Eastern Palace<sup>114</sup> and below through wenzhang and ru learning; there was none who did not venerate and choose these men, and so [the Heir Apparent and the other princes] turned into vessels of virtuous power. Today, although the August Heir Apparent and the princes [already] knot their hair 115 and learn and inquire, cultivate and practice ritual and music, the instructors are not yet equal to the worthy and talented [of old], and their offices are mostly lacking the old canonical texts. 116 It is appropriate to select broadly from the famous ru scholars and from those who have forceful dignity and accumulated brilliance and who comprehend the matters of gov-

<sup>109</sup> Note that "axe-pattern" (fu 鸍) is the first word in the conventional sequence fufu wen zhang 齲數文章 that is glossed as denoting the four textual patterns of distinct colors (see the remarks on wenzhang in the Liji above). The "axe-pattern" is the one in "white and black."

<sup>110</sup> For the self-referential nature of early Chinese ritualism, as it is expressed in hymns and other performance texts, see my *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shihhuang*, pp. 140-47, and my "*Shi jing* Songs as Performance Texts: A Case Study of 'Chu ci' (Thorny Caltrop)," forthcoming in *Early China* 25 (2000).

<sup>112</sup> See his long memorial in Hanshu 36.1950-57.

<sup>113</sup> On his duties, methods, and achievements as imperial bibliographer, see *Hanshu* 30.1701 and Piet van der Loon, "On the transmission of Kuan-tzu," *T'oung Pao* 41 (1952): 358-66.

<sup>114</sup> The Eastern Palace is the palace of the Heir Apparent.

<sup>115</sup> Indicating that they have reached adult age.

<sup>116</sup> Here, jiu dian 舊典 ("old statutes") unambiguously refers to the Confucian canon.

ernment, to make them Grand Tutors of the Heir Apparent, and to establish offices [of education] in the Eastern Palace and the various princedoms. 117

漢興,太宗使鼂錯導太子以法術。賈誼教粱王以詩書。及至中宗,亦令劉向,王褒,蕭望之,周堪之徒,以文章儒學保訓東宮以下。莫不崇簡其人,就成德器。今皇太子諸王雖結髮學問,修習禮樂,而傅相未值賢才,宮屬多闕舊典。宜博選名儒有威重明通政事者,以為太子太傅,東宮及諸王國備置官屬。

This memorial, here quoted only in part, mentions some of the key elements of cultural and intellectual change in late Western and early Eastern Han times: the existence of a corpus of "ancient canonical writings" upon which to base the study of ritual and music, the stress on classicist learning and its related wenzhang, the genealogy of Han traditional scholarship, and the existence of a class of scholars that was well versed in the canonized writings. Interestingly enough, the genealogy of classicist scholars stops with Liu Xiang, and Ban Biao claims that ru learning has yet to be implemented and its institutions to be established in order to educate the princes of the recently restored dynasty. In this respect, the year 50 still belongs to a stage of transition.

The instrumentalization of the traditional canon as an absolute basis of ritual practice and, necessarily related, the conscious rejection of ostentatious ritual ornament, again loom large in Ban Gu's vision of the recent past of the Han and in his ritual program for his own days. Ban Gu not only criticized the state sacrificial music of Emperor Wu as improper and vulgar, <sup>118</sup> he also praised the Eastern Han capital Luoyang, and by extension the Eastern Han rulership, for being in accord with the principles of moderation described in the canonical ritual works, and therefore superior to the lavish splendor of the Western Han capital Chang'an. <sup>119</sup>

Not directly related to the classicist impulse that figures prominently in the writings of Kuang Heng, Liu Xiang, Yang Xiong, and Ban Gu, but contemporary to the latter, is Wang Chong's 王充 (27-97?) Lun heng 論衡, where the term wenzhang appears

sixteen times, in most cases unspecifically relating to written texts. <sup>120</sup> In the two passages where he uses the term with respect to certain textual corpora, Wang Chong mentions the wenzhang of the "literary ru scholars" (wen ru) <sup>121</sup> and the wenzhang of the Han dynasty; for the latter, he enumerates Lu Jia, Sima Qian, Liu Xiang, and Yang Xiong <sup>122</sup>—all of them being traditional scholars and officials. Among these, Yang Xiong, who like Liu Xiang worked as an imperial librarian, was the most outspoken ritual classicist and critic of both material splendor and literary ornament. <sup>123</sup>

Wenzhang, we may conclude at this point, are not just any kind of texts; they are those official writings that were, first, concerned with public affairs and, second, associated with scholars of traditional textual learning. The writers who were actively, though always implicitly, proposing this shift from ritual to textual demeanor and who then became regarded as the major representatives of wenzhang in its new sense were all traditional scholars and statesmen; their compositions—historical writings (Sima Qian), political and moral discourses (Lu Jia, Liu Xiang, Yang Xiong), and panegyrical pieces of imperial representation (Sima Xiangru, as mentioned by Ban Gu)<sup>124</sup>—are what was now understood as

<sup>117</sup> Fan Ye 箍畔, Hou Hanshu 後漢書 ([with the monographs compiled by Sima Biao 司馬彪], 12 vols., Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 41987) 40A.1328.

<sup>118</sup> See the criticism included in *Hanshu* 22.1070-71, as mentioned above.

 $<sup>^{119}</sup>$  See Knechtges, "To Praise the Han: The Eastern Capital  ${\it Fu}$  of Pan Ku and His Contemporaries."

<sup>120</sup> Huang Hui 黄暉, Lun heng jiaoshi 論衡校釋 (4 vols., Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1938), 1:241, 2:552, 2:580, 2:585, 2:615, 2:616, 3:718, 3:727, 3:793, 3:780, 3:812, 3:863, 3:867, and 4:1145. The passages denoting non-literary "patterns" are 2:552 (textile), 3:718 (colorful appearance of phoenix and unicorn), 3:727 (phoenix), 3:733 (phoenix), 3:780, 3:812, and 3:863.

 <sup>121</sup> Lun heng jiaoshi, 2:585.
 122 Lun heng jiaoshi, 4:1145.

<sup>123</sup> See Hanshu 87A.3534-35 and Wen xuan 8.20a-22a. In his views on literature Yang Xiong also developed a decidedly classicist and utilitarian position, rejecting literary ornament for its own sake and consciously employing archaic formulations. See Franklin M. Doeringer, "Yang Hsiung and His Formulation of a Classicism" (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1971), esp. ch. 4, pp. 119-79. Some of his most outspoken statements against superficial ritual and literary ornament may be found in chapter 2 of his Fayan ("Wuzi" 吾子 [chapters 3 and 4 in Fayan yishu]; for a translation see David R. Knechtges, "Exemplary Sayings, Chapter 2," in The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature, ed. Victor Mair [New York: Columbia University Press, 1994], pp. 530-33). In the same text, he once notes that "writings that are not [within the domain of the] canonical texts are not writings. Speech that is not [within the domain of the] canonical texts is not speech" (Fayan yishu 8.6a.). For Yang Xiong's position as a collator in the imperial library see Hanshu 87B.354, Doeringer, pp. 198-201.

<sup>124</sup> Although none of Sima Xiangru's fu 賦 was officially commissioned, it is clear that Ban Gu regards Sima's great epideictic rhapsodies as "officially" rep-

wenzhang. Considering the meaning of wenzhang as "official writings" in late Western and then Eastern Han times together with its relation to classicist learning, we can understand the semantic shift of the term in a new perspective: as the truth and authority of the canon had eventually absorbed and transformed the power of ritual practice into the mastership of texts, wenzhang—the appropriate appearance—was found less in sensual emblems and increasingly in correct writings that were based on canonical learning: wenxue, in the Han sense of the word. If we follow the texts which have been transmitted to us, the gradual dissociation of the term wenzhang from ritual demeanor and its parallel affiliation with wenxue can therefore be dated relatively precisely: it was initiated in the last decades of the Western Han and accomplished in the second half of the first century A.D., at the latest. Wenxue and wenzhang have eventually become two complementary terms, the first referring to the input of textual learning and the second to the output of textual production. The ru followers, originally choreographers of the rites<sup>125</sup> and reciters of the canon, have eventually turned into scholars of the text.

Having discussed the issues of genuine "ru learning" (rushu) or canonical learning (wenxue or jingshu), of the formation of the canon, of the establishment of the imperial library, and of the role of men like Yang Xiong, Kuang Heng, Liu Xiang, Liu Xin and others at the end of the Western Han and during the Wang Mang interregnum, <sup>126</sup> we cannot ignore a possibly related phe-

resentative compositions; on the somewhat problematic status of Sima's works, see below. In this context, one may also think of Sima's "Treatise on the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices" ("Feng shan wen" 封禪文, see Wen xuan 48.1a-9a), which includes a long eulogy (song 頓) in praise of the Han dynasty. According to tradition, Sima had composed the "Feng shan wen" on his deathbed.

125 Robert Eno, The Confucian Creation of Heaven: Philosophy and the Defense of Ritual Mastery (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), calls the early ru followers "Masters of the Dance."

126 Although he "became a victim of historiography and was reduced from Son of Heaven to usurper" (Hans Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the restoration of the Han Dynasty, and Later Han," in *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 1, p. 223), Wang Mang's efforts to promote classicist scholarship and its canon (see *Hanshu* 12.359, 99A.4069) can hardly be overstated. Presenting his rulership, semi-official at first and later official, as a revival of the Western Zhou, he initially attracted scholars like Yang Xiong and Liu Xin as officials and panegyrists. For summaries of his political classicism see Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, pp. 286-306, Doeringer, "Yang Hsiung and His Formulation of a Classicism," pp. 180-89, and Homer H. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* (3 vols., Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1938-55), 3: 56-57, 103-6.

nomenon, albeit of questionable historicity—the so-called "old text/new text (guwen 古文/jinwen 今文) controversy." 127

Michael Loewe has seen the reforms of the state sacrifices after 32 B.C. as part of the guwen ("old text") intellectual and political agenda in late Western Han times, linking jinwen ("new text") scholarship with what he calls the political "modernists" (represented in the policy of Han Wudi), and guwen learning with the "reformists" (represented in the later opposition to Wudi's political legacy). 128 More recently, Hans van Ess, explicitly taking issue with Loewe's conclusions, has proposed the exactly opposite view, identifying guwen positions as "modernist" politics and those based on jinwen as "reformist," in particular with respect to questions of state ritual. 129 Based on an analysis of the fragments of Xu Shen's Wujing yiyi 五經異義, this rather surprising turn is again problematic; however Xu Shen may have (re)constructed and emphasized these categories, they lead to numerous contradictions, due in particular to the strenuous procedure of assigning individual scholars or officials to one of the two camps. For example, labelling Kuang Heng a "new text" proponent 130 is either wrong or completely meaningless in view of the fact that, for a number of his arguments, among them the criticism of the elaborate wenzhang of the Taiyi altar, he draws heavily on the so-called "old text classic" Zhou li. Michael Nylan, after a careful investigation into the question of what guwen and jinwen might actually have meant in Han times, has convincingly marshalled a string of similar problems; as a result, she has questioned the historical reality of a fundamental "old text"/"new text" debate during Han times.181

Indeed, it does not seem fruitful to force any particular politi-

<sup>127</sup> Of course this is not the place to discuss or even introduce the large amount of Chinese, Japanese, and Western scholarship on the development of the traditional canon, or even on the "old text/new text" issue. The abovementioned studies by van Ess, Nylan, and Tsai may serve as guides to the relevant material.

<sup>128</sup> See his Crisis and Conflict, pp. 165-66.

<sup>129</sup> See van Ess, Politik und Gelehrsamkeit, pp. 71, 182-244.

<sup>130</sup> See van Ess, Politik und Gelehrsamkeit, p. 207.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> See her "The Chin Wen/Ku Wen Controversy in Han Times." By contrast, van Ess insists on the significance of an "old text"/"new text" controversy; see his "The Old Text/New Text Controversy: Has the 20th Century Got It Wrong?," Toung Pao 80 (1994): 146-70, and "The Apocryphal Texts of the Han Dynasty and the Old Text/New Text Controversy," Toung Pao 85 (1999): 29-64.

cal debate or intellectual development of late Western Han times into the literary corset of an assumed overarching guwen/jinwen dichotomy. Even if we concede some historical reality to this conflict, evaluated on the basis of the meager and contradictory evidence in Western and early Eastern Han sources its actual significance is by no means clear. There is also no particular reason to subordinate Kuang Heng's and others' aggressive criticism of the inherited state sacrifices and sacrificial music to an "old text/new text" disputation only because Xu Shen, writing more than a century later, aimed to systematize all kinds of political issues along these lines—an undertaking that closely paralleled his compilation of the Shuowen jiezi, by which he intended to "render the interpretation of the classics doubt-free, thereby putting the full force of their cumulative and sanctified wisdom at the service of the Han government in its very immediate objective of enforcing order in all areas of human activity through a dominant central authority."192 Moreover, the debate on ritual was already concerned with the ideological horizon of rulership and therefore was by itself of the highest priority in late Western Han times. Certainly, the newly promoted guwen writings provided some useful arguments here, but the overall criticism of inherited practice was not exclusively confined to texts of either guwen or jinwen provenance. It should also be noted that the Liji, by far the most ideological text on ritual and music, cannot be classified as either guwen or jinwen in the Western Han context. since, as noted above, it was simply not recognized as a "closed" canonical work in its own right until late Eastern Han times. Even the "Records of Music"—in this context the most important chapter of the Liji—is of an uncertain date and, in 30 B.C., of an uncertain status; despite the traditional Hanshu account that it was compiled by Prince Xian of Hejian 河間獻王 (r. 155-129 B.C.), the younger brother of Emperor Wu, there is good reason to date this text, or at least significant parts of it, more or less from the days of Kuang Heng's reform initiative. 183

133 On Prince Xian of Hejian as the "Yueji" compiler (together with Master

Even though the assumed "old text/new text controversy" did not dominate the court debates of the late Western Han, the emergence of texts that were called "old" versions of the canonical books, or which were partly written in "old characters," is a significant phenomenon of undoubted historicity that testifies to a new consciousness of the issue (or crisis) of textual reliability. The awareness of different textual versions was primarily based on their availability, which was made possible by the new institution of the imperial library and its necessary demand not just for texts, but for an ordering of texts. This quest for textual order informed Emperor Cheng's command to collect the books from all over the empire in 26 B.C., his appointment of Liu Xiang to work as collator and editor of the numerous bundles of disordered or duplicated bamboo strips and silk scrolls, 134 and the compilation of the imperial catalogue.

The discovery of ever more different versions of the same texts was only the logical consequence of these efforts, as we are coming to understand from the increasing numbers of excavated

134 The collection of the books and Liu Xiang's work in the imperial library are mentioned together in *Hanshu* 10.310 and 30.1701. See also the abovementioned article by van der Loon. Despite all the scandals in the later part of his reign, Emperor Cheng is credited with having been fond of the canonical books already as a youth: see *Hanshu* 10.301.

<sup>132</sup> Boltz, The Origin and Early Development of the Chinese Writing System, p. 151, with further reference to Roy Andrew Miller, "Problems in the Study of Shuo Wen Chieh Tzu" (Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University, 1953), pp. 27ff. Xu Shen's Wujing yiyi may lead to the question of whether the assumed late Western Han "old text/new text controversy" could actually have been a projection of mid-Eastern Han times—a first projection, furnishing the basis for further, secondary projections by late Qing scholars.

Mao 毛), see Hanshu 30.1712. According to this passage, the "Yueji" was later edited by Liu Xiang. For the most aggressive paragraph of the text—the "Wei Wen hou zhang" 魏文侯章 (Liji zhengyi 38.310a-39.313c)—in particular I would doubt a composition substantially prior to Liu Xiang's times. (The inclusion of the "Yueji" in the Shiji "Yueshu" does not constitute a terminus ante quem, since the "Yueshu," as noted above, is certainly not original but of a later date.) Although the Marquis Wen of Wei (Wei Wen hou) ruled from 427 to 387 B.C., there is no earlier version of this "Yueji" section, for example in the Xunzi chapter "Yuelun" 樂論 to which the "Yueji" is in many passages indebted. In a uniquely strong tone, the "Wei Wen hou" paragraph condemns the "new" or "excessive tones" (ni yin 獨音) that should be excluded from the state sacrifices. Given the polemical sharpness of this section, which by far exceeds all earlier discussions on "old" and "new" music (see above), one must raise the question of the historical target for this attack. The only candidate in sight would be, of course, Emperor Wu, but his sacrificial music was not established before 114/ 113 B.C. (see Hanshu 22.1045; according to Hanshu 25A.1232 and Shiji 28.1396 [repeated in Shiji 12.472], the state sacrifices were still without music as late as in 111 B.C.), i.e., almost two decades after the death of Prince Xian! With respect to the guwen/jinwen issue it is noteworthy that Prince Xian is recognized as a collector of "old writings in ancient script from pre-Qin times" (guwen xian Oin jiu shu 古文先奏舊書) only in the Hanshu (53,2410), but not in the Shiji.

manuscripts. By the time of Emperor Cheng, the still "fluid" nature of most of the pre-imperial texts had created major concerns among the scholars and high officials of the state, including the emperor himself and erudites like Liu Xiang. The bare fact that, in general, the newly excavated pre-imperial and early Han manuscripts do not bear a title, or even chapter designations, is telling in this respect: as we know for a number of the transmitted texts, it was Liu Xiang who identified individual works, fixed their titles, ordered and named the chapters, and therefore divided the stream of writings into distinctive and self-contained entities. 185 In addition to the ritual debates, and closely related to them, the fixation of the written heritage, in particular of the canon, was the supreme task of the day, and the "old text/new text controversy" may have been just one aspect of it, no more, since in late Western Han times textual scholarship encompassed a much wider range of writings than the few texts for which an "old text" version was both available and considered as significantly different. The enterprise to close the canon and to reconstruct it as a self-contained unity is evident from a shift within canonical scholarship: whereas earlier during the Western Han erudites had specialized in only one particular canonical text, it was with scholars like Liu Xiang and Yang Xiong that a new comprehensive vision of the canon as a perfect unity arose to replace fragmentary scholarship. This effort to make the canon an allencompassing storage of cultural identity and the ideological foundation of the empire became further refined and was eventually accomplished during the course of the Eastern Han. 186

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I would like to suggest, in short, that the very process of textual fixation and canon building was probably more important than all the individual political issues that Xu Shen retrospectively tied up with different textual versions. In comparison to the crucial issues of defining the canon, and thus redefining the cultural basis of the empire, the fact that we barely have unambiguous traces of an "old text/new text controversy" in its alleged late Western Han context in all probability testifies to its relative insignificance at this historical moment (its retrospective significance is another problem, of course). The paucity of authentic sources must also account for the obvious contradictions of Xu

Shen's efforts, as we saw in the case of Kuang Heng. Kuang's ritual reforms of 32 B.C., to return to our initial case, are based not on particular versions or readings of the canonical texts, but on the very discovery of the authority of the "closed" canon itself. Kuang Heng's memorials represent the irrevocable transition from ritual continuity to textual coherence—a process, incidentally, that shows clear parallels to the Mediterranean cultures of antiquity. 187

# IV. From the ritual canon to the genres of literature

Having identified the critical shift from ritual to textual wenzhang, we are now better prepared to follow the argument in Ban Gu's preface to his "Liang du fu," which so far we have quoted only briefly. A more complete quotation of this programmatic document will demonstrate how Ban Gu, by subtle rhetorical moves, introduces the traditional significance of the term wenzhang and transforms it into its new meaning and context of "classicist writing": 138

Someone has said: "The rhapsody (fu) is a class of the ancient songs." In the past, after Kings Cheng and Kang had passed away, the sounds of the Eulogia ceased; after the royal blessings had been exhausted, the Songs no longer flourished. When the Great Han was consolidated in its initial years, [the emperor], day after day, did not get enough leisure. When the eras of [the emperors] Wu and Xuan were reached, they venerated the offices of ritual and examined the wenzhang. Within [the palace] they set up the institutions of the Bronze Horse [Gate] and the Stone Canal [Pavilion]; outside [the palace] they initiated the task of harmonizing the pitch pipes in the Office of Music. [This was] to raise up what had been abandoned, to continue what had been cut off, and to give glistening color to the vast achievements.

<sup>135</sup> Besides van der Loon's study on the editing of the Guanzi, a good case has been provided for the Xunzi; see Knoblock, Xunzi, 1:105-10.

<sup>136</sup> See Henderson, Scripture, Canon, and Commentary, pp. 41-50.

<sup>137</sup> See Assmann, Das kulturelle Gedächtnis, pp. 87-103. My notion of a "transition from ritual continuity to textual coherence" is an attempt towards a more precise description of what Assmann calls the "transition from ritual to textual coherence."

<sup>138</sup> Apart from some minor changes, I have little to add to the elegant translation of the preface by Professor Knechtges. Given the prominence and availability of his standard work, there is also no need to repeat his meticulous annotations here; see Knechtges, Wen xuan, 1:93-97. In the following, I quote the full preface except its final paragraph, where Ban Gu turns from the general discussion to his subject proper, the Han capitals.

Therefore, the multitudes were joyful and pleased, and auspicious omens were especially abundant. The [sacrificial] songs "White Unicorn," "Red Geese," "Mushroom Chamber," and "Precious Tripod" were presented at the suburban altars and in the ancestral temple. 139 The omens of the spirit birds, the five phoenixes, the sweet dew, and the yellow dragon were em-

ployed as yearly designations [to name reign periods].

Hence, officials who attended [the emperor because of their skill with] words and phrases, like Sima Xiangru, Yuqiu Shouwang, Dongfang Shuo, Mei Gao, Wang Bao, and Liu Xiang day and night discussed and pondered, and daily and monthly presented and offered [their opinions]; while the high dignitaries and distinguished ministers, like those of the ranks of the Grandee Secretary Ni Kuan, the Grand Master of Ceremonies Kong Cang, the Grand Palace Grandee Dong Zhongshu, the Superintendent of the Imperial Clan Liu De, and the Grand Tutor of the Heir Apparent Xiao Wangzhi, from time to time composed [writings] on a specific occasion. Some [wrote] to express the feelings of their subordinates and to convey indirect criticism and advice; some [wrote] to spread their superior's virtuous power and to fulfill loyalty and piety. Observing and obeying, elevating and exalting, they made themselves known to posterity, and [their works] were second only to the Elegantiae and Eulogia.

Therefore, in the era of Filial [Emperor] Cheng, one evaluated and catalogued them; there were about more than a thousand pieces that had been presented and approved by the emperor. After this, the wenzhang of the Great Han were brilliant and equal in style with those of the Three Dynas-

ties [Xia, Shang, and Zhou].

Moreover, the Way experiences decline and glory; learning encompasses the coarse and the refined. Those who in accordance with [the changes of] the times establish their virtuous power do not change their standards because of being far from or near to [their model]. Therefore, Gaoyao sang of Yu [i.e., Shun], and Xi Si praised Lu. Both were acknowledged and collected by Confucius and arranged among the Songs and the Documents; their principle was one and the same. Observe it in high antiquity, then it was like that; examine it in the house of Han, and it is again like this. 140

或曰:賦者古詩之流也。昔成康沒而頌聲寢,王澤竭而詩不作。大漢初 定,日不暇給。至於武宣之世,乃崇禮官考文章。內設金馬石渠之署, 外興樂府協律之事。以興廢繼絕潤色鴻業。是以眾庶説豫,福應尤盛。 白麟赤鴈芝房寶鼎之歌薦於郊廟。神雀五鳳甘露黃龍之瑞以為年紀。故 言語侍從之臣若司馬相如,虞丘壽王,東方朔,枚皋,王褒,劉向之屬 朝夕論思,日月獻納。而公卿大臣御史大夫倪寬,太常孔臧,太中大夫 董仲舒,宗正劉德,太子太傅蕭望之等時時間作。或以杼下情而通諷諭,

或以宣上德而盡忠孝。雍容揄揚著於後嗣抑,亦雅頌之亞也。故孝成之 世論而錄之;蓋奏御者千有餘篇。而後大漢之文章炳焉與三代同風。且 夫道有夷隆,學有麤密。因時而建德者不以遠近易則。故皋陶歌虞,奚 斯頌魯。同見采於孔氏列於詩書。其義一也。稽之上古則如彼; 考之漢 室又如此。

After this general introduction, Ban Gu closes his preface by presenting his concrete motivation to write his Rhapsody on the two capitals: juxtaposing the dazzling brilliance of the Western Han capital Chang'an with the well-balanced "rules and measures" (fadu 法度) of the Eastern Han capital Luoyang. The argumentative points of the preface that concern us here may be listed as follows:

- the present literary writings have evolved from the ancient Shijing songs;
- the rise of wenzhang during the Western Han is related to the re-emergence of ritual and to the institutions of the appointment hall of the scholars, of the imperial library, of the literary genre of the fu, and of the Office of Music, the latter being in charge of the pitch pipes;

auspicious omens, interpreted as a cosmic reaction to good rulership, are matched with sacrificial hymns and reign desig-

nations, i.e., emblematic literary expression;

officials who were particularly skilled in verbal expression, as well as the high dignitaries of the state, served the emperor by offering criticism and advice, and their words are again compared to the ancient Shijing songs;

- these pieces of official writing-most prominently, the more than one thousand fu that are recorded in the "Epitome of Songs and Rhapsodies" ("Shi fu lue" 詩賦略) section of the Hanshu "Monograph on Arts and Letters" ("Yiwen zhi" 藝文志) were collected and catalogued, and they are again compared to the wenzhang of the dynasties of high antiquity;
- present-day literary composition follows the same principles as in antiquity;
- the new, well-measured order, based on the codified and transmitted standards of antiquity, should replace recent ritual splendor.

These statements match what we have observed with respect to the semantical shift of the term wenzhang and its underlying cultural changes: the Han writers of wenzhang are the ru officials and

<sup>139</sup> On the question of where these hymns on auspicious omens from the time of Emperor Wu were presented, see my Die Hymnen der chinesischen Staatsopfer, pp. 174-75; for annotated translations and discussions of these four hymns see ibid., pp. 248-60, 272-79.

<sup>140</sup> Wen xuan 1.1a-3b.

literati; their works are directly serving the state, and, since around 26 B.C., 141 they have been collected and catalogued by Liu Xiang, Liu Xin, and also Yang Xiong in the imperial library. Moreover, written parts of the tradition, which are supposed to have been authentically transmitted through the ages, are now identified as the wenzhang of high antiquity and are available as immediate models for the present. At the same time, what had been the material side of wenzhang-the ritual splendor of the Western Han-is replaced by a well-measured order that is purportedly based on the transmitted standards of antiquity, i.e., the rules and measures outlined in the books of the ritual canon edited and preserved in the imperial library.

The rhetorical means by which Ban Gu indicates a connection between the wenzhang of antiquity and those of his own times are subtle: the two passages that include the term do not explicitly define it as "writing" but instead keep it in a careful balance between its traditional and its new meaning. On the one hand, Ban Gu employs traditional phraseology (as in kao wenzhang 考文章, parallel to the Liji) and speaks of the wenzhang of the Three Dynasties in the same way as Confucius spoke of the wenzhang of Yao. On the other hand, he parallels these notions with the official literary production of the Western and Eastern Han, including ritual texts: the identity of wenzhang past and present is implicitly suggested. And indeed, with respect to their medium they are now identical: thanks to the meticulous canonical scholarship (wenxue) under Emperor Cheng, which has transformed the memory and imagination of antiquity into the reality of a written canon, the ritual norms (wenzhang) of the Three Dynasties are now at hand-collected, edited and stored in the imperial library, side by side with the wenzhang of the present. Whatever a classicist official may look for as the standards of antiquity, he will find it in the written form of the canon, as edited by his fellow officials.

The Hou Hanshu includes a string of passages that are pertinent to the nature of wenzhang in Ban Gu's days. For example, during the successful campaign of the Eastern Han General Dou Xian 竇憲 (d. 92) against the northern Xiongnu in 89, Ban Gu and Fu Yi 傅毅 (c. 35-c. 90) were "put in charge of writings" (dian wen-

zhang 典文章) in the general's military "tent office" (mufu 幕府). 142 In the course of the same campaign, Ban Gu was ordered to commemorate the great victory in a stone stele inscription erected on Mt. Yanran 燕然 in modern Mongolia. 143 Again, we see the major ru literati being involved, and we see what kind of writings they commonly produced as wenzhang: eulogies (song 頃), inscriptions (ming 銘), rhapsodies (fu 賦), songs (shi 詩), threnodies (lei 誄), congratulations (zhuwen 祝文), discourses (lun 論), memoranda (ji 記), memorials (zou 奏), letters (shu 書), etc. 144 in short, writings that predominantly served either panegyrical purposes or contributed to the political discussion.

The text that is generally celebrated as the first theoretical discussion of Chinese literature, Cao Pi's 曹丕 (187-226) "Lun wen" 論文 ("Discourse on Literature"), which was part of his otherwise lost Dian lun 典論 (Canonical discourses), includes an enumeration of altogether eight genres of literature, presented in four pairs: zou yi 奏議 ("memorials and discussions"), shu lun 書論 ("letters and discourses"), ming lei 銘誄 ("inscriptions and threnodies"), shi fu 詩賦 ("poems and rhapsodies").145 And although in his "Wen fu" 文賦 ("Rhapsody on Literature") Lu Ji 陸機 (261-303) changed the order and hierarchy of genres, he did not deviate substantially from the earlier scheme, listing the genres shi 詩 ("poems"), fu 賦 ("rhapsodies"), bei 碑 ("epitaphs"), lei 誄 ("threnodies"), ming 銘 ("inscriptions"), zhen 箴 ("admonitions"), song 頌 ("eulogies"), lun 論 ("discourses"), zou 奏 ("memorials"), and shui 説 ("persuasions"). 146 Still at the core of the subsequent Six Dynasties

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> This is the date when Emperor Cheng gave the order to collect the books from all parts of the empire for the imperial library, where Liu Xiang worked as the chief collator; see Hanshu 10.310, 30.1701.

<sup>142</sup> Hou Hanshu 23.819. For information on the campaign and its aftermath, see Hou Hanshu 4.168-69, 23.814-20. Both Ban Gu and Fu Yi were on General Dou's staff (see Hou Hanshu 80A.2613). Fu Yi, as a scholar second in reputation only to Ban Gu, was writing within the same ideological horizon of ritual classicism as Ban Gu; see Knechtges, "To Praise the Han," pp. 131-35, and for Fu's biography, Hou Hanshu 80A.2610-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> For the inscription text see Hou Hanshu 23.815-17.

<sup>144</sup> This enumeration comprises the genres that are typically mentioned in the Hou Hanshu biographies of the major literati of the first century. See for example, Hou Hanshu 40A.1329 (Ban Biao) and 80A.2613 (Fu Yi) and the whole chapter 80, dedicated to the "Garden of Literature" ("Wenyuan liezhuan" 文苑列傳) of Eastern Han times. The best English summary of Han and Six Dynasties literary genres and their theory may be found in Knechtges, Wen xuan, 1:2-4, 21-52.

<sup>145</sup> Wen xuan 52.9a,

<sup>146</sup> Wen xuan 17.6a-b.

orderings of literature, like the comprehensive systems of Liu Xie's Wenxin diaolong and Xiao Tong's 蕭統 (501-531) Wenxuan, these genres reflect the reality of wenzhang in early Eastern Han times.<sup>147</sup>

When Cao Pi calls wenzhang "the great undertaking in managing the state" (wenzhang jing guo zhi daye 文章經國之大業),148 he does not metaphorically elevate the status of literature but refers to the body of writings that served the needs of the government in practical matters (the discursive genres) and symbolic representation (the panegyrical genres). By Eastern Han times, the primary means and expression of good rulership was the literary wenzhang. When declaring this principle, Cao Pi may or may not have thought of an earlier formula concerning the basis of the state in the Zuo zhuan: "The great affairs of the state reside in the temple sacrifices and in the war sacrifices."149 But the juxtaposition of both statements immediately illuminates the fundamentally different perception of government after the gradual institutionalization of literary writing for official purposes had taken place. Cao Pi's view of the political significance of literature, together with his enumeration of genres, was, as Burton Watson pointed out many years ago, 150 completely within the scope of Eastern Han thinking. Wang Chong, for example, dedicated a whole section, entitled "Xu song" 須頌, to the necessity of eulogizing the state,151 claiming that "when the emperors and kings of old established their vast virtuous power, they needed ministers of grand writing skill to praise and eulogize, to record and document; the vast virtuous power would then become brilliant, and ten thousand generations would hear of it," and that "if the dragon is without clouds and rain, it cannot join Heaven; the men of grand writing skill are the clouds and rain of the state." 152

Of course, political eulogy was anything but new in late Western Han times; politico-religious eulogies are probably the earliest form among known Chinese texts that may be called literary writings on the basis of their poetic structure. The "Zhou song" 周頌 section of the transmitted Shijing is regarded as the oldest part of the whole anthology, probably including pieces from the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C.; even when appearing as historical records, the contemporary bronze inscriptions were almost by definition texts composed to glorify one's ancestors and to present oneself as their legitimate descendant. Yet, not only does the word wenzhang appear only centuries later, even then it is never applied to the ya 雅 or song 頌: the historical continuity of political eulogy since the early Zhou is not reflected in a coherent terminology. Although, according to Ban Gu, the later eulogy followed the very tradition of the ya and the song, it was very different in nature from what had been inherited from the Western Zhou, the last of the illustrious dynasties of high antiquity. The difference was not on the textual level: one could, and did, model any number of new hymns or inscriptions on the respective patterns of the Shijing. It was on the level of the significance of the text relative to its embedding performance: both the early Zhou and the later imperial eulogies were performance texts and were composed to harmonize with music by poetic features like rhyme, meter, the use of onomatopoetica, etc. in ritual celebrations of religious nature. While strikingly different from the eulogies of imperial times, the texts of the Shijing hymns were only secondary to their performance through music and dance. 153 Even

<sup>147</sup> The single exception is the genre of the "persuasion" (shui 說; on this pronunciation see the phonetic gloss in Wen xuan 17.6a), which was only retrospectively discussed. It was a genre basically confined to Warring States and early Han times and definitely not continued into the Eastern Han; see my "'Persuasion' or 'Treatise'?—The prose genres shui 說 and shuo 說 in the light of the Guwenci leizuan 古文辭類賽 of 1779."

<sup>148</sup> Wen xuan 52.9b. For a translation and discussion of the "Lun wen" see Donald Holzman, "Literary Criticism in the Early Third Century A.D.," Asiatische Studien 28 (1974): 113-49, esp. pp. 127-36.

<sup>149</sup> Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi [Cheng 13] 27.209b. I follow Shaughnessy's translation in his "Military Histories of Early China: A Review Article," Early China 21 (1996): 159.

<sup>150</sup> See his "Literary Theory in the Eastern Han," in Yoshikawa hakase taikyū kinen Chūgoku bungaku ronshū 吉川博士退休紀年中國文學論集 [Studies in Chinese Literature Dedicated to Dr. Yoshikawa Kōjirō on His Sixty-fifth Birthday], ed. Ogawa Tamaki 小川環樹 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1968), p. 13.

<sup>151</sup> Lun heng jiaoshi 3:847-58.

<sup>152</sup> Lun heng jiaoshi 3:847, 854.

before their final canonization the Songs appear to be treated as an element of ritual music in the earliest parts of the Lunyu, as texts to be recited or chanted in a later stratum of the received text, and as texts to be studied and discussed only in the very latest sections of the transmitted text. Still in the Zuo zhuan, the practice of "reciting the Songs" (fu shi 殿詩) was intended to emphasize their emblematic qualities as ideal musical pieces, without presenting any particular moral reading of their texts. The significance of the Songs, it seems, was moved step by step from the musical to the textual level: "As the teaching of the Odes was becoming institutionalized in the Confucian schools, the music that had been the raison d'être of the Odes was falling out of use, leaving behind the Odes as texts and texts only" (Van Zoeren, Poetry and Personality, p. 49).

a text as late as the "Great Preface" ("Da xu" 大序) to the *Shijing*, dating probably from the Eastern Han, still acknowledges this primacy of the outward form with respect to the Zhou eulogy:

The eulogies praise the outward appearance of flourishing virtuous power, in order to announce its accomplishments and merits towards the spirits.<sup>154</sup>

頌者,美盛德之形容,以其成功告於神明者也。

If this passage—with song ("eulogy") cognate to rong 容 ("appearance") 155—defines the eulogy primarily as a dance performance, then we have to recognize an ironic phenomenon: the ritual hymns of the Shijing, orchestrated with solemn music and measured dances, belonged indeed to the ritual wenzhang of their time when they created a synaesthetic experience that not only represented but constituted and iteratively reaffirmed good rulership. By contrast, when Han writers referred to their own eulogies as wenzhang, both the nature of the eulogy and the notion of wenzhang had been developed from the performative to the textual level of expression. It is only by misinterpreting both the Zhou eulogy and the Zhou wenzhang that we can create an apparent continuity of cultural expression from high antiquity to imperial times. Despite all efforts to project the significance of the written literary text back into early Western Zhou times,156 it is most probably a phenomenon that did not become forceful until the late Western Han: its Eastern Han retrospective application to earlier eras tells us more about the status of literature, accompanied by a particular view of the past, after ca. 30 B.C., than about pre-imperial cultural realities. There simply was no discussion on literary writing as "the great undertaking in managing the state" before the days of Liu Xiang and Yang Xiong.

The process by which the literary text rose to its status as the main emblem of culture was gradual, and it was eventually accomplished by mid-Eastern Han times, just before paper became

widely available in China.157 In addition to such factors as the criticism of material ritualism, the fixation of the canon, the institutionalization of scholarly erudition in the form of official chairs, the founding of the imperial library, and the appointment of collators of the imperial collection, one should also consider an increasingly broad literary public that was no longer centered only on the imperial court or on one of the princely courts. The circulation of writings between individual scholars—a process of communication that must have been still essentially public, not private—can be first documented in the correspondence between Liu Xin and Yang Xiong concerning Yang's dialect dictionary Fangyan 方言.158 Beyond the significance of their very existence, the letters also provide us with most valuable insights into the status of the literary text at the very end of the Western Han. 159 Yang Xiong mentions that his earliest writings included a eulogy (song 頃) and three inscriptions (ming 銘), in other words, the typical panegyrical wenzhang of the day, and that they all had been recited (song 誦) to Emperor Cheng.160 This means that besides the rhapsodies, 161 other works of official literary writings,

<sup>154</sup> Mao shi zhengyi 1-1.4c.

<sup>155</sup> Following Ruan Yuan's 阮元 (1764-1849) widely accepted analysis; see his "Yanjing shiji" 單經室集, in *Qing jingjie* 瀋經解 (ed. Ruan Yuan, reprint [together with the continuation *Qing jingjie xubian* 清經解礦艑] in 12 vols., Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1988), 1068.249b-250a. See also my *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang*, pp. 143-44.

<sup>156</sup> Cao Pi sees the primary cultural achievements of the early Zhou rulers King Wen 文王 (r. 1099/56-1050 B.C.) and the Duke of Zhou 周公 (r. 1042-1036 B.C.) in their writings; see *Wen xuan* 52.9b.

<sup>157</sup> According to literary and archaeological evidence, paper was known already during Western Han times but it was certainly not widespread. If not its inventor, Cai Lun 泰倫 (d. 121) still is credited with important improvements of paper in China, as it appears from the memorial that he presented to the emperor in A.D. 105 (see Hou Hanshu 78.2513). It seems that paper became increasingly popular and widespread only towards late Eastern Han times; see Eva Yuen-Wah Chung, "A Study of the Shu (Letters) of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220)" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Washington, 1982), pp. 207-25, Qian Cunxun 錢存訓 [Tsien Tsuen-hsuin], Yinshua faming qian de Zhongguo shu he wenzi jilu 印刷發明前的中國書和文字記錄 (Peking: Yinshua gongye, 1988), pp. 90-96, Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vol. 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part 1: Paper and Printing (by Tsien Tsuen-Hsuin) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 38-47.

so—they were "the first extant examples in Chinese literature of correspondence between two literary figures"; see David R. Knechtges, "The Liu Hsin/Yang Hsiung Correspondence on the Fang Yen," Monumenta Serica 33 (1977/78): 310. For the two letters, see Qian Yi 發揮, Fangyan jianshu 方言箋疏 (2 vols., Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1984), 13.49a-56a.

<sup>159</sup> Knechtges, "The Liu Hsin/Yang Hsiung Correspondence on the Fang Yen," pp. 319-22, dates the letters around A.D. 7 but also suggests that they have been edited later in Eastern Han times.

<sup>160</sup> Fangyan jianshu 13.53a.

<sup>161</sup> See Hanshu 30.1755, where the rhapsody (fu 賦) is defined by its mode of presentation: "To recite (song 貓) without singing is called fu." The statement

in particular panegyrical pieces, were still being publicly recited, i.e., ritually performed. Yet at the same time, the Liu Xin/Yang Xiong correspondence by itself seems to testify to the act of individual reading.

Liu Xin again mentions several points that are pertinent to our discussion above: Emperor Cheng's concern with the canon of ancient writings, the role of philological erudites to establish its correct readings, and the need of catalogues and dictionaries. <sup>162</sup> In short, Liu Xin substantiates his request of a copy of the *Fangyan* for the imperial library, most elegantly declined by Yang Xiong, by the same arguments that led Xu Shen, almost a century later, to compile the *Shuowen jiezi*.

Finally, we may turn again to Yang Xiong for evidence of the new status of the literary text, in this case the rhapsody. Although Yang greatly admired the earlier poeta laureatus in the fu genre, Sima Xiangru, with whom he had much in common-the two writers can be rightfully called the unsurpassed virtuosi of the genre, both were originally from the old state of Shu 蜀, and both stuttered—he eventually moved to the conclusion that the fu was useless for the purpose of influencing the ruler and was not something that a mature man should pursue. 163 According to Yang Xiong, and also to Ban Gu, 164 Sima Xiangru had presented the "Daren fu" 大人賦 165 as an indirect admonition to Emperor Wu; but the emperor was ignorant enough to take the piece as a plain eulogy. This portrayal of a ruler obsessed with and blinded by superficial ornament—be it literary or ritual—is of course another variant of the typical image through which late Western/ early Eastern Han classicists of Kuang Heng's caliber envisioned Han Wudi. But although Yang Xiong's understanding of the "Daren fu" has become commonplace, we are still listening to Yang Xiong (and to Ban Gu) here, not to Sima Xiangru himself, and we are perhaps taken in by a fallacy. Yang Xiong saw his own literary efforts towards his ruler parallel to Sima Xiangru's towards Han Wudi; but none of Sima's fu were commissioned by the emperor, while all of Yang's in fact were. Again, unlike later writers, the fu composers at Emperor Wu's court were not respected as political advisors and distinguished officials but served primarily as entertainers and panegyrists. The fu of Yang Xiong and Ban Gu may have added to their authors' reputation and may in turn have gained significance—especially in Ban Gu's case—from their official status; by contrast, Sima Xiangru's fu writing had no relation to office and political influence. And although the significantly different nature of Sima Xiangru's and Yang Xiong's fu may not as such invalidate Yang's judgement, it disqualifies Yang's static view (or perhaps only rhetoric?) of Western Han literary practice. 1665

Moreover, the picture of Emperor Wu as a naive autocrat misrepresents the organization of his court, which, according to all our sources, was filled with both literary entertainers and political advisors; at least some of them, we might expect, would have been clever enough to understand Sima Xiangru's indirect message and to convey it to the emperor. Do we all, following Yang Xiong, see something that none of them saw? Or are we staring at the age of Wudi through the late Western Han classicist's glasses? Whatever the case may be, the contradictions in Yang Xiong's explanation of Sima Xiangru's literary practice are still valuable to us: they inform us, once more, that by the distance of a century, the status and purpose of the literary text had changed significantly.

goes back to Liu Xin's library catalogue "Qi lüe" 七略 ("Seven Epitomes", an abbreviated version of his father's original work "Bic lu" 別錄), that became again in its turn shortened and incorporated into the *Hanshu* "Monograph on Arts and Letters."

<sup>162</sup> Fangyan jianshu 13.50b-51b.

Sec Hanshu 87B.3575 and Fayan yishu 3.1a-4b, translated by Knechtges,

see above.

164 For Ban Gu's remarks on Sima Xiangru see Hanshu 30.1756 and 57B.2609.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> Sec Shiji 117.3056-62, Hanshu 57B.2592-2600.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> For a fuller treatment of this complex issue, see my "To Recite Without Singing ...": The Western Han Fu as Text and Performance," forthcoming, a first version of which was presented at the 53<sup>rd</sup> Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, March 22-25, 2001.