Successively Receiving from Masters: The Developmental History of Classical Interpretations in Han Dynasty China (206 BC–220)

遞稟師承——漢代經學家派孳乳史考



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A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (DPhil)

Trinity Term 2025

To my mother Chan Lai-wah 陳麗華*,*

who, despite knowing nothing about

Chinese classics or classical Chinese,

has been my unwavering support

and an exemplary figure,

giving me the courage to journey to the ancient world

獻與家慈陳麗華女士

頂天立地　列女遺風

貽我勇決　逐夢天地

Acknowledgements

At the end of my doctoral journey, I began writing this article at The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK). Luckily for me, I timidly started my voyages in ancient China at what I now proudly call my alma mater. It is here that I am completing the last part of my thesis, marking the last leg of my journey. As Zhuangzi 莊子 wisely said, "The beginning and the end are like a ring" 始卒若環.

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the support of my supervisor, Dirk Meyer 麥笛,[1] who has guided me throughout this process. It has been many years since we first met at The Queen's College 坤寧書院.[2] Perhaps nothing in the world can resist the temptation of growing old, but only ancient China and the University of Oxford can remain forever young. I will always cherish the memory of sipping champagne in the magnificent Old Library at Queen's and asking how he became interested in Chinese studies, remembering the photo taken at the high table dinner, and attempting to address significant questions about the credibility of records in the *Hanshu* 漢書 during our discussion in his office.

I also wish to extend my gratitude to those who provided inspiring feedback on the early drafts of various sections of this thesis. While I have made an effort to acknowledge their valuable contributions through notes of "personal communication" in the thesis, I must also express my thanks here to those for whom I cannot do so, such as the comments from my viva voce examiners. The following list of acknowledgments reflects the chronological order in which I encountered these contributions during the research process, though it may not be entirely accurate: Barend ter Haar 田海, Yegor Grebnev 葛覺智, Christopher Foster 傅希明, Oliver Hargrave 韓立夫, the late Michael Loewe 魯惟一, Michael Nylan 戴梅可, Che Hsing-chien 車行健, Cheung Hung-nin Samuel 張洪年, Ho Che-wah 何志華, Chu Kwok-fan 朱國藩, Hans van Ess 葉翰, Mark Csikszentmihalyi 齊思敏, David Elstein 杜楷廷, Tan Tian-yuan 陳靄沅, and Hui Ming-tak Ted 許明德. I would especially like to mention two individuals who provided invaluable advice through their long letters: Michael Loewe and Hans van Ess. I treasure the letter with Michael Loewe's hand signature, which holds a special place in my collection of cherished items, alongside the only watch my late grandmother gave me.

In addition to academic discussions, I must acknowledge the people and organisations that offered financial support for my doctoral study. Due to a series of family events, I would have nowhere to lay my head, let alone complete this thesis, without the help of the following individuals and groups. I am deeply grateful to the late Lee Hon-ching 利漢楨 for his tremendous support through the Hop Wai Foundation 洽蕙基金, which provided the essential funding for my research in Oxford. Lee's interest in my research is rooted in the D.C. Lau Research Centre for

[1] To honour Cheung Hung-nin Samuel's 張洪年 teachings from a decade ago, I avoid using any salutations for the names in this thesis, even though I hold all of them in high regard.
[2] All *uncommon* Chinese translations of Oxford-related titles are my own—a project deeply rooted in my mother tongue, Cantonese, and not yet finished.

Chinese Ancient Texts 劉殿爵中國古籍研究中心 at CUHK. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Ho Che-wah for facilitating the contributions of all involved and for his indispensable support throughout the many years. Throughout my studies, I received various awards from St Catherine's College 聖潔法輪書院.

Although I could not travel due to COVID-19, I want to express my sincere gratitude to the two universities that generously accepted my visiting application: Peking University and National Taiwan University. I also appreciate the full financial support pledged by the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China and the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange (CCKF). Although my opportunity to study at these two most admirable institutions in my field on both sides of the Taiwan Strait ended in regret, I am thankful for the experience.

In the later stages of my doctoral studies, I am especially grateful for the support I received from CCKF for an entire year. I feel fortunate to have a supportive workspace, including an ideal office and wonderful colleagues at the Independent Learning Centre, as well as a comfortable home at CUHK during the final stage of my thesis. Since my undergraduate years, CUHK has been my steadfast anchor, always guarding me from physically or mentally becoming an unmoored vessel 不繫舟. Without the generosity of these organisations, I might still be mentally navigating ancient China, but possibly facing the ancients much sooner in a more physical sense.

This thesis is dedicated to my mother. Together, we have survived through various family issues, including divorce and bankruptcy, which still impact us today in various aspects. Throughout this decades-long struggle with life's challenges, we have often found ourselves battling not only external circumstances but also our roles within the relationship and our inner conflicts. There were countless moments when we almost lost each other, physically or emotionally, during this prolonged and rugged journey.

I firmly believe that my interest in sinology is closely tied to my experiences with my parents. Although I write a lot to express myself, members of my family do not know how to communicate well. Perhaps this is why I find it much easier to write. I have therefore always sought to understand others through the information and evidence I can gather, much like my approach to studying ancient histories. This is my primary method for making sense of my parents' perspectives and actions.[3] When discussing information and evidence in relationships, some people tend to seek proof of their relationships. The question "Am I loved?" is all too often closely tied to "Am I treated well?" However, just because someone may not express their love in the way you desire has exactly nothing to do with the heaviness, or lightness, of their love.[4] The evidence that matters in relationships goes far beyond

[3] I have written an article (in Chinese) reflecting on the dynamic relationship between me, my family, and my choice of studying ancient China. See Chan Pak-ka Parker 陳柏嘉 (Chen Bojia), "One Topic, Two Scenes: Distance," 同題異寫・兩種風景：距離 *New Asia Life Monthly* 52, no. 10 (2025):38–43, https://online.fliphtml5.com/xhegu/keff.

[4] Chan Pak-ka Parker, "One Topic, Two Scenes: Cracks," 同題異寫・兩種風景：裂紋 *New Asia Life Monthly* 49, no. 7 (2022): 26–27, https://online.fliphtml5.com/zpbcd/uesu.

superficial actions. The intentions behind those actions and the histories that shape those intentions are much more important when we draw our conclusions.

Over the years, I have come to understand a few important things about human relationships (arranged in the order of my realization to them): (1) Action does not always speak louder than words; words hold significant weight as well. (2) People are often smart at being smart, but foolish at being foolish. (3) Sacrifice is invariably love, yet love does not always manifest as sacrifice. (4) To research, one must identify what is *wu* 無; to live, one must identify what is *you* 有. (5) When you realize something important, try your best to realize it.

There have been countless times I have uncontrollably pictured the what-if—what if I mediated the communications between my parents? What if I had even half the financial knowledge I have now? What if I had chosen a completely different path or picked up a different book to read in my early life? And so on. While not everyone has the luxury of time to reach a stage of mutual understanding and reconciliation, I am tremendously fortunate to have experienced this. I am happy to conclude that my relationship with my family is now better than it has ever been. While it may not resemble a fairy tale closeness, I always remind myself that it is everything I could have asked for.

Reflecting on my doctoral journey, I would like to advise my younger self: never give up on yourself. Be bold, embrace challenges, and, above all, be brave in accepting yourself. C.S. Lewis once said, "Courage is not simply one of the virtues, but the form of every virtue at the testing point, which means, at the point of highest reality." Sometimes, confronting your own self, whether past or present, is the hardest challenge of all. This is similar to how Ged in Ursula K. Le Guin's *The Earthsea Cycle* can be completed and later become Archmage after embracing his darkest inner self.



Chan Pak-ka Parker 陳柏嘉 (Chen Bojia)
4th June 2025, a day to be remembered

A small portion of the acknowledgements was started at the Bodleian Library 博禮仁書樓,[5] University of Oxford. The majority of it was finalized at Independence Mountain Cottage 介立山房, CUHK

[5] Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 translated as "飽蠹樓". In addition to the obvious Cantonese and Mandarin phonological associations, my translation resonates with Confucius' view on the inner and outer qualities that a gentleman should possess: "widely versed in culture but brought back to essentials by the rites" (博學於文，約之以禮) (*The Analects* 論語, trans. D.C. Lau [The Chinese University Press, 2020], 53, also 115). A condensed version of this phrase serves as the university motto of CUHK. I prefer this translation because "約禮" also aligns well with the famous Bodleian Oath. Furthermore, "博利仁" is another strong contender for translation. It resonates with another of Confucius' teachings: "the wise man is attracted to benevolence because he finds it to his advantage" (知者利仁) (*The Analects*, 29). This phrase may better express the library's role in fostering wisdom.

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Abstract

This thesis delves into the developmental history of the lines of affiliation (interpretative traditions, scholastic lines, *jia* 家) of classical interpretations in Han dynasty China (206 BC–220). It primarily focuses on the *Classic of Odes* (*Shijing* 詩經) and historical records related to classicists (*ru* 儒). The study takes into account the standard historical records of the Han dynasty as well as excavated texts. During the Han dynasty, imperial Academicians (*boshi* 博士, literally "extensive scholar"), also known as classicists, played a crucial role in interpreting the Five Classics (*wu jing* 五經), and their institutionalization indicates the ratification of the classics and their interpretations. The systematic recording of master–student affiliations points to a methodical transmission of classical studies. However, interpretations of the classics from transmitted and excavated texts vary greatly, indicating significant inconsistencies. This thesis argues that grouping academicians based on their interpretations of the classics may not be an accurate way to analyse historical records due to their institutional—not academic—affiliation. The scholastic records serve as important tools for understanding Han history, revealing connections between classicists and providing insights into the imperial court's mechanisms for determining the posting of academicians. By interpreting the historical records in this manner, the co-existence of limited lines of affiliation and variant classical interpretations becomes apparent.

Chapter One: Introduction

1. Introduction

1.1. The significance of classical interpretations in Han dynasty China

The Western Han dynasty (206 BC–9) spanned over two hundred years and marked the onset of a stable empire in China. It notably established the studies of the Five Classics (*wu jing* 五經),[1] which later became required reading for aspirants seeking to pass the imperial exams and secure government positions. This practice continued until the collapse of the final imperial regime in 1911. The classics held significant importance in the imperial Chinese educational system, philosophy, and literati culture overall. They were integral to the examination system in later dynasties and were revered as the "absolute principle of unalterable great teaching"[2]

[1] For a detailed investigation on the use of the term *jing* 經 in pre-Han and Han era and its English translation, readers may consult Nylan 2008a. Building on the insights from Michael Nylan's work, this thesis uses upper-case "Classics" for the Five Classics and lower-case "classics" for other texts labeled as *jing*. See Nylan 2008a: 725, 731–732. Moreover, Guo Xi'an 郭西安 2020 offers an analysis of the significance of the term *jing* in the ancient Chinese context and its English renderings, like classic, canon, and scripture. Nylan 2001: 10–16 and Zhou Yutong 周予同 2012: 8–10 investigated the definition of *jing* from different perspectives.

[2] *Wenxin diao long* 文心雕龍 (The Literary Mind and Dragon-Carving, 5th century) says, "by classics we mean an expression of the absolute and constant *Dao* or principle or way, that unalterable great teaching. Therefore, [the classics] reflect heaven and earth, imitate spirits and gods, articulate the order of things, and set up the rules governing human affairs. [The classics] penetratingly sees through the secret of nature and spirit, and reaches the zenith of the very bone and marrow of literature" (*jing ye zhe, hengjiu zhi zhidao, bu kan zhi hongjiao ye. gu xiang tiandi, xiao guishen, can wuxu, zhi renji, dong xingling zhi aoqu, ji wenzhang zhi gusui zhe ye* 經也者，恆久之至道，不刊之鴻教也。故像天地，效鬼神，參物序，制人紀，洞性靈之奧區，極文章之骨髓者也) (*Wenxin diao long* 文心雕龍 20). It is worth noting that I modified the punctuation for Chinese texts, both ancient and modern ones, quoted in this thesis. Unless worth discussing or the meaning is significantly altered, no notes or amendment marks will be provided.

and the foundational texts of Chinese culture.[3] In essence, they formed the "backbone of elite culture, education, and politics in imperial China."[4]

Imperially sanctioned and sponsored classicists, or Academicians (*boshi* 博士, literally "extensive scholar"),[5] of the Five Classics thrived under the reign of Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 141–87 BC) in the Western Han dynasty.[6] He established the Five Classics as the foundation of official studies in the imperial court, which was a significant development in classical studies in China. Since then, only the Five Classics were eligible for official studies and positions, excluding other subjects such as Huanglao 黃老 studies, which were renowned for their classicist consultants to the Han emperors.[7]

About a century later, Emperor Cheng 成帝 (r. 32–7 BC) ordered a substantial editing of almost all received documents in 26 BC, which marked a crucial turning

[3] The general preface of the "Classics" section of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, which is the largest collection ever in imperial China of 3471 Chinese books, starting by saying: "the classics received adjudication from [the] sage, descending model to ten thousand generations" (*jing bin shengcai, chui xing wanshi* 經稟聖裁，垂型萬世) (Wei Xiaohu 魏小虎 2012: 1.1).

[4] Zhao 2013: 1. The indicated quotation appears to be absent from Zhao Lu's 趙璐 book published in 2019, which is an adaptation of the cited doctoral dissertation. Reference to the counterpart is expected to be located on Zhao 2019: xv.

[5] "Erudites" is also a possible translation of *boshi* 博士. This thesis uses Academicians because it ties in with the notion of affiliation to an academy. Beginning in the Western Han, classicists entered *Boshi* officialdom through the Imperial Academy (*taixue* 太學). See Cai 2014: 29–34 and Leung 2018: 173. Higashi Shinji 東晋次 1995: 157–71 provides a summary of the operations of the Academy during the Hay dynasty, offering an account of the curriculum and training received by the students. In email correspondence, however, Hans van Ess suggests that the modern term "Academician" has been associated with different connotations across various countries, often signifying a highly esteemed and prestigious (and terminal) position, while *boshi* in Han dynasty held a middle-ranking status with multiple paths for promotion. He thus opines that "erudite" is a more suitable translation (personal communication, September 2024).

[6] There are disputes over the exact time of the establishment. See Fukui Shigemasa 福井重雅 1994, 1995, and 2005.

[7] For historical background and records regarding the establishment of the studies of the Five Classics, readers will find it useful to consult the following works: Nylan 2001: 31–41; Zhou Yutong 2012: 88–90; Cheng Sudong 程蘇東 2018: 126–58; and Cheng Yuanmin 程元敏 2018: 110–40.

point in Chinese intellectual history known as the "classical turn".[8] This shift reflected a change in the way scholars viewed the past, moving from scattered and disorganized writings to a belief in "the totality of a past coherent and cohesive" as expressed through texts.[9] This new perspective influenced the thinking of classicists (*ru*/*rusheng* 儒/儒生)[10] during the Han dynasty, who believed in the long and stable transmission of classical studies and the authority of the classics.[11] While modern scholars may not entirely share this view, some believe that there is at least some coherence in the transmission of knowledge during the Han dynasty.

1.2. Conflict among lines of affiliation (or interpretative traditions, scholastic lineages)

The Chinese classics were established through transmission and interpretation.[12] The extensive body of interpretative writings, including commentaries such as *Zuo's Commentary on the Springs and Autumns* (*Chunqiu zuozhuan* 春秋左傳), was later incorporated into the classics in subsequent dynasties due to the explanations they provided on the presumed authentic or original meaning of the texts. The institutionalization of the Academicians, who offered interpretations of the classics,

[8] See Nylan 2008a, 2008b, 2011, (and Vankeerberghen) 2015, and 2020 for details.
[9] "The evidence concerning the scope of Liu Xiang's editorial activities, though scant, points to such substantial editing of the received corpus that 26 BC is probably a date no less crucial to our notions of the Chinese past than the dates 221 BC, when Qin achieved unified rule, or 135 BC, the approximate date when Wudi (r. 141–87 BC) reserved the post of Academician to experts in the Five Classics." (Nylan 2008b: 41).
[10] Regarding the use of the word "classicist" as a translation of "*ru*" 儒, this thesis follows Michel Nylan's opinion. See Nylan 1999 and Nylan 2001: 2 and 364–65. For other discussions on understanding *ru* and Academicians in Early China, especially in Han dynasty, readers may consult Kern 2001: 45, n. 4; Honey 2021: 20–24; Zufferey 2003; and van Ess 2022: 16–18. Readers may also consult Goldin 2011: 5 for a discussion of the definition of "Confucian", a conventional translation of *ru*. Li Li 李俐 2019: 160–180 offers a discussion on translating *ru*, covering a wide range of Western findings.
[11] Nylan 2008a: 767–68.
[12] Zhao 2019: xvi.

indicates the official endorsement of the classics along with their associated interpretations. Therefore, the classics themselves were not directly "established", but rather gained prestige through the development of various lines of interpretations between the Western (206 BC–9) and Eastern Han (25–220) dynasties.

The conflict between different lines of classical interpretations, rather than the interpretations themselves, was the primary catalyst for the evolution of diverse interpretative lineages.[13]

While different lineages held varying interpretations of the classics, Han historical records only sparsely detailed the development and conflict among different lineages, focusing more on the attribution of classicists to specific lineages.

1.3. Important terminologies

Before beginning the investigation, this thesis would like to provide a basic explanation of some important terms. It is important to note that an ideal translation of the terms described below may not exist. The connotations of classical Chinese terms are not fixed, and the relationship between these terms and English (as well as other languages) is inherently not a one-to-one correspondence.

[13] Nylan 2001: 44.

1.3.1. On *shi* 詩[14]

The usage of "odes" as the English translation of *shi* 詩 in this thesis recognizes several key points: Firstly, it acknowledges that the transmission and use of *shi* and the compiled *Shi* 《詩》 was not confined to writing during the pre-Han and Han periods. Secondly, it highlights the performative aspect of *shi* as an art form, which was showcased in speeches, banquets, ritual gatherings, and during its transmission. Furthermore, it acknowledges that *shi* was often used in a fragmentary and oral manner, rather than being presented as a complete and written poem.[15] Finally, it recognizes that *shi* was circulated, particularly among scholars and officials, as a form of diplomatic discourse or a means to articulate intent, aim, or memory (*shi yan zhi* 詩言志),[16] rather than solely for literary appreciation. Despite frequent references to the later *Shi* in texts from the pre-Han and Han era,[17] references in Early Chinese texts to music and verses are often interchangeable,[18] indicating that

[14] Hunter 2021: 4–5 also provides a discussion on translating *Shi*.
[15] Readers may consult the following works for the early transmission history of the *Shi*: Kern 2002; Kern 2005a; Kern 2005b; Meyer 2012: 23. Edward L. Shaughnessy challenges the assertion that *Shi* was primarily transmitted orally, emphasizing "writing was *also* very important." (Shaughnessy 2015: 373). Shaughnessy summarized theories and findings regarding the oral transmission of the *Odes* in Shaughnessy 2016. Rens Krijgsman's doctoral thesis provides valuable insights into the emergent manuscript culture and the growing reliance on manuscript texts in Early China (Krijgsman 2016: 129–33 and Kern 2018: 44–45). Zhang Wanmin 張萬民 2017 examines the controversies among Western scholars, particularly Martin Kern and Edward L. Shaughnessy, regarding the early transmission history of the *Odes*. Furthermore, on reading the Anhui University 安徽大學 recension of the Warring States *Shi*, Dirk Meyer and Adam Schwartz state, "there were clearly *also* written songs circulating among the groups who may equally have been guided by oral primacy." (Meyer and Schwartz 2022: 20 n. 51). Readers may consult Wang Haicheng's 王海城 book for a study of early civilizations, including China, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Mesoamerica, and the Andes, with a focus on the origins and functions of writing (Wang 2014). Sivin 1995: 182 mentioned, "In ancient China, as in ancient Greece, prose and poetry normally were chanted aloud."
[16] Kern 2015: 183–84; Schaberg 2017: 173; Rouzer 2017: 348–49; Kern 2018: 44; Hunter 2021: 4. Readers may consult Zhang Fengyi 張峰屹 2019 for an investigation on the phase especially an etymological analysis on the character *zhi* 志.
[17] See Ho Che-wah 何志華 (He Zhihua) and Chan Hung-kan 陳雄根 (Chen Xionggen) 2004.
[18] DeWoskin 1983.

the *Shi* was not initially seen, at least in terms of its circulation, as literary poetry but as practical tools.

Unlike "poems" or "poetry", the term "ode" implies that a work was meant to be performed through singing, as evidenced by its definition. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, an ode is "an elaborately formal lyric poem, often in the form of a lengthy ceremonious address to a person or abstract entity, always serious and elevated in tone."[19] Similarly, the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "ode" as "In early use (especially with reference to ancient literature): a poem intended to be sung or one written in a form originally used for sung performance."[20] Further emphasizing the performative nature. While the usage of *Shi* in early China was not always characterized by elaborate formality or sung, it was frequently recorded as a performance, as implied by the term "ode".

In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 and *Guoyu* 國語, the *shi* could be utilized in three common ways: narrating (*fu* 賦),[21] singing (*ge* 歌), and reciting (*song* 誦).[22] Throughout the Spring and Autumns and Warring States periods, the *Shi* often appeared in different texts, quoted in lines of verse, and "utilized according to the contexts",[23] reflecting its significance as "part of the cultural memory of the early Chinese elite"[24] and a tool for "active interpretation".[25] Although associated with formal ceremonial

[19] Baldick 2015.
[20] "Oxford English Dictionary".
[21] One of the definitions of *fu* 賦 in Paul W. Kroll's dictionary is "(literature) traditional poetic trope in *Shijing* usually defined as narration or description." (Kroll 2022).
[22] Cao Yang 曹陽 2017: 7–13. Readers may consult the following works for research about *Shi* citations in the *Zuozhuan*: Chang Su-ching 張素卿 (Zhang Suqing) 1991; Liu Meixi 劉美硒 2011; and Xu Jianwei 徐建委 2012.
[23] Puett 2017: 113.
[24] Krijgsman 2016: 129.
[25] Puett 2017: 122.

performances, the *Shi* was also closely linked to the societal and ceremonial aspects implied by the term "ode".

While "songs" can be considered as an alternate translation, it is worth noting that "poems that depend extensively on the so-called musicality of words […] are not necessarily song-like, because the sounds of the words draw attention to themselves and thereby detract from the poem's ability to evoke an emotional state."[26] As investigated above, the *Shi* was performed in other ways as often as sung in early China. Therefore, "odes" is deemed a more suitable translation compared to "songs", as it aligns more closely with the essence of the original term *ge* 歌.[27]

1.3.2. On *shi* 師

The concept of *shi* 師 is conveyed in this thesis with a clear distinction between "master" and "teacher". In the context of master–student relations in early China, it is important to consider David Elstein's doctoral thesis, which clarifies the differences between a master and a teacher during that time. This thesis supports Elstein's view that "master" implies mastery, while "teacher" implies knowledge transmission.[28]

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[26] Greene et al. 2012: 1315.

[27] *A Dictionary of Chinese Literature* (Chang 2017) puts *Shijing* 詩經 into "*Classic of Songs*" while listing "*Classic of Poetry*" and "*Book of Odes*" as alternative translations. *Routledge Handbook of Traditional Chinese Literature* (Chen 2025: 7) prefers the title "*Classic of Poetry*" while acknowledging "*Book of Poetry*", "*Book of Songs*", "*Book of Odes*", and "*Classic of Poetry*" as alternative titles.

[28] In his discussion of the *Analects*, Elstein 2006: 10 argues that, "I translate *shi* as 'master' rather than 'teacher' because I believe one of the key qualities of *shi* is that they themselves are very skilled in what they teach and do not have a mere theoretical understanding. 'Master' also suggests they are fundamentally practitioners: they practice the skills they have in the world (or would if given the opportunity) in addition to teaching them."

While it can be difficult to discern the difference in classical Chinese texts, this thesis suggests that "master" refers to an individual with a deep understanding of knowledge, whereas "teacher" refers to the act of knowledge transmission. As a result, the term "master–student affiliations" is used instead of "teacher–student affiliations" to highlight this distinction. Historical records may have documented affiliations without emphasizing knowledge transmission, but this does not discount the likelihood of knowledge being transmitted between masters and students. Rather, this thesis intends to suggest that keeping neat and systematic records, for the most part,[29] did not serve the purpose of illustrating knowledge transmission.[30] Indeed, whether or not there was knowledge transmission did not appear to be the primary concern for those who recorded master–student affiliations.[31]

1.3.3. On *jia* 家 and *xue* 學

The term "line of affiliation" in this thesis refers to the concept of interpretative tradition, scholastic lineage, branch of studies, or body of discourse. It is closely related to the Han dynasty concepts of *jia* 家 (expert, expertise, or school, literally

[29] See also Elstein 2006: 18: "The *Han shu* biographies focus mainly on teachers and students in this institutional structure, illustrating how it functioned in ideal if not entirely in fact."
[30] Elstein 2006: 12 rightly states *rulin zhuan* in *Hanshu* "conceives of teachers as fundamentally teachers of texts". Elstein 2006: 17 n. 48 also worth mentioning: "I feel it is appropriate to translate *shi* 師 as 'teacher' rather than 'master' in the *Han shu*, since there were apparently teachers who made their living solely or mainly through instruction".
[31] It might be worth mentioning here that Nylan and Constantino 2022 provides discussions on the notion of *dizi* 弟子. The article points out the different interpretations of such a term: "We say 'students or clients' because the term *dizi* 弟子 can mean either." (Nylan and Constantino 2022: 40 n. 109) Moreover, the article summaries Lü Simian's 呂思勉 findings on the topic: "It is obvious that the numbers of registered *dizi* 弟子 refer not to genuine students learning hallowed classical texts but to the clients who flocked to the capital to become part of the entourages attending ministers and other high officials." (14)

"family", "household", or "specialist") and *xue* 學 (studies, scholarship, learning, or knowledge). The idea of lines of affiliation is primarily found in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter of the Han standard histories, such as the *Hanshu*.[32]

Although the concept is retrospectively induced from the chapter and does not indicate authoritative texts and associated teachings circulated within lines of affiliation in the Han dynasty,[33] it remains an open question as to what extent tradition was passed down, scholastic exchange took place, or scholarship and discourse transmission happened between classicists, that is, masters and students.

Nevertheless, this thesis argues that the lines of affiliation were not entirely constructed retrospectively. Firstly, both the "Arrayed Traditions of Classicists" chapter (*Rulin liezhuan* 儒林列傳)[34] in the *Shiji* 史記 and its counterpart, the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter (*Rulin zhuan* 儒林傳)[35] in the *Hanshu* 漢書, categorized Academicians under distinct lines of affiliation.[36] Therefore, the concept of line of affiliation was not merely a creation of the Eastern Han. Secondly, this thesis demonstrates that while a unified canon of texts or studies did not exist in the

[32] The following works are particularly worth consulting on investigations on *jia* 家 and *xue* 學 in Han historical records: Queen 2001; Sun Xiao 孫筱 2002; Smith 2003; Yan Zheng 嚴正 2003; Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003; Nylan 2008a; Jiang Longxiang 姜龍翔 2010; Wu Jheng-Da 吳政達 (Wu Zhengda) 2010; Ding Jin 丁進 2012a; Cai 2014: 86–100, 222; and Feng Yujie 馮渝杰 2024: 51–56 specifically on "漢家". Cai Liang's 蔡亮 discussion on *xue* 學 (Cai 2014: 222) provides a brief summary of related findings and this thesis refers to her explanations. Focusing primarily on pre-Han thoughts, Li Rui 李銳 2011: 43–50 briefly compares the notion of schools between early China and ancient Greece.

[33] Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: 60–61.Mainly focusing on southwest China, Farmer 2007: 7–30 and 75–79 provides an overview of the intellectual landscape during the Han dynasty.

[34] Readers may consult Honey 2014 and 2021: 96–102 for basic information. For discussions on translating *liezhuan* 列傳, see Durrant 1995: xix–xx and 155 n. 28, Klein 2018: 384–88; Li Li 李俐 2019: 180–88; and Yang 2024: 154–55 n.33. See also Nienhauser 2025.

[35] Readers may consult Honey 2015 and 2021: 185–96 for basic information.

[36] Nylan 2005: 12–23 gives a summary and comparison between the classicist chapters in the three Han standard histories (*Shiji* 史記, *Hanshu* 漢書, and *Houhanshu* 後漢書).

Han dynasty,[37] records of lines of affiliation played an essential role in determining which line of affiliation an Academician was ascribed to. Thirdly, the focus of this thesis is on the representation of lines, i.e., what is recorded and reflected through historical records.

In this thesis, the term "line of affiliation" is used to refer to the affiliation of different classicists, regardless of whether there was intellectual exchange between them. Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan have thoroughly examined the development of the notion of *jia* from the Warring States to the Han period, noting that the term *jia* was used independently of "the ritual transmission from master to disciple of authoritative texts and their associated teachings."[38] They have also observed various layers and discrete rhetorical constructions in the three standard histories of the Han dynasty: the *Shiji* 史記 (*Records of the Historian*), the *Hanshu* 漢書 (*History of the Han*), and the *Houhanshu* 後漢書 (*History of the Later Han*).[39] This thesis is influenced by their findings and calls into question the long-held

[37] Readers can refer to Kern 2001b: 65 for insights on the inconsistencies of texts such as *Zhouli* 周禮 and *Liji* 禮記 during the Han dynasty. According to Martin Kern, the *Odes* in the pre-Han era constituted a verbally coherent text in fundamentally unstable writing (Kern 2003a: 46). In late 2019, Anhui University 安徽大學 published their collection of a recension of *Shi* dated to the mid-Warring States era (Huang Dekuan 黃德寬 and Xu Zaiguo 徐在國 2019). Dirk Meyer and Adam Schwartz have provided the first complete reading and translation of the "*Zhou nan*" 周南 part of the texts. Their translation does not adhere strictly to the transmitted *Mao* line of affiliation but demonstrates a high level of correspondence to the received *Mao* recension regarding the structure and sequence of verses (Dirk Meyer and Adam Schwartz 2021). This suggests the possibility that the lines of affiliation of the *Odes* during the Western Han period may have possessed or transmitted a verbally stable text. According to the "Treatise on Classics and Other Writings" (*Yiwen zhi* 藝文志) chapter of *Hanshu* 漢書, it is noted that lines of affiliation also had individual written interpretations of the classics.

[38] Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: 60.

[39] Miranda Brown gives a summary of sources for the study of Han history (Brown 2007: 139–42). This thesis uses the widely accepted Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 edition of the three standard histories, with reference to other research works including the newly revised edition (only *Shiji* was published in 2013) and its latest research works like Xin Deyong 辛德勇 2017b. Jeffrey K. Riegel provides detailed research on the textual lineage of the Zhonghua shuju *Shiji* and *Shiji* in general. See Riegel 2023: 15–28 (Online Supplement).

assumption about textual transmission between individuals in a master–student relationship during the Han dynasty. It is suggested that this concept developed in the Eastern Han period and eventually became associated with accurate textual transmission.[40]

This thesis examines the records found in standard histories that detail master–student affiliations, known as lines of affiliation, and argues that these records were created primarily by successive governments for institutional purposes rather than academic ones. While the term "lines of affiliation" is closely related to *jia* and *xue*, in this thesis, it is used in a narrower sense. The formation of lines of affiliation required a systematic record of chains of master–student affiliations, but this record does not necessarily imply the transmission of academic knowledge or texts. The main emphasis of the recorded lines was not to document these transmissions but rather to focus on the individuals involved. This thesis contends that ascribing an Academician to a specific line of affiliation reflects institutional affiliations more than academic ones. Therefore, grouping Academicians based solely on their academic interpretations of the classics is an inadequate approach to analysing historical records. Instead of using "interpretative traditions" or "scholastic lines", this thesis suggests that "lines of affiliation" is a more precise representation of the concept of master–student affiliations. Furthermore, this thesis argues that historical records of lines of affiliation and, at times, *jia* and *xue*, place little emphasis on academic interpretations or scholastic knowledge.

[40] See Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: esp. 93–95. For a summary of the development of lines of affiliation of classical interpretations in the Han dynasty, readers will find it useful to consult Kramers 1986: esp. 756–62 and Lewis 2007: 222–26.

In comparison to the term "lineage",[41] this thesis views "line of affiliation" as a more fitting expression of "*jia*" and "*xue*", as "lineage" denotes a "lineal descent from an ancestor".[42] "Line of affiliation" places emphasis not only on the transfer of knowledge from an "ancestor" to a "descendant", but also on the simple connections (a line) between "masters" and "students". Consequently, this thesis refrains from referring to "*jia*" and "*xue*" as "scholastic" since the term connects with knowledge transmission.[43] Here, "academic" is used to denote the transfer of knowledge or scholarship, while "scholastic" refers to the straightforward documentation of master–student connections.

It is important to note, however, that the concept of "*jia*" and "*xue*"can differ across various contexts. This thesis chooses to define "*jia*" and "*xue*" as "lines of affiliation" within the specific context of master–student relationships in classical interpretations during the Han dynasty. This interpretation does not extend to broader contexts, such as the "*jia*" and "*xue*" of different philosophical lineages from the pre-Han era.

One might wonder why identifying and documenting master–student connections was crucial in the first place, particularly when it was not largely related to

[41] Queen 2001; Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003; and Kern 2005d. Although focusing primarily on pre-Han thoughts, Li Rui 李鋭 2011: 64–119 helps understand notions of *jia*, schools, and lineages.
[42] "Oxford English Dictionary".
[43] According to Mark Csikszentmihalyi, the history of classical studies in the Western Han suggests a close relationship between scholastic history and political history. He points out that, "The rapid rise in status of the *Annals* commentaries near the end of the second century BCE demonstrates the degree to which Western Han scholastic history coincides with political history." (Csikszentmihalyi 2015: 462). Additionally, Csikszentmihalyi notes that, "The number and variety of *Annals*-related texts that circulated during Han should then be seen both as a sign of the importance of classical exegesis and as evidence that the *Annals*' authority was being exploited in various social contexts" (Csikszentmihalyi 2015: 473). Notably, Csikszentmihalyi uses the term "scholastic" to refer to knowledge transmission.

knowledge transmission. Conventionally, the master–student relationship is seen as a means of preserving the transmission of academic knowledge, as observed by Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan. In essence, the systematic written documentation of master–student connections suggests a methodical transmission of classical studies. Nonetheless, the interpretations of classical texts from transmitted and excavated sources differ significantly and are seemingly incompatible with each other.

1.4. Two sets of contradictory information

During the Han dynasty, Academicians were often associated with specific master–student lineages, with some even being credited for "preserving [their teacher's or line of affiliation's] scholarship" (*shou xue* 守學).[44] These limited lineages were meticulously documented, implying, as is conventionally understood, a well-structured network of scholarships among classicists during the Han dynasty.

However, interpretations of the classics, derived from both transmitted and excavated texts, were numerous and diverse, lacking consistency even within the established lineages. The competing imperial endorsements among Academicians and their lineages led to a multitude of interpretations, outnumbering the recorded lineages. This intense competition for imperial validation and sponsorship resulted

[44] *Hanshu* 漢書 88.3608, 3616. Yeh Kuo-liang 葉國良 (Ye Guoliang) investigates the notion of "preserve scholarship" (*shou xue* 守學) and "change scholarship" (*gai xue* 改學) in Han dynasty. See Yeh Kuo-liang 葉國良 (Ye Guoliang) 2005a.

in the classics and their interpretations being anything but stable during the Han dynasty,[45] leading to frequent disagreements among and within the lineages.

Therefore, historical records from the Han dynasty present two conflicting narratives: the implied systematic transmission of knowledge through master–student lineages, and the abundant and varied interpretations of the classics.

The recorded major lines of affiliation present many potential interpretations, some of which may even be seen as fundamentally contradictory within a single line of affiliation. Considering that a line of affiliation suggests a coherent or at least a similar interpretation of the classics, these conflicting interpretations challenge the notion of a singular line of affiliation. Consequently, these discrepancies fail to provide a comprehensive view of Han intellectual history, prompting critical questions. What characterized master–student affiliations? In the absence of systematic knowledge transmissions, how did Academicians become affiliated with specific lines of affiliation? What defined the nature of the records? How were master–student affiliations connected to the transmission of classical studies, the attribution of classicists to Academicians, and the institutional dynamics of the imperial court? These are the fundamental inquiries addressed in this thesis, which seeks to shed light on the nature of lines of affiliation and, by extension, on the nature of the classics during this pivotal period in Chinese intellectual history.

[45] Michael Nylan states, "[T]here was no canonization of *jing* (Classics or classics), if 'canonization' mandates a stable text and a belief in the inerrancy of a particular *jing* or corpus of *jing*." (Nylan 2008a: 723). She opines, "[T]he function and status of the Five Classics changed over the course of Western and Eastern Han, such that a review of the history of reception for any individual *jing* within the Five Classics corpus indicates major shifts in interpretive focus over time" (Nylan 2008a: 724). Readers may also consult Riegel 1997.

The conflict between these two sets of information is acknowledged by scholars. Although they may not explicitly address the conflict, the implications suggest a systematic transmission of knowledge through master–student lineages, leading to a careful editing or manipulation of records related to their affiliations. Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan, for instance, argue that Ban Gu aimed to provide a faithful transmission of texts and traditions to his readers.[46] In contrast, Cai Liang 蔡亮 posits that Han historians compiled the "Traditions of Classicists" chapters with the intent of establishing the *ru* 儒 class. Cai suggests that, in alignment with Sima Qian's approach in *Shiji*, Ban Gu sought to portray a unified textual community. She even characterized the "Arrayed Traditions of Classicists" chapter in *Shiji* as an "imaginative refashioning of history".[47] A more detailed discussion of their findings, along with those of other scholars, can be found in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

1.5. The significance of lines of affiliation of the *Odes* (*Shi* 詩)

The *Odes* (*Shi* 詩, and later *Shijing*, the *Classic of Odes*) held great significance during the Han dynasty and was considered essential knowledge for scholars.[48] Throughout most of the Han dynasty, only three major lines of affiliation—*Lu* 魯, *Qi* 齊, and *Han* 韓—were officially recognized as specialists in the *Odes*. It was not until the late Eastern Han dynasty that the dominance of the *Mao* 毛 line of

[46] Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003.
[47] Cai 2014: 5.
[48] Michael Nylan: "Judging from the extant sources, the study of the *Songs* was the one constant requirement for office-holding throughout the period." (Nylan 2008a: 774). Nylan's claim is supported by the frequent quotation of *Odes* throughout Han.

affiliation put an end to the competition among these lines. The interpretative texts of the *Mao* line then became mandatory reading for imperial examinations. Consequently, following the Han dynasty, the transmitted version (*textus receptus*; received text) of the *Odes* became confined to a single interpretative tradition: the *Mao Shi* 毛詩. This unique situation occurred only with the *Odes*, and not with any of the other Five Classics or the later canonized Thirteen Classics (*shisan jing* 十三經).[49]

After the Han dynasty, the first official classical commentary was the *Corrected Meanings of Five Classics* (*wujing zhengyi* 五經正義) compiled by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) during the Tang dynasty. Out of the four Classics *Zhouyi* 周易, *Shangshu* 尚書, *Liji* 禮記, and *Chunqiu* 春秋, only *Mao Shi* bore the name of the *Mao* line on top of the texts *Shi*, with the other three Classics not indicating a name of a line on the title.

In terms of the *Springs and Autumns* (*Chunqiu* 春秋), it stands out as the best comparison group. Unlike the *Odes*, all three main commentarial traditions of the *Springs and Autumns* recorded in Han records, namely *Zuo shi* 左氏, *Gongyang* 公羊, and *Guliang* 穀梁, were excluded in the Tang *Corrected Meanings*, despite being well-preserved. The commentaries of the *Springs and Autumns* were canonized later and included in the Thirteen Classics. Since the *Springs and Autumns* itself was preserved independently to the commentaries, one can read it

[49] On this topic, readers will find it useful to consult the following works: Yeh Chun-fang 葉純芳 (Ye Chunfang) 2016: 37; Yeh Kuo-liang 葉國良 (Ye Guoliang), Hsia Chang-pwu 夏長樸 (Xia Changpu), and Lee Long-shien 李隆獻 (Li Longxian) 2017: 156; and Hunter 2021: 3 and 18.

directly without referring to the commentaries.[50] However, in the case of the *Odes*,[51] given that the choice of characters, the structure of the odes, and so on vary across different lines of affiliation, the alleged true essence of the odes remains concealed behind the façade of commentaries.[52] Therefore, understanding the developmental history of different interpretative traditions and classical studies is crucial to comprehending the transmitted version of the *Odes*.

In historical accounts describing the lineage of *Odes* interpretation during the Han dynasty, scholars have traditionally argued that texts and interpretations within a particular lineage exhibit a high degree of uniformity.[53] However, this conclusion is based on a misinterpretation of historical records and is consistently challenged by scholars and new evidence.[54] By examining excavated texts and considering different perspectives on historical records, we can reconsider the importance of lineages. Most historical records only mention the lineage and the scholars associated with it, without providing insight into the actual content of teaching and learning. Since scholars have relied on these records to construct different lineages

[50] *Han Changli shiji biannian jianzhu* 韓昌黎詩集編年箋注 7.397.
[51] Yeh Kuo-liang, Hsia Chang-pwu, and Lee Long-shien 2017: 290–91.
[52] Kern 2007b: 792 made an additional observation by comparing the *Mao* recension of *Odes* to the excavated ones. He mentioned that it is not possible to read the *Odes* individually from the *Mao* line nowadays: "There are no original *Odes* available to us; all we have are the *Mao Odes*—that is, a text constructed through a particular interpretation." For further investigation, see also Kern 2010: 39–40. Hunter 2021: 8–10 and 17–34, esp. 18–28 gives a thorough discussion on Kern's observation.
[53] For an iconic example, Pi Xirui 皮錫瑞 (1850–1908) claims students in the Han dynasty were required to pass on their teacher's entire tradition of studies "without variation of a single word." (*yi zi wu gan churu* 一字毋敢出入) (Pi Xirui 皮錫瑞 1959: 77).
[54] Readers may consult the introductory section of Zhao Lu's 趙璐 doctoral thesis for a summary and review of findings from the Qing dynasty on "new script" (*jinwen* 今文) and "old script" (*guwen* 古文) controversies in Han dynasty, the nationalization (*kokkyōka* 国教化) and officialization (*kangakuka* 官學化) of Confucianism (*jukyō* 儒教) by Japanese scholars, and Western scholarship on Han classicism (Zhao 2013: 5–38). These sections were later revised and included in the appendices of his book, which was based on the dissertation (Zhao 2019: 185–208).

and assume a consistent interpretation of the classics within each lineage, it is essential to delve deeper into these sources.

It is essential to consider the consistency among master–student affiliations in the Han dynasty, as it significantly impacts the interpretation of records within Han historical works. Among the Five Classics, it is particularly crucial to distinguish lines of affiliation, especially in the *Odes*, due to the abundance of variant interpretations and growing excavated texts related to the *Odes*. The way these records are interpreted directly influences how scholars organize, consolidate, and correlate the texts with lines of affiliation. Therefore, this thesis will focus on the *Odes* as a starting point for discussion. Exploring the *Odes* will allow us to identify general trends in the development of lines of affiliation concerning classical interpretations in the Han Dynasty and their records.

1.6. Outline of chapters

This thesis is organized around two cardinal cases: the case of Chu Shaosun 褚少孫 (104?–30? BC) and the excavation of the *Odes* found in the tomb of the Marquess of Haihun 海昏侯,[55] Liu He 劉賀 (92?–59 BC). Both cases warrant close examination due to the significant insights they offer into the development of classical interpretation during the Han dynasty.

[55] On the English translation of the noble title *hou* 侯, see Goldin 2015: 36 n.16 and Waring 2019: xiv n.†.

Chu's case necessitates a discussion of his role in the direct transmission of *Odes*-related knowledge, his clear ties to the *Lu Shi* 魯詩, and his deviation from the conventional interpretations attributed to the *Lu Shi*. The conditions mentioned above were incompatible with each other, even though they were clearly documented in standard histories.

Conversely, the discovery of the *Odes* in the Marquess of Haihun's tomb in 2015 has proven to be an invaluable resource for understanding the evolution of lines of affiliation of classical interpretations in the Han dynasty. A total of 1,200 *Odes* slips were unearthed, marking it as the largest collection of its kind from the Han dynasty ever found. The Haihun *Odes* now represent the most comprehensive Han dynasty recension of a long-obscured interpretative lineage aside from the *Mao Shi*. The Haihun *Odes* exemplify a vital case for analyzing interpretative lineages during the Han dynasty, rich in both contentual information and contextual information. This is particularly noteworthy, as the manuscripts from the Marquess of Haihun were fortunate to avoid theft and were acquired through a government-led, archaeologically controlled excavation.

Furthermore, both Chu Shaosun and Liu He share an important commonality: they were both students of Wang Shi 王式 in the *Odes*. A thorough analysis of these two cases will provide a nuanced overview of the developmental history of classical interpretations during the Han dynasty.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis starts by providing an introductory investigation of key terms. It discusses important concepts such as “lines of affiliation” and “odes” and lays out the core research questions. The chapter also explains the pivot question of the thesis: Two contradictory groups of historical records in the Han dynasty and the attempt of the thesis to address such questions in detail.

Chapter 2: Exploration of Chu Shaosun’s *Odes* training

The second chapter is an in-depth discussion of the *Odes*-related records about Chu Shaosun 褚少孫 (104?–30? BC), who was an active classicist and later an Academician in *Odes* in the second half of Western Han China. This chapter discusses different aspects of the records about Chu Shaosun’s *Odes* education, presenting an apparently self-contradicting picture of stable and systematic records of lines of affiliation, yet with new interpretations seldom being regarded as a problem.

Chapter 3: Examination of *Odes* education and transmission in Western Han China

Following the initial investigation of Chu Shaosun’s case, the third chapter describes how the *Odes* were taught, how the classics were transmitted, how the lines of affiliation were developed, and what the relationship between classicists and classics in Western Han China was. Different cases of the affiliation of *Odes* scholars and the records of lines of affiliation are investigated.

Chapter 4: Modes of *Odes* delivery and records of lines of affiliation of classical interpretations in standard histories

This chapter delves into a discussion of the modes of *Odes* delivery and the nature of records detailing the lines of affiliation of *Odes* interpretations in Western Han China. Despite initial appearances of self-contradiction, the historical contextualization clarifies several key points: (1) the transmission and preservation of scholarship within lines of affiliation may have been only carried out by a select few masters; (2) there exists a lack of empirical evidence to substantiate the reliable transmission or adherence to the content within a line; and (3) effective transmission and preservation were not rigid prerequisites or regulations for a classicist to be affiliated with a master as opposed to a teacher. As such, at least from Chu Shaosun's generation, a classicist had the liberty to establish their own study of classics within a line of affiliation. This chapter proposes a fresh perspective for comprehending the records pertaining to lines of affiliation of classical interpretations.

Chapter 5: Historiography of *Hanshu* and classicist recordings

The fifth chapter undertakes a study of the historiography of *Hanshu* 漢書, with a specific focus on the documentation of classicists. Chu Shaosun's case raises scepticism regarding the underlying motives shaping the composition of the records of classicists by Han historians. Building predominantly on Chu Shaosun's case and related records, this chapter scrutinises scholars' findings regarding the historiography underpinning the *Hanshu* and its primary compiler, Ban Gu 班固.

Through an exploration of the case and Han historical records, this study offers insights into the classical studies among Han classicists and their mode of documentation. These investigations seek to enrich our understanding of the nature of Han historical records and the developmental history of lines of affiliation of classical interpretation in Han.

Chapter 6: Methodological reflection on the classification of line affiliation

The sixth chapter explores the methods and information utilized in classifying texts and interpretations of *Odes* within various lines of affiliation during the Han dynasty. It sheds light on the efforts to assemble scattered and variant *Odes* texts from the Song to the Qing dynasties. Building on findings from previous chapters, this chapter introduces a new perspective on reading records of lines of affiliation in classical interpretations and discusses their application. The discovery of the Marquess of Haihun 海昏侯 *Odes* in 2015 offered invaluable insights into the developmental history of classical interpretations during the Han dynasty. As the largest known corpus from this period, and with its rich background information, the Haihun *Odes* distinguished itself from other fragmented or excavated texts. It provides both extensive contentual and contextual information, which one would expect from a text related to the study of classical interpretations. Using the Haihun *Odes* as a case study, the chapter engages in a methodological discussion centred on the evidential data employed to establish line affiliations.

Chapter 7: Study of Line Affiliation of Excavated *Odes* from the Tomb of Marquess of Haihun

The seventh chapter commences a meticulous study of the contextual information about the excavated *Odes* from the tomb of the Marquess of Haihun. The corpus of texts interred in Western Han has been posited as an original and complete recension from two major lines of affiliation of the *Odes*. This chapter examines the texts in the context of master–student affiliations in Han, the nature of the relationship between these affiliations, official position appointments, and historical records. By scrutinizing how this corpus of texts aligns with the proposed new perspective on interpreting Han historical records, a deeper understanding of the developmental history of lines of affiliation of classical interpretations in Han China can be presented.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This thesis concludes by contrasting the experiences of two students of the *Odes* during the Han dynasty, both of whom were taught by the same *Lu Shi* classicist, Wang Shi 王式. The comparison underscores the differences in the extent of instruction received, mastery of classical studies, engagement with the *Odes* texts and their interpretations, as well as their respective attitudes toward both the *Odes* and the *Lu Shi* interpretations. Chu Shaosun 褚少孫 received only limited teaching from Wang Shi, rejected traditional *Lu Shi* classical interpretations, and managed to develop his own interpretations, which were recognized by the imperial court, affirming his place as a successor in the *Lu Shi* line of affiliation. Conversely, Liu He 劉賀 benefited from extensive instruction but did not demonstrate sufficient mastery of classical studies; notably, he retained a complete copy of the *Odes* with

him in his burial. Despite these disparities, both students should be regarded as part of the *Lu Shi* line affiliation due to their master–student relationship with Wang Shi. The thesis contends that the records of master–student affiliations in standard histories primarily reflect institutional standings, rather than the actual transmission of knowledge. It calls for further exploration of the historiography surrounding Han standard histories and emphasizes the necessity of reevaluating previous theories regarding the categorization of classical interpretations based on knowledge transmission.

Overall, this thesis contends that we ought to return to the principles set forth in standard histories regarding the connections between various lines of affiliation. In particular, it suggests that master–student relationships (contextual information) were the primary factor in shaping these connections, rather than the actual scholarly content of classical knowledge (contentual information). Moreover, being appointed as an Academician relied on one's familiarity with classical texts, rather than on any specific line of study. Lastly, the criteria for being designated as a representative of a particular line of affiliation were based on (nominal) mentorship, rather than on the academic continuation of the tradition of classical scholarship.

Chapter Two: The Case of Chu Shaosun in Western Han

1. Introduction: The significance of the case of Chu Shaosun 褚少孫

The case of Chu Shaosun 褚少孫 (104?–30? BC) merits closer examination for the valuable insight it provides into the Han Academicians. Chu was a scholar in the Western Han period after the reign of Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 141–87 BC). His case requires a discussion of his involvement in the direct transmission of *Odes*-related knowledge, his clear association with the *Lu Shi* 魯詩 (*Lu* line of affiliation on the *Odes*, *Lu* interpretative tradition on the *Odes*), and his divergence from the conventional view attributed to his line of affiliation. This chapter aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of Chu's academic and institutional connections with *Lu Shi*, offering a glimpse into the historical development of *Odes* interpretation line of affiliation in the Western Han period.

Chu Shaosun is attributed to *Lu Shi* and associated with the *Springs and Autumns* (*Chunqiu* 春秋). He is said to have received teachings on the *Odes* directly from a master of *Lu Shi*, a rare occurrence in historical records. However, he openly questions some of *Lu Shi*'s teachings and offers his own interpretations of the *Odes*. This challenges the traditional belief in consistent interpretation within lines of affiliation and warrants further investigation.

Questioning one's own associated line of affiliation does not necessarily mean that the individual is not passing on the teachings received from their master or line. It is possible that scholars in the Han dynasty were allowed to develop their own interpretations, rather than simply transmitting their master's teachings. This raises the question of why the court assigned individual scholars to specific lines and why these affiliations were recorded and organized in historical records. What was the significance of being affiliated with a particular lineage? Did this affiliation reflect their academic training or other considerations?

In order to address these inquiries, we will examine the connections between Western Han *Lu Shi* Academicians and their contemporary counterparts, explore how their knowledge may have influenced their appointments to official positions, and establish links between their roles and the recovered texts and historical records documenting lines of affiliation. This chapter will conclude that when interpreting Han historical records pertaining to the affiliation of Academicians, it is important to recognize that these records might not necessarily provide insights into the classical knowledge of a classicist. There may not have been a uniform or typical educational background for classicists associated with a specific line. Therefore, attributions of Han Academicians to a particular line of affiliation in historical records may reveal little about their academic qualifications. Rather, such recordings may better serve as a reflection of other factors, particularly the institutional affiliation or position of the Academicians.

2. Biography of Chu Chaosun and his academic background

2.1. Early life and family[56]

Chu Shaosun, a historian and official during the Western Han dynasty, was born in Yingchuan 潁川 commandery (modern Xuchang 許昌 county, Henan 河南).[57] It is believed that he lived in Pei 沛 and passing away during Emperor Cheng's 成帝 (r. 32–7 BC) reign.[58] Unfortunately, his exact dates and courtesy names are unknown, but based on Timoteus Pokora's research, he might be dated from 104?–30? BC.[59]

He was the grandson of the younger brother of Chu Da 褚大, who held the position of Chancellor (*xiang* 相) in the Liang 梁 kingdom (*Liang xiang Chu Da di zhi sun* 梁相褚大弟之孫).[60]

It is worth noting that the reading of "Chu Dadi 褚大弟" as a name is likely incorrect, as there are multiple records of "Chu Da" 褚大 (*Shiji* 史記 30.1433, 121.3129 twice; *Hanshu* 漢書 24b.1168, 27b.1409, 58.2633 thrice, and 88.3616) that corroborate with this account. Additionally, the mention of "Chu Datong 褚大通" (*Hanshu* 58.2633; *Qianhanji* 前漢紀 14.236) does not align with the context.

2.2. Academic background[61]

[56] A concise biography can be found in Loewe 2000: 49–50. Timoteus Pokora provides a detailed biography with investigations of Chu Shaosun. See Pokora 1981.
[57] Chang 2010: 162.
[58] *Shiji* 12.451.
[59] Pokora 1981: 429.
[60] A statement by Wei Leng 韋稜 (480–?) quoted *Chu Yi jiazhuan* 褚顗家傳 in his commentary to *Shiji* (*Shiji* 12.451).
[61] Ma Xin 馬昕 investigates Chu Shaosun's academic origin and background in detail. See Ma Xin 馬昕 2013.

Chu Shaosun stated that he gained expertise in the *Springs and Autumns* early in his career under the guidance of an unnamed Academician.[62]

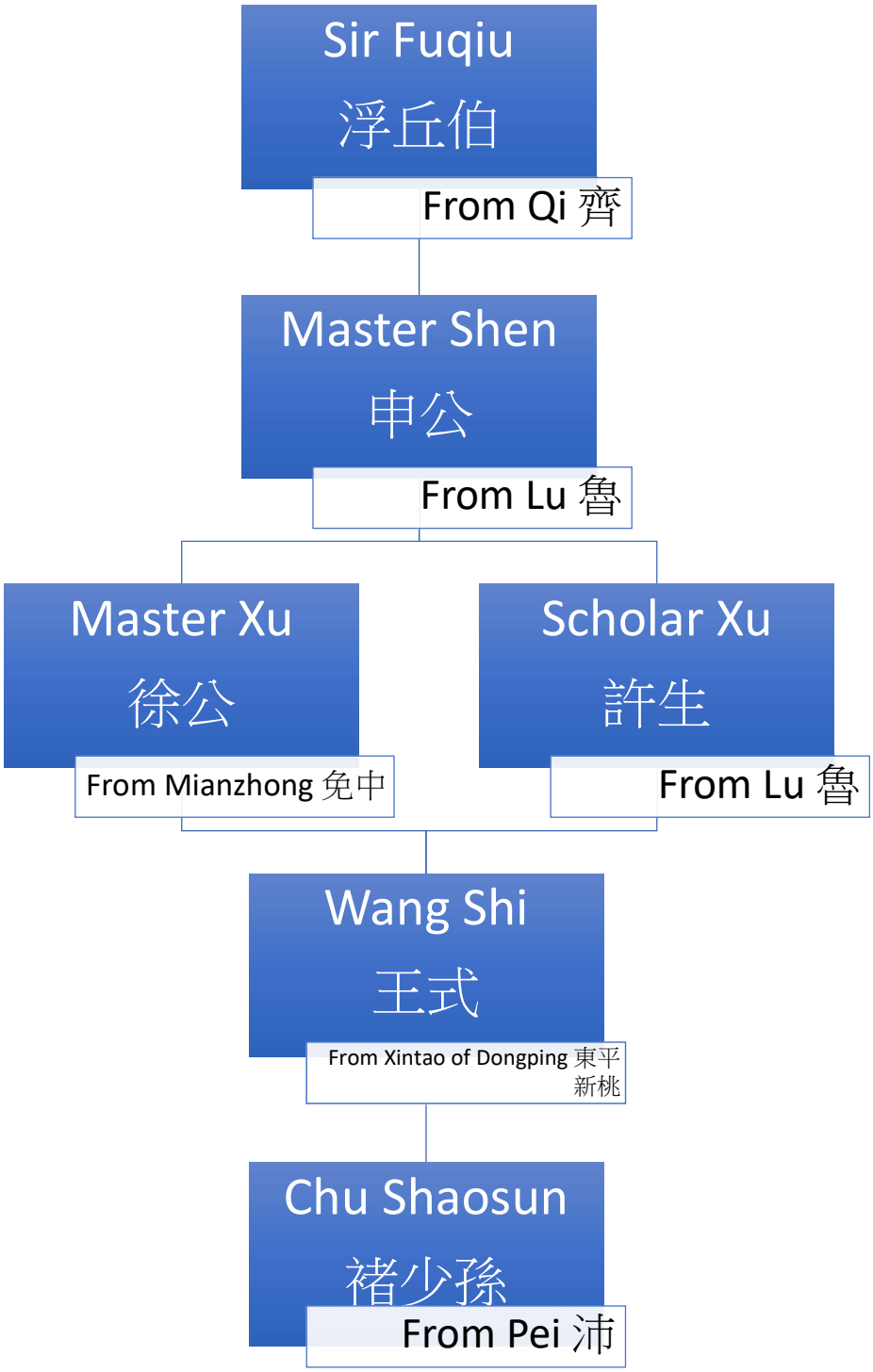
Additionally, it is believed that around 74 or 72 BC,[63] Chu Shaosun received instruction in the *Odes* from Wang Shi 王式,[64] a distinguished scholar during Emperor Xuan's 宣帝 (r. 74–48 BC) reign, who was known for transmitting the *Lu Shi*. According to Zhang Dake 張大可 (supported by Ma Xin 馬昕), Chu Shaosun attended the election of the Pupils of Academicians in 54 BC.[65] However, this conflicts with *Hanshu*'s record that Wang refrained from teaching after the Liu He incident in 74 BC (*gui jia bu jiao shou* 歸家不教授).[66] Unless we accept Zhang Dake's explanation that Chu "was a disciple of Wang Shi when he was staying home" (*shi Wang Shi jiaju shi de dizi* 是王式家居時的弟子),[67] the Liu He incident marks the *terminus ante quem* of Chu learned from Wang.

Chu was later appointed as an Academician during Emperor Xuan's reign and established his branch of *Odes* studies under *Lu Shi*, known as the "branch of Mr Chu studies" (*Chushi zhi xue* 褚氏之學).[68]

[62] *Shiji* 128.3225. See also Pokora 1981: 426–27.
[63] Pokora: 1981: 411.
[64] Loewe 2000: 551 provides a biography.
[65] Zhang Dake 張大可 1985: 194–97 and Ma Xin 2013: 170.
[66] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[67] Zhang Dake 1985: 196.
[68] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

The following diagram shows the recorded transmission of *Lu Shi* from the beginning of Western Han until Chu Shaosun (only masters of direct transmission are included).

Diagram 2-1: The transmission of *Lu Shi* from the beginning of Western Han until Chu Shaosun


Sir Fuqiu
浮丘伯
From Qi 齊
Master Shen
申公
From Lu 魯
Master Xu
徐公
From Mianzhong 免中
Scholar Xu
許生
From Lu 魯
Wang Shi
王式
From Xintao of Dongping 東平新桃
Chu Shaosun
褚少孫
From Pei 沛

Chu Shaosun's mastery of two classics was not uncommon among Western Han classicists.[69] He expressed that he "also liked to read the utterings passed over by other schools" (*er hao du waijia zhuan yu* 而好讀外家傳語).[70]

2.3. Career

Due to his literary (*wenxue* 文學) achievements, Chu Shaosun was promoted to the position of Gentleman in Attendance (*shilang* 侍郎)[71] and later to Gentleman at Arms (*lang* 郎).[72] During his decade-long access to the palace, he had the opportunity to converse with individuals who had served during Emperor Wu's 武帝 (r. 141–87 BC) reign,[73] which greatly influenced his significant contribution to supplementing the *Shiji*.

Chu Shaosun held the position of *Lu Shi* Academician during the time of Emperor Xuan[74] 宣帝 and remained active during the reigns of Emperor Yuan 元帝 (r. 48–32 BC) and Emperor Cheng 成帝.[75]

2.4. To Supplement the *Shiji*[76]

[69] Pokora 1981: 426.
[70] *Shiji* 126.3203.
[71] *Shiji* 60.2114.
[72] Readers may find it useful to consult a discussion from Michael Loewe (1922–2025) dedicated to "The Gentleman (*lang* 郎)." (Loewe 2004: 131–32). Pokora 1981: 426–27 noted that it is "somewhat surprising" Chu reached a relatively low position for the high grade attained, while Loewe 2000: 50 doubted that Chu might have never been officially appointed as Gentleman at Arms.
[73] *Shiji* 49.1981; *Shiji* 58.2089; and *Shiji* 128.3225. See also Pokora1981: 425–26.
[74] Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (679–732) cited Wei Leng's 韋稜 word in *Shiji suoyin* 史記索隱, "Chu Shaosun… being an Academician in the time of Emperor Xuan." (*Chu Shaosun… Xuan Di dai wei Boshi* 褚少孫……宣帝代為博士). (*Shiji* 12.451).
[75] *Shiji* 12.451. See also van Ess 2015c: 479.
[76] Readers may consult the following works for the research on Chu Shaosun supplementing *Shiji*

Many of us heard of Chu Shaosun due to his contribution to the *Shiji* by adding supplementary passages to replace the missing parts during his time. However, while it is believed that he may have undertaken as many as seventeen chapters, only nine of the additions in the *textus receptus* (received text) of the *Shiji* can be confidently attributed to him. In the *Shiji*, the phrase "Mister Chu says" (*Chu xiansheng yue* 褚先生曰) refers to Chu Shaosun's supplement.[77]

Zhang Yan 張晏, a *Shiji* commentator from the 3rd century, was highly critical of Chu Shaosun's work,[78] and his views were followed by later scholars such as 司馬貞 (679–732)[79] and Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1245–1322)[80]. Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728–1804) also had unfavourable opinions about Chu's style but acquitted him of any misplacement of textual items.[81]

According to the *Hanshu* commentator Zhang Yan, there were ten missing chapters of *Shiji*. Chu Shaosun provided four of these missing parts, namely "Basic Annals of Emperor Wu" (*Wudi benji* 武帝本紀, *Shiji* chapter 12), "Hereditary Houses of Three Princes" (*San wang shijia* 三王世家, *Shiji* chapter 60), "Arrayed Traditions

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passages: Yi Ping 易平 2000; Uchiyama Naoki 内山直樹 2003; Loewe 2004: 210, 216–17, 230–33, 247–50, and 401–5; Lü Shihao 呂世浩 2015; Chen Jun 陳君 2020: 26–30; and Zhang Zongpin 張宗品 2023: 83–86. Readers may also consult correspondence chapters in the following works: *Les Mémoires Historiques De Se-Ma-Ts'ien* (The Historical Memoirs of Sima Qian); *Hanshu shuzheng* 漢書疏證; and *Shiki kaichū kōshō* 史記會注考證 (also *Shiki kaichū kōshō kōho* 史記會注考證校補). Van Ess 2015c provides the most comprehensive Western investigation on the topic for now.

[77] *Shiji* 12.451.

[78] *Shiji* 130.3321. Yan Shigu's 顏師古 (581–645) commentary to *Hanshu* also quoted Zhang Yan 張晏 with slightly different wordings (*Hanshu* 62.2724).

[79] *Shiji* 10.

[80] *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 vol. 9, 191.5560.

[81] Qian Daxin 錢大昕 2016: 18.

of Diviners" (*Guice liezhuan* 龜策列傳, *Shiji* chapter 128), and "Arrayed Traditions of Soothsayers" (*Rizhe liezhuan* 日者列傳, *Shiji* chapter 127). [82] However, some scholars argue that these chapters were not written by Chu Shaosun, but were actually part of Sima Qian's original version. In addition to these four chapters, Chu Shaosun made additions to other chapters.[83] Notable among them is the dossier of documents he inserted, which now forms the greater part of "Hereditary Houses of Three Princes". These additions, as unique examples of official writings, record in fourteen stages the process by which kingdoms were conferred to Emperor Wu's three sons Liu Hong 劉閎, Liu Dan 劉旦, and Liu Xiu 劉胥 in 117 BC. Thanks to his supplements, information is available for the biography of Ren An 任安 in chapter 104 (*Shiji* 104, 2779) and the biography of Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 in chapter 126 (*Shiji* 126, 3205). For passages attributed to Chu Shaosun with certainty and doubt respectively, readers may refer to the tables in Appendix 1.

2.5. Major events in the life of Chu Shaosun

[82] *Shiji* 130.3321.
[83] Lü Shihao 呂世浩 2015.

Table 2-1: Major events in the life of Chu Shaosun

Time (BC)	Events
104	Birth
89	Commencement of classical studies in Chang'an 長安
88–76	Serving as Gentleman Attendance (*shilang* 侍郎)
74–72	Residence in Chang Yi 昌邑; serving Wang Shi; Pupil of the *Odes*
65–62	Relocating to Chang'an; serving as a Gentleman (*lang* 郎); studying the *Springs and Autumns*
65–49	Granted access to the palace
54–49	No records of participating in the Shiqu Pavilion (石渠閣) debate;[84] appointed Academician for the *Lu Shi*
53–44	Working on the texts supplementing *Shiji*
?	Residing in Chang Yi, perhaps in Pei 沛 or Chang'an
30	Death

After conducting a thorough examination of historical records detailing Chu Shaosun's career, with a specific focus on his ascension to the position of Academician of *Lu* line of affiliation of the *Odes*, the forthcoming sections will delve into the following inquiries:

1. What level of mastery did Chu Shaosun attain in his understanding of the *Odes*?

[84] Worth noting that Chu did not represent *Lu Shi* as an Academician to join the Shiqu pavilion debate (51 BC). It was Zhang Chang'an 張長安, Wang's another *Lu Shi* student senior to Chu, who joined the debate as a *Lu Shi* Academician. See *Hanshu* 88.3610. Ma Xin 馬昕 opines it indicates at that moment Zhang was a *Lu Shi* Academician but Chu was not (Ma Xin 2013: 175).

2. To what extent did Chu inherit the knowledge of the *Odes* from his mentor, Wang Shi?

3. What was Chu's association with *Lu Shi*?

4. How were the *Odes* received during Chu's era?

3. Training in the *Odes* received by Chu Shaosun

In the context of classicists and Academicians in the Han dynasty, particularly in relation to their line affiliations, the "(Arrayed) Traditions of Classicists" chapters in the *Shiji* 史記, *Hanshu* 漢書, and *Houhanshu* 後漢書 hold significant importance. These chapters, known as *Rulin (lie)zhuan* 儒林（列）傳 (*lin* literally "forest" or "phalanx"),[85] are not the only reliable records, but they are among the most crucial sources of information about master–student connections during that time period.[86] While the accuracy of these records may be debatable,[87] they nonetheless serve as a fundamental resource for future generations interested in exploring the history of classical interpretations in the Han era.

The "(Arrayed) Traditions of Classicists" chapters primarily document the transmission of knowledge from one individual to another, resulting in a straightforward format. Broadly, they can be segmented into sections that identify the successive generations of classicists within specific lines of affiliation, grouped by the fields of classics in which they specialized. Some sections begin with the

[85] Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: 70.
[86] Readers may consult Endymion Wilkinson's Chinese history manual for a discussion of Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (145–86? BC) invention of the *liezhuan* 列傳 category and the presence of different opinions on interpreting and translating it into English. See Wilkinson 2018: 788–89.
[87] Cai Liang 蔡亮 calls these chapters an "imaginative refashioning of history" (Cai 2014: 6).

phrase “this [person] is from [place]” (*… (zhe), … ren ye* ……（者），……人也). The *Odes*-related portions of the “Traditions of Classicists” chapter in the *Hanshu* were derived from the *Shiji* and encompass the *Lu* 魯, *Qi* 齊, and *Han* 韓 lines of affiliation in relation to the *Odes*. Additionally, the *Hanshu* introduces a section for the *Mao* 毛 line of affiliation. In a supplementary section for the *Lu Shi*, the *Hanshu* identifies Wang Shi at the outset, highlighting Wang’s role as a significant inheritor of the *Lu Shi* tradition subsequent to Sima Qian’s passing.

Wang Shi delved into the study of *Lu Shi*, following the ancient tradition passed down from Master Shen 申公[88] (200?–139? BC), the pioneering Academician who dedicated himself to the study of *Lu Shi*. Tang Zhangbin 唐長賓[89] and Chu Shaosun sought Wang’s advice on the *Odes*:

> 山陽張長安幼君先事式，後東平唐長賓、沛褚少孫亦來事式。問經數篇，式謝曰：「聞之於師具是矣。自潤色之。」[90] 不肯復授。

[88] This is Shen Pei 申培, also known as Master Shen Pei 申培公. See *Hanshu* 88.3593. He “is known as one of the famous teachers of the *Book of Songs* (*Shi jing* 詩經) from Lu.” (Loewe 2000: 469). Loewe 2000: 469–70 provides a biography.

[89] Readers may consult Loewe 2000: 502 for a comprehensive biography of Tang Zhangbin. Michael Loewe transcribes Tang Zhangbin 唐長賓 as “Tang Changbin”, which might not be entirely accurate. The character “長” (*zhang*) used here means senior or elder, while *chang* means long. In the “Traditions of Classicists” chapter of *Hanshu*, there is another classicist named Lin Zun 林尊, whose courtesy name (*zi* 字) was also “長賓”. In traditional China, a courtesy name was often closely linked to one’s given name. In Lin Zun’s case, *zun* 尊 (venerable) matches well with *zhang* (senior), but not with *chang* (long). Additionally, in the *Ceremonies and Rites* (*Yili* 儀禮) “The official clearing the way” (*yousi che* 有司徹) chapter, “長賓” was consistently used eight times to indicate a senior guest. In the same chapter, *cibin* 次賓 (secondary guest) further supports the interpretation of *zhangbin* as a senior guest. In all transmitted pre-Han and Han texts, there is no evidence of interpreting “長賓” as *changbin* (long guest). It is worth noting that Loewe also transcribed “長卿” as *changqing*, despite listing it with other examples such as *shaoqing* 少卿, *zhongqing* 仲卿, and *ciqing* 次卿 (Loewe 2004: 23). All of these examples (少: young; 仲: second n sequence; 次: secondary) suggest that “長卿” is a similar case to “長賓”, indicating a relatively senior age or status. Furthermore, “長卿” (the courtesy name of Sima Xiangru 司馬相如) is transcribed as “Zhangqing” in Wilkinson 2018: 144.

[90] My own punctuation for “聞之於師具是矣自潤色之”. Additionally, the character “具” was mistakenly input as “俱” in the renowned Academia Sinica Chinese Ancient Texts Database

Zhang Chang'an [whose courtesy name was] Youjun[91] of Shanyang served [Wang] Shi first, then later Tang Zhangbin of Dongping and Chu Shaosun of Pei, who had also come to serve [Wang] Shi. [They] inquired about several pieces of the[92] Classic.[93] [Wang] Shi declined, saying, "it is all [I] heard from the teacher. Do the embellishing[94] yourself." [He was] not willing to repeat[95] teaching.

唐生、褚生應博士弟子選。詣博士，摳衣登堂，頌禮甚嚴。試誦說，有法，疑者丘蓋不言。諸博士驚問何師，對曰：「事式。」皆素聞其賢，共薦式。詔除下為博士。

(*Handian* 瀚典). I reported this error, and they rectified it around 2008 (my initial report was not addressed for several months; I believe the rectification occurred after a few follow-up reports). However, there are still research works and online resources that retain this mistake, likely because they are based on that version, which was one of the few reliable databases for classical Chinese texts at the time.

[91] According to Li Qi 李奇, "Chang'an is a name [of a person]." (*Chang'an, ming* 長安，名) (*Hanshu* 88.3610). Chang'an might also be interpreted as a place name, indicating that Zhang was from Chang'an, the capital of the Western Han. However, Tao Zhongyi 陶宗儀 (1329–1410) talks about seals (*yinzhang* 印章) and says, "in the Han, Zhang Chang'an whose courtesy name was Youjun. There is a stamp that prints Zhang Youjun." (*Han Zhang Chang'an zi Youjin you yin yue Zhang Youjun* 漢張長安字幼君，有印曰：張幼君) (*Nancun chuogeng lu* 南村輟耕錄 vol. 8, 30.4a–4b). Furthermore, recording one's surname, given name, and courtesy name as a sequence can be seen in earlier records, for example, "Guan Zhong [whose courtesy name is] Erwu." (*Guan Zhong Erwu* 管仲夷吾). (*Shiji* 62.2131, and *Yanzi chunqiu jishi* 晏子春秋集釋 vol. 1, 188). There were several fragmented bamboo or wooden slips Yanzi 晏子 found (Pian Yuqian 駢宇騫 2000: 10–12).

[92] The original text is ambiguous on the number of Classics, but Wang Shi is recorded as an expert only in the *Lu Shi* and the section here in the structure and organization is all about the *Lu Shi* scholars.

[93] Yang Shuda 楊樹達 (1885–1956) argued that Han classicists were not obligated to study an entire classic. He provided two examples: Emperor Wu's inquiry into a chapter of *Shu* 書 directed at Ni Kuan 兒寬, and inquiries by Tang Zhangbin and Chu Shaosun about a few pieces to Wang Shi. See Yang Shuda 楊樹達 2006: 694. However, Timoteus Pokora disagreed with Yang's thesis, "The two examples may hardly corroborate Yang's thesis. Of course, not all of the Han men studied the Classic or Classics fully […]. Moreover, Ch'u Shao-sun also studied 'the utterings passed over by other schools of outer learning' (cf. e.g. SC 126, p.12), i.e. more mundane literature." (Pokora 1981: 406, n. 13).

[94] "Embellish" follows Michael Loewe's suggestion from a letter discussion (personal communication, May 2018). "Disguise" is another possible translation for "*runse*" 潤色, which refers to a slightly different word "*runshi*" 潤飾.

[95] *Fu* 復 here can also be translated as "resume" or "return". See Kroll 2022. Elstein 2006: 235 translates it into "further". Further explanations of my translation are in Chapter 4 of this thesis. Another related and detailed but vastly different investigation of the *fu yen* 復言 in classical Chinese can be found in Lau 1973.

Scholar Tang[96] and Scholar Chu responded[97] [to the call for] election of the Pupils of Academicians.[98] Approaching Academicians, they lifted up their garments[99] and ascended the hall, performing appearance rites[100] extremely reverently. They were examined on[101] making recitations (or chants) and explanations. [They] had a method.[102] For matters that were subject to doubt, they refrained from voicing an opinion.[103] Various Academicians were surprised[104], asking whom their teacher was. They replied. "we served [Wang] Shi." All [of the Academicians] had long heard about[105] his virtues, and together they recommended [Wang] Shi.[106] [The emperor] proclaimed the edict to appoint [him as] an Academician.[107]

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[96] Paul W. Kroll explains that *sheng* 生 is a "courtesy title [that] refers to a scholar or teacher; student, disciple, adherent; novice, neophyte; for an older person, 'sir'." (Kroll 2022). Burton Watson translated *sheng* and *xiansheng* 先生 as "master." (*Records of the Grand Historian of China* 510). However, he also translated *gong* 公 as "master". In the passages cited in this thesis, *gong* should be regarded as more senior than *sheng*. Michael Loewe also indicates that, "[a]s opposed to *Xiansheng*, the honorific title *Gong* 公 is used for holders of an office" (Loewe 2004: 14). Thus, putting *sheng* and *gong* in the same category does not seem appropriate. William H. Nienhauser either keeps the original form of *sheng* and puts the translation "scholar" in brackets, or translates it directly as "scholar" (Nienhauser 2016: 287 and 288). Endymion Wilkinson's manual states that *xiansheng* means "elder born, mister, you." (Wilkinson 2018: 111). It is not suitable to render *sheng* as "master" as that is expressed by *gong*; neither is "mister" suitable because it is too ordinary (mister is "[a] title of courtesy prefixed to the surname or first name of a man without a higher, honorific, or professional title." ("Oxford English Dictionary").) This thesis follows Nienhauser's example and translates *sheng* as "scholar".

[97] Thanks to Michael Loewe's suggestion in a letter (personal communication, May 2018).

[98] Michael Loewe translates *boshi dizi* 博士弟子 as "Pupil of the Academicians." (Loewe 2000: 758). Charles O. Hucker (1919–1994) explains it was the "disciple of the Erudites" and "National University Student." (Hucker 1985: 390). Readers can discover more about Academicians by consulting a detailed explanation by Hucker 1985: 389.

[99] Yan Shigu says, "lifted up garments meant lift them up from the inside, to make them leave the ground." (*kou yi, wei yi shou nei jü zhi, ling li di ye* 摳衣，謂以手內舉之，令離地也) (*Hanshu* 88.3610).

[100] Yan Shigu says, "*Song* 頌 can be read as *rong* 容." (*song du ruo rong* 頌讀曰容) (*Hanshu* 88.3610).

[101] The word *shi* 試 can be translated as "try out, test out" or "examine, assess." (Kroll 2022).

[102] Here I follow the suggestion of Michael Loewe in a letter, where he suggested "fixed method" (personal communication, May 2018). In a series of email discussions, Scott Davis suggested that "according to standards" is also a possible translation (personal communication, April 2018). Nylan 2005: 20 translated it into "they demonstrated their method", while Elstein 2006: 235 "(correct) model".

[103] The translation of "疑者丘蓋不言" follows Loewe 2000: 502 and his new suggestion in a letter: "for matters that were subject to doubt, they blocked and covered them without voicing an opinion" (personal communication, May 2018). He also opines *qiu* 丘 is not referring to Confucius. Readers may consult *Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注 vol. 11, 88.5442–44 on which Loewe's interpretations based. David Elstein had a similar translation and noted, "The phrase 丘蓋不言 is unusual and there are many different explanations in the commentaries. None of them seem to have a conclusive basis to me". (Elstein 2006: 172). Also see Yang Shuda 楊樹達 2006: 694–95 and Huang Qingxuan 黃慶萱 2008: 174–75.

[104] Elstein 2006: 172 translated *jing* 驚 into "amazed".

[105] Timoteus Pokora translated *su* 素 as "in a plain way" (Pokora 1981: 407). David Elstein, however, translated it differently in different places. In his appendix of translating the whole *rulin zhuan* of *Hanshu* he put it "the first [time]" (Elstein 2006: 236) while in the main body of his thesis, he translated it into "(had) long (known)" (Elstein 2006: 172) which agrees with mine.

[106] Nylan 2005: 20 provides an alternative translation for part of this passage.

[107] Following the annotation from Yan Shigu 顏師古, he says, "proclaimed the text of the edict to

〔……〕張生、唐生、褚生皆為博士。
[…] Scholar Zhang, Scholar Tang, and Scholar Chu all became Academicians.

〔……〕由是魯詩有張、唐、褚氏之學。[108]
[…] From this point onwards, there existed for *Lu Shi* the branches of Mr Zhang, Mr Tang, and Mr Chu studies.[109]

In the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter of the *Hanshu*, it was noted that Wang Shi was conversant with the *Odes*. (Wang Shi's line affiliation to the *Odes* will be explored later.) He only imparted knowledge of a few pieces of the *Odes* (out of the total 305 pieces) to Tang Zhangbin and Chu Shaosun, and then chose not to teach any more pieces. They were instructed to elaborate on the pieces they had been taught and, since only a few pieces had been covered, to independently study the remaining pieces. While Tang Zhangbin and Chu Shaosun were mentioned together and their descriptions were fairly similar in the quoted passage, for the purpose of

appoint [him as] an official" (*xia chu guan zhi shu ye* 下除官之書也) (*Hanshu* 88.3610). A less likely interpretation can be: "summon him to the stairs and let him become the Academician." To support this thesis's interpretation, there is another example of using *zhaochu* 詔除 in *Hanshu*: "to avoid proclaiming edict to appoint the improper" (*mian buzheng zhi zhaochu* 免不正之詔除) (*Hanshu* 85.3463). Yan Shigu annotates, "*chu* means to appoint someone to fill a vacant official position." (*chu wei chu bu wei guan zhe* 除謂除補為官者) (*Hanshu* 85.3463). According to Kroll, one of the meanings of *chu* is "appoint to office" (Kroll 2022), and one of *bu* "fill a vacant official position" (Kroll 2022). Although there are no other examples of using *xia xu* 下除, *xu xia* 除下, and *xu guan* 除官 in the *Shiji* 史記, *Hanshu* 漢書, and *Houhanshu* 後漢書, in the *Hanshu* there is a record of "officials just appointed" (*chu chu zhi guan* 初除之官) (*Hanshu* 5.145). Ru Chun 如淳 annotates, "whenever talking about *chu*, [it means] remove from old office and appoint to new office" (*fan yan chu zhe chu guguan jiu xinguan ye* 凡言除者，除故官就新官也) (*Hanshu* 5.145). Another record in *Hanshu* is "*chu li*" 除吏. Yan Shigu uses nearly the same wording as Ru Chun to annotate the phrase (*Hanshu* 52.2380). More evidence of using *chu* in the sense of "to appoint" can be found in the *Hanshu* 72.3083, 81.3331, 83.3399, 84.3414, 85.3474, 86.3485, 86.3488, 87b.3583, 88.3619, 92.3711, 99a.4049. 99b.4119, and 99b.4122.

[108] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

[109] Elstein 2006: 235–36 provides an alternative translation for this whole passage. For a complete translation of *Hanshu* 88 with essential notes, see Elstein 2006: 201–55. Readers may also consult Hightower 1948: 268–78 for an annotated translation of the sections related to early *Odes* masters in the *Hanshu* 88 (Wang Shi and his students are not included, however). Huang Qingxuan 黃慶萱 2008 provides an extensive collection of Chinese annotations, collations, and explanations.

this thesis, Tang's role will be intentionally omitted unless necessary, as the focus of this thesis is primarily on the case of Chu Shaosun.

3.1. Interpretations on *runse* 潤色

In the context of the word "*runse*" 潤色, Yan Shigu's 顏師古 (581–645) commentary suggested, "It says, what they heard from the teacher's explanations were all exhausted in this. If they disliked the brevity, feel free to do the further embellishing themselves" (*yan suo wen shishuo ju jin yu ci, ruo xian jianlüe, ren geng rense* 言所聞師說具盡於此，若嫌簡略，任更潤色).[110]

There is an earlier usage of "*runse*" in *The Analects*, where it says "*Dongli Zichan runse zhi*" 東里子產潤色之[111] (Dongli Zichan embellishes it). Xing Bing's 邢昺 (932–1010) commentary equated it with "*xiushi*" 脩飾, stating that "*xiushi* and *runse* both mean to augment and to refine in order to make it splendid and beautiful" (*xiushi, runse, jie wei zeng xiu shi huamei ye* 脩飾、潤色，皆謂增脩使華美也).[112]

Two additional examples of "*runse*" can be found in the *Hanshu*. In the "Traditions of Zhong Jun 終軍" chapter, the text mentions "*bi dai mingsheng runse*" 必待弓潤色[113] (it has to wait for the embellishment by enlightened people and wise men).

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[110] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[111] *Lunyu zhushu* 論語注疏 14.210. See also *Lunyu yishu* 論語義疏 7.209.
[112] *Lunyu zhushu* 14.210. See also *Lunyu yishu* 7.210.
[113] *Hanshu* 64b.2816.

Yan Shigu commented, "*runse* means to illuminate and to decorate it" (*runse wei guang shi zhi* 潤色謂光飾之).[114] Another example in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter offers clear evidence for the translation of "*runse*" as "embellish". It states, "Until the times of Kings Wei and Xuan, those like Mencius and Minister Xun [i.e. Xunzi] all followed the work of the master [Confucius] and embellished it, and they are known to the contemporary world for their scholarship" (*zhiyu wei xuan zhi ji, Mengzi Xunqing zhi lie xian zun fuzi zhi ye er runse zhi, yi xue xian yu dangshi* 至於威、宣之際，孟子、孫卿之列咸遵夫子之業而潤色之，以學顯於當世).[115] This clearly indicates that once individuals received knowledge, they were able to embellish (*runse*) that knowledge.

According to modern scholars Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan, the term "*runse*" was translated as "glossy and appealing" and they explained that "the phrase *runse* has negative connotations in the *Hanshu* 88.3610, where it means 'adding superfluous comments to already sufficient teaching.'"[116]

Their explanation, however, was not accurate, considering that Wang's *Lu Shi* teaching to Chu was not actually sufficient. The statement "if they disliked the brevity" (*ruo xian jianlüe* 若嫌簡略)[117] by Yan Shigu might better describe Wang Shi's own perception of his teaching. Why did Wang find it necessary to exhort Chu to "*runse*"? If Wang had already taught the entire *Lu Shi* or at least a portion that he deemed sufficient, he could have simply replied to Chu, "It is all that I heard from

[114] *Hanshu* 64b.2816.
[115] *Hanshu* 88.3591.
[116] Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: 73.
[117] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

the teacher" (*wen zhi yu shi ju shi yi* 聞之於師具是矣), as recorded in the *Hanshu*.[118] The phrase "do the embellishing yourself" (*zi runse zhi* 自潤色之)[119] from Wang suggests that even Wang himself understood that the content of his teaching, in terms of both coverage and explanation, was sketchy and inadequate for Chu in the long run, whether for further academic pursuit or as a vocational skill. The full *Lu Shi* was not transmitted; only a few pieces of *Odes* were passed down. David Elstein translates the phrase "*zi runse zhi*" 自潤色之 as "you can make it more elegant yourselves",[120] while Michael Loewe (1922–2025) translates "*runse*" as "embellish"[121] and Hans van Ess "to make it (the text) appealing".[122]

Overall, the interpretations of "*runse*" demonstrate similarities between scholars, as it is generally understood to mean the adding of refinements onto received knowledge.

3.2. Interpretations of the quote: *wen zhi yu shi ju shi yi* 聞之於師具是矣

It is important to consider the various interpretations of the statement "it is all that I heard from the teacher" (*wen zhi yu shi ju shi yi* 聞之於師具是矣) in light of the clarification of "*runse*".

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[118] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[119] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[120] Elstein 2006: 235. Worth noting that Elstein translated another *runse* in the same chapter of *Hanshu* into "embellish" (Elstein 2006: 203–4).
[121] Thanks to Michael Loewe's suggestion in a letter (personal communication, May 2018).
[122] Thanks to Hans van Ess's opinion in an email (personal communication, September 2024). Van Ess further suggests that encapsulating the meaning of the two characters into a single word may not be feasible. The character "*run*" 潤 itself implies making something smooth enough to facilitate the acceptance of an explanation.

One possible interpretation is that Wang Shi had previously taught Zhang Chang'an 張長安 certain sections of the *Odes* but refused to teach Tang Zhangbin and Chu Shaosun. This is to interpret "*bu ken fu shou*" 不肯復授 as "refused to teach repeatedly".[123]

However, there are several issues with these interpretations. First, this interpretation does not align with the concept of "do the embellishing yourself". The idea of "embellishing" should be taken into account. If Chu had not learned anything from Wang Shi, there would be nothing to embellish. Therefore, it would have been peculiar for Wang to instruct Chu to do the embellishing himself if nothing had been taught to him. The mention of "embellishing" implies that Wang must have taught him at least some knowledge related to the *Odes*. In other words, Chu should have acquired certain knowledge from Wang.

Second, the interpretation in question implies that both Zhang and Chu served Wang at different times and that Chu never learned anything from Wang. If this is accurate, did Wang assume that Chu had already learned everything taught to Zhang, and thus needed to embellish the knowledge to make it more glossy and appealing? Even if this is a valid interpretation, by saying "it is all that I heard from the teacher", Wang affirmed that Chu had already mastered what he had taught to Zhang. In other words, Chu mastered Wang's teachings, whether he learned directly from Wang or indirectly through Zhang as a middleman. This suggests that Chu's

[123] Thanks to Yegor Grebnev for providing this interpretation in a presentation discussion (personal communication, February 2018).

Lu Shi learning is based on Wang's teachings and is not an entirely independent acquisition.

Another interpretation is that Wang never taught them at all. This interpretation of "*wen zhi yu shi ju shi yi: zi runse zhi*" 聞之於師具是矣：自潤色之 as "it is all that I heard from the teacher: do the embellishing yourself" suggests that Chu and Zhang never learned anything from Wang. This aligns with Wang's reluctance to teach (*gui jia bu jiao shou* 歸家不教授) due to the Prince of Changyi 昌邑王 incident.[124]

The first issue arises from the fact that if individuals claim to have learned nothing from Wang, their purported service to (i.e., learn from) Wang becomes illogical. Even if we were to disregard the connection between *shì* 事 (to serve) and *shī* 師 (to learn from) in classical Chinese, Chu's response that he "served" Wang when asked about his teacher implies a connection. These records strongly indicate an exchange of knowledge. It indicates that they did learn something from Wang, and their relationship was founded on the transmission of knowledge.

The second issue is that claiming to have learned nothing from Wang also does not align with the concepts of "embellishing" or "repeating" (*fu* 復). Wang must have imparted some teachings, otherwise there would be nothing to "embellish" or "repeat".

[124] *Hanshu* 88.3610. Thanks to Lam Wo-kui 林和駒 (Lin Heju) for suggesting in a seminar discussion that Wang Shi might not teach anything at all to his students (personal communication, September 2020).

Even if it were assumed that Chu did not gain any knowledge from Wang, the fundamental question of this chapter persists: If Chu had no involvement in *Lu Shi* studies, why was he then sanctioned as a *Lu Shi* Academician and subsequently established his own branch of *Lu Shi* studies?

3.3. Interpretations of the quote: *wen zhi yu shi ju shi yi, zi runse zhi* 聞之於師具是矣，自潤色之

The interpretation of the dialogue concerning the subject and object of Wang Shi's words, specifically "*wen zhi yu shi ju shi yi, zi runse zhi*" 聞之於師具是矣，自潤色之, has sparked different viewpoints. According to Yan Shigu's commentary, "It says, what they heard from the teacher's explanations were all exhausted in this. If they disliked the brevity, feel free to do the further embellishing themselves" (*yan suo wen shishuo ju jin yu ci, ruo xian jianlüe, ren geng rense* 言所聞師說具盡於此，若嫌簡略，任更潤色).[125]

The annotation, however, is not entirely clear on the subject of "*wen zhi yu shi ju shi yi*" 聞之於師具是矣. This ambiguity arises from the lack of specific indications for the sentence subject in classical Chinese. Logically, there are at least two possibilities for the subjects of Wang's two-part response, assuming that Wang was referring either to himself or the students (Zhang Chang'an, Tang Zhangbin, and Chu Shaosun) but not to others, such as Wang's *Odes* teacher.

[125] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

Presently, different English translations of Wang's reply by David Elstein and Michael Loewe have led to different possible combinations of the subjects of the two parts of Wang's reply. David Elstein worded it as: "This is all I have heard from my teacher. You can make it more elegant yourselves",[126] while Michael Loewe translated it as: "I heard this from my teacher and personally embellished it."[127]

The various translations have resulted in four different combinations of the subjects of the two parts of Wang's reply, which can be summarized in a table:

Table 2-2: Combinations of different interpretations on subjects on Wang Shi's reply

wen zhi yu shi ju shi yi 聞之於師具是矣	***zi runse zhi*** 自潤色之	**Interpreter**
it is all that I heard from the teacher	I personally embellished it	Michael Loewe[128]
	do the embellishing yourself	David Elstein[129]
it is all that you heard from the teacher	I personally embellished it	
	do the embellishing yourself	Yan Shigu[130]

[126] Elstein 2006: 235.
[127] Thanks to Michael Loewe's suggestion in a letter (personal communication, May 2018).
[128] Personal communication, May 2018.
[129] Elstein 2006: 235.
[130] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

In all the pre-Han and Han *textus receptus* (received texts), there are five instances of the phrase "*wen zhi yu shi*" 聞之於師, including Wang Shi's response to the inquiry. However, there are no occurrences of "*wen zhi yu shi*" 聞之于師. The five examples are detailed below:

1. The "Traditions of Yi Feng" chapter (*Yi Feng zhuan* 翼奉傳) of *Hanshu*:

> 〔翼〕奉不肯與言，而上封事曰：「臣聞之於師：治道要務，在知下之邪正〔……〕。」[131]
> [Yi] Feng was not willing to speak to him but offered up a sealed proposal to the ruler, saying, "I heard from the teacher: the important affair of the way of well-governing is to know subordinates' perverseness or properness […]."

2. The "Traditions of Yi Feng" chapter of *Hanshu*:

> 〔翼〕奉奏封事曰：「臣聞之於師曰：天地設位，懸日月，布星辰〔……〕。」[132]
> [Yi] Feng proposed a sealed proposal to ruler, said, "I heard from the teacher said: heaven and earth establishes positions, hangs the sun and the moon, spreads out stars […]."

3. The "Traditions of Classicists" chapter (*Rulin zhuan* 儒林傳) of *Hanshu*:

> 問經數篇，式謝曰：「聞之於師具是矣。自潤色之。」不肯復授。[133]
> [They] asked about several pieces of [the] Classic. [Wang] Shi declined, saying, "it is all that [I] heard from the teacher. Do the embellishing yourself." [He was] not willing to repeat teaching.

4. The "Traditions of Classicists" chapter of *Hanshu*:

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[131] *Hanshu* 75.3167.
[132] *Hanshu* 75.3172.
[133] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

〔王〕式曰：「聞之於師：客歌〈驪駒〉，主人歌〈客毋庸歸〉。〔……〕。」[134]
[Wang] Shi said, "Heard from the teacher: guests sing "*Liju*" (black horse),[135] the host sings "*Ke wu yong gui*" (guests need not go home).[136] […]."[137]

5. The "Traditions of Xun Shu" chapter (*Xun Shu zhuan* 荀淑傳) of *Hanshu*:

〔荀淑〕對策陳便宜曰：「臣聞之於師曰：漢為火德〔……〕。」[138]
[Xun Shu] answered to exam question, narrating what fits the circumstance, said, "I heard from the teacher: Han is of Fire virtue […]."

In addition to Wang Shi's response in example 3, the interpretations of the other four examples strongly suggest or imply that the speaker is the subject of the sentence. Examples 1, 2, and 5 indicate the subject as "*chen*" 臣 or "I", while example 4 involves Wang Shi quoting his teacher's words, in which there is no indicator of the subject. It is worth noting that Wang's response to the question is the only one accompanied by a definite clause (*ju shi yi* 具是矣), while the others specify the content as being heard (*wen* 聞). Taken together, four out of five examples imply an obvious subject, "I". Therefore, it is reasonable to interpret the

[134] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[135] *Hanshu* 88.3610: Fu Qian said, "Name of a lost piece of *Odes*. ['li ju' is] the title of a lost ode of the *Odes*. See *Dadai li* 大戴禮 [*Rites by Great Dai*]. It was sung by the guest when he wished to leave". (*Fu Qian yue: yishi pianming ye, jian Da Dai Li ke yu qu ge zhi* 服虔曰：逸詩篇名也，見《大戴禮》，客欲去歌之); Wen Ying said, "Its text was: 'If the black horse and the foal were at the gate, the grooms were all present. If the black horse and the foal were on the way, the grooms were making the cart in order.'" (*Wen Ying yue: qi ci yun: li ju zai men, pufu ju cun; li ju zai lu, pufu zheng jia ye* 文穎曰：其辭云：「驪駒在門，僕夫具存；驪駒在路，僕夫整駕」也).
[136] *Hanshu* 88.3610: Wen Ying said: "*yong* 庸 means the other *yong* 用. The rite of the ceremony of the host is not complete. The guest need not go home." (*Wen Ying yue: yong, yong ye. zhuren li wei bi, qie wuyong gui ye* 文穎曰：「庸，用也。主人禮未畢，且無用歸也。」).
[137] Elstein 2006: 157 provides an alternative translation to this passage and translated "*wen zhi yu shi*" 聞之於師 to "I heard from my master".
[138] *Houhanshu* 後漢書 26.2051.

subject of the remaining example, "*wen zhi yu shi ju shi yi*" 聞之於師具是矣, also as "I".

Regarding "*zi runse zhi*" 自潤色之, interpreting the subject as "I" (I personally embellished it) presents challenges. This interpretation does not align well with the subsequent statement "*bu ken fu shou*" 不肯復授 (not willing to repeat teaching). If Wang were discussing the content of his teaching rather than instructing the students to embellish it themselves, the record of not being willing to repeat teaching would not make sense. However, if we understand Wang as instructing the students to embellish the content themselves, the statement can be explained as Wang choosing not to continue teaching beyond what he himself learned from his teacher(s).

Upon further investigation of the examples mentioned earlier, it is possible to interpret the entire quote "*wen zhi yu shi ju shi yi zi runse zhi*" 聞之於師具是矣自潤色之 as follows: "Heard from the teacher, 'This is all. Do the embellishing yourself.'" (the correct punctuation should be: 聞之於師：「具是矣，自潤色之。」).[139]

The main difference between this interpretation and mine lies in the amount Wang Shi learned from his teacher. This interpretation suggests that Wang did not teach everything he learned from his teacher, but rather followed his teaching method by

[139] It is also possible to consider whether to put "自潤色之" as from Wang Shi's teacher or Wang himself. This interpretation does not make a significant difference to the case under discussion so will not be explained in detail.

ceasing to teach further after imparting a few pieces of odes. Interestingly, this interpretation is equally, if not more, compatible with the examples mentioned earlier, including example 4, which is also part of Wang Shi's passage. However, the main logical flaw is that *shi* 是 makes no sense if it appeared in Wang's quotation of his teacher's words without any context. If it were a quote from Wang's teacher, *shi* could mean anything, and Wang should not be quoting out of context.

Lastly, there are various interpretations of "*ju shi*" 具是. There is only one meaningful use of this phrase in all the transmitted pre-Han and Han texts. It is from the "Traditions of Dongfang Shuo" chapter (*Dongfang Shuo zhuan* 東方朔傳) of *Hanshu*:

> 凡劉向所錄〔東方〕朔書具是矣。世所傳他事皆非也。[140]
> Liu Xiang's recording of [Dongfang] Shuo's books is all accurate. The world's other transmitted accounts [of his deeds] are all false.

In the context provided, one might interpret "*wen zhi yu shi ju shi yi*" 聞之於師具是矣 as "all that [I] heard from the teacher is accurate".[141]

However, this interpretation shares a similar logical flaw with the previous one. While it is grammatically correct to interpret these phrases in different ways, the alternative interpretations of the phrases render the sentence nonsensical in the given context.

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[140] *Hanshu* 65.2873.
[141] A rather unlikely interpretation can be: "all that you guys heard from the [other] teacher[s] is true".

To summarize, this thesis incorporates two different interpretations of Wang Shi's words "*wen zhi yu shi ju shi yi. Zi runse zhi*" 聞之於師具是矣。自潤色之. The first part aligns with Elstein and Loewe, while the second part follows Yan Shigu. Thus, the interpretation of Wang's words is "It is all that [I] heard from the teacher. Do the embellishing yourself."

Furthermore, this thesis dissects Wang's words into two parts and examines them separately, corresponding to "recite" (*song* 誦) and "explain" (*shuo* 說). A more detailed discussion on this will follow in the subsequent sections of the thesis.

3.4. On *ying boshi dizi xuan* 應博士弟子選

An alternative interpretation of the "responding to the call for election of Pupils of Academicians" (*ying boshi dizi xuan* 應博士弟子選)[142] exists. Timoteus Pokora suggests that it was a selection that applied to both Wang Shi, Tang Zhangbin, and Chu Shaosun, indicating that "during the examinations all three of them represented a kind of a team of the specialists of the Lu version of the Odes."[143]

However, it appears that Pokora's suggestion does not align with the following records: After the election, "[the emperor] proclaimed the edict" (*zhao chuxia* 詔除下), "[Wang] Shi had been summoned" (*Shi zheng lai* 式徵來), "after arrival" (*ji zhi*

[142] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[143] Pokora 1981: 419.

既至).[144] All of these descriptions indicate that it was not possible for Wang Shi to have first presented himself to the court, and even less likely that he could have attended the election. According to *Hanshu*, Wang should have been summoned by the emperor and arrived at the court (or even Chang'an) after the election had taken place.

3.5. On *song li*/*rongli* 頌禮／容禮

This thesis interprets "*song li*" 頌禮 in the record of Chu Shaosun as "*rongli*" 容禮 (demeanour rites), a specific form of rites.[145]

Upon conducting a closer examination of other historical records of *Lu Shi* scholars, including those of Chu's teacher Wang Shi, it becomes evident that different generations of *Lu Shi* scholars have displayed varying levels of mastery of rites. The related records are as follows:

1. The "Traditions of Wei Xian" chapter (*Wei Xian zhuan* 韋賢傳) of *Hanshu*:

> 〔韋〕賢為人質朴少欲，篤志於學，兼通《禮》、《尚書》，以《詩》教授，號稱鄒魯大儒。[146]
> [Wei] Xian was a person who was unadorned and simple. [He was] steadfast in learning, well-versed in both *Rites* and *Venerable Documents*, and taught and handed the *Odes* down to others. [He was] known as a great classicist of Zhou and Lu.

[144] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[145] Readers may refer to Peng Meiling 彭美玲 2002 for an introduction to *rongli* 容禮, Lo Si-chun 魯士春 (Lu Shichun) 1998 for pre-Qin *rongli* and Zhang Like 張立克 2019 for Han.
[146] *Hanshu* 73.3107.

2. The “Traditions of Classicists” chapter of *Hanshu*:

> 韋賢治《詩》，事大江公及許生，又治《禮》，至丞相。[147]
> Wei Xian studied the *Odes* and served the Elder Master Jiang [of Xiaqiu] and Scholar Xu. He also studied the *Rites*, advancing to Chancellor.[148]

3. The “Traditions of Classicists” chapter of *Hanshu*:

> 詣博士，摳衣登堂，頌禮甚嚴。[149]
> Approaching Academicians, they lifted up their garments and ascended the hall, performing appearance rites extremely solemnly.

4. The “Traditions of Classicists” chapter of *Hanshu*:

> 〔王〕式徵來，衣博士衣而不冠，曰：「刑餘之人，何宜復充禮官？」[150]
> [When Wang] Shi had been summoned, he put on the academician’s garment but no cap, saying, “As someone with a suspended sentence, how am I suited to once again fill [the post of] an officer of protocol?”[151]

5. The “Traditions of Classicists” chapter of *Hanshu*:

> 江翁曰：「經何以言之？」〔王〕式曰：「在〈曲禮〉。」[152]
> Oldster Jiang[153] said, “Where does the classic say this?”[154] [Wang] Shi said, “In ‘qu li’ (summary of the rules of propriety, which is in the *Record of Rites* (*liji* 禮記))”.[155]

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[147] *Hanshu* 88.3609.
[148] Elstein 2006: 233 provides an alternative translation.
[149] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[150] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[151] Elstein 2006: 236 provides an alternative translation.
[152] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[153] Here referring to Academician Master Jiang 博士江公 in the original context.
[154] *Hanshu* 88.3610: Yan Shigu said, “In what spot of the classic do you have this statement?” (*Shi Gu yue: yu jing hesuo you ciyan* 師古曰：於經何所有此言？).
[155] Elstein 2006: 236 provides an alternative translation.

While it remains uncertain what exact *song li*/*rongli* 頌禮／容禮 in the records refers to and what exactly Chu Shaosun performed in the court, it seems that the mastery of rites of *Lu Shi* scholars was quite common, at least in Chu's master–student generation. This could potentially elucidate why the examiner Academicians were surprised when they observed Chu's performance. However, since the quoted passage in *Hanshu* was specifically focused on recording *Lu Shi* Academicians, the demonstration of the mastery of rites, if any, can only partially explain why the Academicians were surprised and prompted to ask about Chu's teacher.

3.6. Core questions raised concerning the records that describe Chu Shaosun's *Odes* training

In light of the aforementioned points, it is critical to gain a clearer understanding of the account provided in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter of the *Hanshu* regarding Chu Shaosun's *Odes* training. This will enable us to delve into some fundamental inquiries.

Upon reviewing the documented evidence, it is evident that Chu's *Odes* training was limited to a few select pieces (*shu pian* 數篇) and was characterized by sparse content (*zi runse zhi* 自潤色之 [do the embellishing yourself]; *bu ken fu shou* 不肯復授 [not willing to repeat teaching.]). It seems implausible that Chu relied solely on these limited pieces and scarce explanations to present his case for election when

responding to the call for Pupils of Academicians (*ying boshi dizi xuan* 應博士弟子選).[156]

Nevertheless, historical records indicate not only Chu's qualification as a Pupil of Academicians[157] but also his ability to impress the Academicians with his knowledge. This led them to inquire about his master–student affiliations, ultimately resulting in his appointment as a *Lu Shi* Academician. The records reveal a correlation between *Lu Shi* masters and students and the transmission of *Lu Shi* studies, albeit a tenuous rather than a robust connection.

The following questions arise: What did it entail to be an Academician within a specific line of filiation, such as Chu Shaosun, who was assigned to the *Lu Shi* line? When discussing the lines of filiation of *Odes*, what exactly are we referring to? In the "(Arrayed) Traditions of Classicists" chapters found in the *Shiji* 史記, *Hanshu* 漢書, and *Houhanshu* 後漢書, Academicians are arranged based on their affiliation with a specific line of affiliation. What defines a line? How did the historians compiling these three historical records perceive the concept of lines of affiliation? What sets apart different lines of filiation in the study of a classic? Does a line suggest a shared version of a text? A particular chanting style? The transmission of specific knowledge? A connection between individuals? An institutional organizational system intended for bureaucratic purposes? Or perhaps a combination of all these elements?

[156] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[157] Timoteus Pokora suggests that Tang Zhangbin and Chu Shaosun were both established as Pupils of Academicians and Wang Shi as an Academician. See Pokora 1981: 419.

The thesis delves into the questions by starting with the inquiry into what caused surprise (*jing* 驚) among the Academicians when they witnessed Chu Shaosun's performance. Exploring Chu's response in the election is essential for this investigation, but it cannot be directly gleaned from historical records due to their scarcity. As a result, the true historical account may remain uncertain unless new records come to light. One possible answer is that Chu stated his affiliation with *Lu Shi* during the election. This is supported by historical records showing him as a student of Wang Shi, a prominent *Lu Shi* master, and both Chu and Wang later being appointed as *Lu Shi* Academicians. However, this explanation falls short as it does not explain the surprise exhibited by various Academicians (*zhu boshi* 諸博士). Therefore, if we assume that Chu's response involved *Lu Shi* at the imperial court, we must address several interconnected questions:

(1) Did Chu Shaosun's contemporaries, known as the "various Academicians" during the time of Emperor Xuan, have limited knowledge of the *Lu Shi* studies passed down from Master Shen?

(2) If the answer to the previous question is negative, what kind of *Lu Shi* training did Wang Shi undergo? Was Wang Shi's *Lu Shi* studies flawed, failing to meet the standard set by Master Shen, the first Academician specialized in studying *Lu Shi*? Wang Shi was Master Shen's grand-student when he taught the *Odes*. Did the Academicians fail to recognize the *Lu Shi* knowledge inherited by Chu from Master Shen based on Chu's responses?

(3) If the answers to questions one and two are both negative, then the following question needs to be addressed: Did Chu display knowledge of *Lu Shi* that was prevalent during his time? Why were the "various Academicians" surprised and inquired about his teacher? If the answer to question one is negative, then why was Chu appointed as a *Lu Shi* Academician? What was his connection to *Lu Shi* studies?

The upcoming chapters will address the questions mentioned above in order.

Chapter Three: The Transmission of *Odes* in Han

1. How was the *Odes* taught in Western Han

At the very end of the last Chapter of this thesis, I have raised three core questions. This Chapter will instigate the first two of them: (1) Did Chu Shaosun's contemporary Academicians have a limited understanding of *Lu Shi* as passed down from Master Shen? (2) What is the training of Wang Shi, a grand-student of Master Shen, on *Lu Shi* studies?

In order to investigate the cause of surprise among Chu Shaosun's contemporary Academicians, clarification is needed regarding the extent of knowledge contemporary classicists had about Master Shen's *Odes* studies, the first *Lu Shi* Academician, and his students.

In the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter of *Hanshu*, it is mentioned that Master Shen had numerous students who achieved various official positions:

> 〔申公〕弟子為博士十餘人〔……〕。其學官弟子行雖不備，而至於大夫、郎、掌故以百數。申公卒以《詩》、《春秋》授，而瑕丘江公盡能傳之，徒眾最盛。及魯許生、免中徐公，皆守學教授。
> More than ten [of Master Shen's][158] students were appointed as Academicians […]. Although the conduct of his disciples who reached

[158] Paul W. Kroll explains *gong* 公 is an "honorific term of address or reference: Your Lordship, His Lordship, Excellency." (Kroll 2022). Burton Watson translated *gong* as "master", for example, 楚南公 in *Shiji* was translated "Master Nan, the seer of Ch'u" (*Records of the Grand Historian. Han*

scholarly positions[159] was imperfect,[160] over one hundred of them[161] advanced to Counsellors,[162] Gentlemen, and Recorders of Precedent.[163] While Master Shen finally[164] taught both the *Odes* and the *Springs and Autumns*, it was Master Jiang of Xiaqiu[165] who was completely able to transmit the teaching and had the most students. Scholar Xu of Lu[166] and Master Xu of Mianzhong[167] both preserved[168] the scholarship[169] and imparted it [to others].

Dynasty 41). William H. Nienhauser translated Shen Gong as "Honorable Shen" (Nienhauser 2016: 284). Endymion Wilkinson's manual states *gong* is "master… mainly used towards elders." (Wilkinson 2018: 111). Wilkinson also notes that, "in later centuries *gong* came to serve just as a term of respect, perhaps equivalent to 'sir' in English. However, on many occasions it simply carries the sense of 'mister'." (Wilkinson 2018: 144).

[159] Charles O. Hucker (1919–1994) translates "*xueguan*" 學官 as "Educational Official" (252) and "*dizi yuan*" 弟子員 as "Government Student." (493) (Hucker 1985). Cai Liang discussed the translation of "*xueguan*" as "learned officials" instead of "academies" (Cai 2014: 41–51). Elstein 2006: 233 translates it as "scholastic officials". Readers may also consult Geoffrey Lloyd and Nathan Sivin's discussion on the Imperial Academy in early China (Lloyd and Sivin 2002: 47, 50–51). Csikszentmihalyi and Zheng 2021: 371 and 398 n.10 also provide their insight.

[160] My translation here is close to Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: 88 n. 73 which translated the phrase "*xing sui bu bei*" 行雖不備 as "although the conduct of […] was not flawless". Elstein 2006: 233 and Cai 2014: 49–50 translated it similar to each other but different from mine. Cai explains it means though Sima Qian did not know Master Shen's students well, he knew that they flourished in officialdom. That means Elstein and Cai interpret "不備" as "incomplete". In a letter communication with Michael Loewe (personal communication, May 2018), I was suggested to make a clarification of the word choice so here it is: the previous sentence talked about other disciples who were praised "all have integrity and moderate" (*jie you lian jie* 皆有廉節). The same words appeared also in the counterpart of *Shiji* 史記 (*Shiji* 史記 121.3122). Therefore, the sentence here about imperfect conduct makes grammatical sense and connects well on the meaning. Furthermore, Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613–1682) agrees that hear talks about the conduct instead of the records: "It is said that it is not necessary for all [of them] to have good and just conduct to have many prominent officials." (*wei bu bi jie you xingyi er duo Xianguan* 謂不必皆有行誼而多顯官) (*Rizhilu* 日知錄 27.1053). Ian Johnston provides an introduction and translation of the work. See *Record of Daily Knowledge and Collected Poems and Essays: Selections*.

[161] The total number might include students of Master Shen's students.

[162] Loewe 2004: 131. Hucker translates *dafu* 大夫 as "Grand Master." (Hucker 1985: 465). Nonetheless, Nishijima Sadao 西嶋定生 (1919–1998) said *dafu* "had controlled the peasantry." (Nishijima 1986: 547).

[163] Charles O. Hucker translates *zhanggu* 掌故 as "Clerk" and states, "rank and function not clear." (Hucker 1985: 110). Michael Loewe's translation and explanation provides more detail: "The recorder of Precedent was a clerical subordinate of the Director, Astronomy (*Taishi ling* 太史令), himself a subordinate of the Superintendent of Ceremonial." (Loewe 2004: 129).

[164] Elstein 2006: 233 translated it as "in his final years".

[165] Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842–1917) quotes Zhu Yixin 朱一新 (1846–1894), the "Dili zhi" 地理志 states that Xiaqiu 瑕丘 is in Shanyang 山陽 county. (*Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注 88.5442 n.18). A detailed biography of Master Jiang of Xiaqiu can be found in Loewe 2000: 609.

[166] Loewe 2000: 623 provides a biography.

[167] Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645) quotes Su Lin 蘇林, "Mianzhong 免中, a name of a county (*xian* 縣)," and Li Qi 李奇: "a name of a settlement (*yi* 邑)." Yan agreed with Li (*Hanshu* 漢書 88.3608). Michael Loewe opines "Mianzhong" was an "unidentified title of a settlement, *yi* 邑." (Loewe 2000: 618).

[168] The word *shou* 守 can be translated as "hold to, keep to; abide by" (Kroll 2022). Elstein 2006: 233 translated it into "maintain".

[169] According to Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan, "'preserved the *xue*' (meaning that they directly passed on his entire tradition of learning)." (Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: 88).

韋賢治《詩》，事大江公及許生，又治《禮》，至丞相。傳子玄成，以淮陽中尉論石渠，後亦至丞相。玄成及兄子賞以《詩》授哀帝，至大司馬車騎將軍，自有傳。由是魯詩有韋氏學。[170]

Wei Xian[171] studied the *Odes* and served the Elder Master Jiang [of Xiaqiu][172] and Scholar Xu. He also studied the *Rites*, advancing to the position of Chancellor.[173] [Wei Xian] transmitted [the knowledge] to his son [Wei] Xuancheng,[174] who, as Superintendent of the Capital[175] of Huaiyang, participated in the discussions[176] [of classical texts] at the Shiqu [Pavilion],[177] and later also advanced to the position of Chancellor. [Wei] Xuancheng and his elder brother's son [Wei] Shang[178] taught the *Odes* to Emperor Ai (r. 7–1 BC). [Wei Shang] reached the position of Marshal of State[179] and General of Chariots and Cavalry,[180] and he had his own

[170] *Hanshu* 88.3608–9.

[171] Loewe 2000: 577–78 provides a biography.

[172] Yan Shigu quotes Jin Zhuo 晉灼, "Elder Master Jiang is Master Jiang of Xiaqiu. In order to be distinguished from subordinate Academician Master Jiang 博士江公, he is called Elder." (*Da Jiang Gong ji Xiaqiu Jiang Gong ye yi yi xia Boshi Jiang Gong gu cheng da* 大江公即瑕丘江公也。以異下博士江公，故稱大) (*Hanshu* 88.3609). Xu Xingwu 徐興無 2015: 309 provides a brief investigation of who is Elder Master Jiang.

[173] Michael Loewe stated, "the chancellor was the most senior member of the regular establishment of officials." (Loewe 1986: 466). Charles O. Hucker stated it is "one of the Three Dukes (*san kung*) among whom major responsibilities in the central government were divided." (Hucker 1985: 126).

[174] Loewe 2000: 579–80 provides a biography.

[175] Charles O. Hucker translates *zhongwei* 中尉 as "Chamberlain for the Imperial Insignia." (Hucker 1985: 195).

[176] The word *lun* 論 can be translated as "discuss critically, debate or weigh the merits of." (Kroll 2022).

[177] "石渠閣" (セキキョカク *sekikyokaku*) is an individual lexicon item in *Dai kanwa jiten* 大漢和辭典. It said, "[*sekikyokaku*] is the name of a library in Han […]. In the Ganlu year of Emperor Xuan, various classicists talked and discussed different books here." (*Kan no kurasho kaku no na. [...] Sentei no Kanro chū, shoju kosho ni shosho wo kōron su* 漢の藏書閣の名。[……] 宣帝の甘露中、諸儒此處に諸書を講論す) (Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次 et al. 1986: vol. 8, 305). *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 also makes it an individual lexicon item (Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風 2001: vol. 7b, 992). Robert P. Kramers (1920–2002) stated, "[t]hese were the so-called Shih-ch'ü discussions, the discussions in the Pavilion of the Stone Canal, held in 51 B.C. in a pavilion of that name in the palace." (Kramers 1986: 757). The discussion (or conference) is mentioned briefly by Endymion Wilkinson's Chinese history manual (Wilkinson 2018: 367).

[178] Loewe 2000: 576 provides a biography.

[179] Michael Loewe said, "*Da Sima* 大司馬, Marshal of State, was comparable with the honorary or supernumerary titles (*jia guan* 加官) that did not denote tenure of an office." (Loewe 2004: 202). Loewe explained: "leadership of the inner court came to be held by the individual who had been nominated *ta ssu-ma* (author note: that is *da sima*), or marshal of state." (Loewe 1986: 466).

[180] It is noticeable that Charles O. Hucker translates the whole "*da sima juji jiangjun*" 大司馬車騎將軍 as one single title "Chariot and Horse General Serving as Commander-in-chief", and explained that "in Former Han a title used for a military officer who was virtual regent, dominating the central government." (Hucker 1985: 471). There were independent explanations of "*da sima*" 大司馬 (471) and "*juji jiangjun*" 車騎將軍 (120) in Hucker's dictionary. Loewe expressed a similar comment: "[t]he title of *Juji Jiangjun* was held by eight men who received the additional title of *Da Sima*." (Loewe 2004: 184). Hans Bielenstein gave a brief explanation on "*juji jiangjun*" (Bielenstein 1986: 514–15).

> traditions.[181] From this point onwards, there existed in *Lu Shi* the branch of Mr Wei's studies.[182]

The texts quoted from *Hanshu* indicate that "more than ten [of Master Shen's] students were appointed as Academicians" (*[Shen Gong] dizi wei boshi shi yu ren* 〔申公〕弟子為博士十餘人).[183] *Shiji* also recorded the same figure,[184] suggesting that it was not forged by Ban Gu. This record reveals that there were direct successors of Master Shen in the Western Han imperial court, numbering at least "more than ten". Master Jiang of Xiaqiu 瑕丘江公, a student of Master Shen, was a contemporary of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BC) during the rule under Emperor Wu. According to Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (679–732) who cited Wei Leng's 韋稜 words in *Shiji suoyin* 史記索隱, "Chu Shaosun [...] being an Academician under Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (r. 74–49 BC)" (*Chu Shaosun […] Xuandi dai wei boshi* 褚少孫〔……〕宣帝代為博士).[185]

Dong passed away in 104 BC. Assuming Master Jiang died around the same time, that was 30 years before Emperor Xuan acceded to the throne. By estimation, two generations of new students could have been trained and served at the imperial court in these 30 years. Yang Shuda 楊樹達 (1885–1956) explained the record and annotations of *Hanshu*, referring to the disciples of Master Shen's students who

[181] Elstein 2006: 233 translates "*zi you zhuan*" 自有傳 as "had his own line of transmission" which I beg to differ. Chapter 5 of this thesis offers a discussion.
[182] Readers may also consult Hightower 1948: 268–72; Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: 88–89; and Elstein 2006: 230–4 for other translations of the whole excerpt.
[183] *Hanshu* 88.3608.
[184] *Shiji* 121.3122.
[185] *Shiji* 12.451.

were appointed Academician; over one hundred disciples at his local academy reached imperial office.[186]

It can be deduced that Master Shen's students and grand-students had long been exerting influence in the imperial court, possibly even during the rule of Emperor Xuan.[187]

1.1. Wei Xian as a *Lu Shi* Academician

Most importantly, regarding the master–student affiliations, Wei Xian 韋賢 (142–61 BC), a *Lu Shi* Academician, should be well known to the imperial court. The "Traditions of Wei Xian" chapter:

> 〔韋〕賢為人質朴少欲，篤志於學，兼通《禮》、《尚書》，以《詩》教授，號稱鄒魯大儒。徵為博士，給事中，進授昭帝《詩》，稍遷光祿大夫，詹事，至大鴻臚。
> [Wei] Xian was a person who was unadorned with less desire, steadfast in learning, well-versed in both *Rites* and *Venerable Documents*, and imparted the *Odes* [to others]. [He was] known as a great classicist of Zhou and Lu. [He was] summoned to be an Academician with the honourary title of Palace Servitor and advanced to teach the *Odes* to Emperor Zhao (r. 87–74 BC). Later, promoted to Counsellor of the Palace and Supervisor of the Household and reached Superintendent of State Visits.
>
> 昭帝崩，無嗣，大將軍霍光與公卿共尊立孝宣帝。帝初即位，賢以與謀議，安宗廟，賜爵關內侯，食邑。徙為長信少府。以先帝師，甚見尊重。三年，代蔡義為丞相[188]
> Emperor Zhao died without an heir. General-in-Chief Huo Guang, along with dignitaries and ministers, respectfully enthroned Emperor Xuan. At the

[186] Yang Shuda 楊樹達 2006: 693. Cai Liang partly disagrees with Yang. Cai suggests "*xueguan dizi*" 學官弟子 was still referring to Master Shen's students but not an "academy". See Cai 2014: 49.
[187] *Shiji* says the students of Master Shen "talk *Odes* differently, however." (*yan Shi sui shu* 言《詩》雖殊). (*Shiji* 121.3122). Nevertheless, this thesis will provide evidence to prove contemporary classicists should have known something about *Lu Shi* studies.
[188] *Hanshu* 73.3107. Readers may also consult Huang Qingxuan 黃慶萱 2008: 170.

> beginning of his time on the throne, Emperor [Xuan] consulted and discussed with [Wei] Xian to settle ancestral temple matters, honouring him with the title of Noble of the Interior and fed by a number of households. [Later, he] demoted to Superintendent of the Lesser Treasury, Changxin Palace. [Wei] was highly esteemed for his role as a teacher of the former emperor. In the third year [of *Benshi*], replaced Cai Yi as Chancellor.

In summary, Wei Xian studied under Elder Master Jiang 大江公 and was a grand-disciple of Master Shen 申公. He served as the teacher of Emperor Zhao and held the position of Academician during his reign. Wei also held high office during the rule of Emperor Xuan. Historical records indicate that during Emperor Xuan's reign, Wei was highly respected for being the former emperor's teacher (*yi xiandi shi shen jian zunzhong* 以先帝師，甚見尊重) and retired as Chancellor. It is also documented that he lived until the age of 82 (61 BC).[189] A reference to Wei Xian's appointment as Chancellor can be found in the "Table of Various Officers, Dignitaries, and Ministers" chapter (*Bai guan gong qing biao* 百官公卿表).[190] Additionally, when examining the records of *Lu Shi* Academicians, many of them were instructors of emperors, crown princes, or princes:

1. Master Shen 申公 taught Liu Ying(ke) 劉郢（客）,[191] the later Prince of Chu 楚王.[192]

[189] *Hanshu* 73.3107.
[190] *Hanshu* 19b.801.
[191] Shiji 121.3121 recorded the name "郢客" while *Hanshu* 88.3608 "郢".
[192] *Shiji* 121.3121 and *Hanshu* 88.3608.

2. Master Shen's student Wang Zang 王臧 of Lanling 蘭陵 taught Liu Qi 劉啟 when he was still a crown prince. Liu later became the Emperor Jing 景帝 (r. 157–141 BC).[193]

3. Wei Xian served as Emperor Zhao's teacher.

4. Wang Shi, who was of the same generation as Wei Xian, taught Liu He 劉賀, the Prince of Changyi 昌邑, who later briefly assumed the throne for 27 days in 74 BC between the reigns of Emperor Zhao and Emperor Xuan. Chu Shaosun came to serve Wang.[194]

David Elstein's doctoral thesis provides additional examples and illustrations of emperors rewarding their teachers with high positions and titles, as a way of showing respect.[195] Based on the historical records, it appears highly unlikely that the Academicians who examined Chu Shaosun under Emperor Xuan were unaware of *Lu Shi* studies that was inherited from Master Shen. On the contrary, it is possible that *Lu Shi*'s reputation was widely acknowledged among contemporary *Odes* Academicians due to the esteemed lineage and the prestigious occupation of office by Wei Xian, who was the grand-student of Master Shen, from Emperor Zhao to Emperor Xuan.

In comparing the tradition of *Odes* studies of Wei Xian with that of Master Shen, it is evident that there is no significant difference. Historical records suggest that,

[193] *Shiji* 121.3121 and *Hanshu* 88.3608.
[194] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[195] Elstein 2006: 176–81.

"Wei Xian studied the *Odes* and served the elder Master Jiang [of Xiaqiu] and Scholar Xu [of Lu]." (*Wei Xian zhi shi shi Da Jiang Gong ji Xu Sheng* 韋賢治《詩》，事大江公及〔魯〕許生).[196] Both the elder Master Jiang of Xiaqiu and Scholar Xu of Lu were affiliated with the *Lu Shi* tradition. According to Jin Zhuo 晉灼, "Elder Master Jiang is Master Jiang of Xiaqiu."[197] It is noted that "Master Jiang of Xiaqiu was completely able to transmit the teaching and had the most students [among the students of Master Shen]." (*Xiaqiu Jiang Gong jin neng chuan zhi tu zhong zui sheng* 瑕丘江公盡能傳之，徒眾最盛).[198] Additionally, "Scholar Xu of Lu […] preserved the scholarship, imparted it [to others]" (*Lu Xu Sheng* […] *shou xue jiao shou* 魯許生〔……〕守學教授).[199] Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that Wei Xian was surrounded by *Lu Shi* masters who were capable of transmitting the teaching in its entirety and that he inherited the preserved scholarship of the *Lu Shi* tradition from Master Shen.[200] Yuan 元 dynasty classicist Zhu Zhuo 朱倬 (1086–1163) further commented that "among *Odes* studies in Han, four lines of affiliation in all. *Lu Shi* started from Master Shen and reached the peak at Wei Xian." (*Han Shi xue fan si jia, Lu Shi qi yu Shen Gong, er sheng yu Wei Xian* 漢《詩》學凡四家，魯詩起於申公，而盛於韋賢).[201]

It is worth noting that the imperial court always had successors of *Lu Shi* masters serving within its ranks. According to the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter in

[196] *Hanshu* 88.3609.
[197] *Hanshu* 88.3609.
[198] *Hanshu* 88.3608.
[199] *Hanshu* 88.3608–9.
[200] Although Wei Xian's *Odes* scholarship can be regarded as *Lu Shi*, his scholarship tradition might have carried some characters from his own family. See Xu Jie 許結 2012.
[201] *Shijing yiwen* 詩經疑問 7.4a.

Hanshu, "Master Jiang of Xiaqiu received *Guliang Chunqiu* and *Odes* from Master Shen, passing them to his son and grandson, both of them appointed Academicians" (*Xiaqiu Jiang Gong shou Guliang Chunqiu ji Shi yu Lu Shen Gong chuan zi zhi sun wei boshi* 瑕丘江公受《穀梁春秋》及《詩》於魯申公，傳子至孫為博士).[202]

The grandson of Master Jiang of Xiaqiu was the Academician Master Jiang. The "Traditions of Classicists" chapter mentioned that he was "revered by the people of his time as a master of *Lu Shi*" (*shi wei Lu Shi zong* 世為魯詩宗).[203] Yan Shigu remarked that he "was esteemed by those who studied *Lu Shi*" (*wei Lu Shi zhe suo zongshi ye* 為魯詩者所宗師也).[204]

It is evident from historical records that, at least from the period when Chu Shaosun attended the election of Pupils of Academicians to his time serving in the imperial court alongside Wang Shi, who was also an appointed Academician, Academician Master Jiang had maintained his status as an Academician in the imperial court. This is because when Wang Shi was just appointed Academician, Academician Master Jiang insulted Wang out of jealousy.[205]

Additionally, being "revered by the people of his time as a master of *Lu Shi*", Academician Master Jiang may have been respected by successive generations of *Lu Shi* classicists, cementing his position as a prominent figure in the world of *Lu Shi* masters.

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[202] *Hanshu* 88.3617.
[203] *Hanshu* 88.3610. A less likely interpretation of this is "was venerated from generation to generation".
[204] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[205] The whole story is recorded in *Hanshu* 88.3610.

1.2. A continuous transmission of *Lu Shi* studies

The historical records clearly indicate that the *Lu Shi* studies, initiated by Master Shen, had been continuously present in the imperial court of the Western Han for generations. When Chu attended the election of Pupils of Academicians, there was no indication of a disruption in this tradition; in fact, the *Lu Shi* studies was consistently passed down and upheld by respected masters. These pieces of evidence lead to the conclusion that it was implausible for the contemporary classicists to be unaware of the *Lu Shi* studies as it was transmitted from Master Shen and his students and grand-students.

There are two notable perspectives worth considering. Qian Mu 錢穆 (1895–1990) suggested that Chu's refraining from expressing an opinion when in doubt differed from the typical approach to classical studies among contemporary Academicians, which led to their surprise (*jing* 驚).[206] Additionally, Cheng Sudong 程蘇東 pointed out that at the time Chu attended the election of Pupils of Academicians, there were no Academicians specializing in the *Odes*, and Academicians of other classics aided in selecting *Odes* specialists.[207]

Both explanations may clarify the surprise of contemporary Academicians. However, the preceding analysis indicates that contemporary Academicians, irrespective of their general attitude or expertise, should have been knowledgeable

[206] Qian Mu 錢穆 2015: 227.
[207] Cheng Sudong 程蘇東 2015: 148. Also Cheng Sudong 2018: 202–3.

about *Lu Shi* studies and Wang Shi's scholarship. Ultimately, if Academicians from other specialties were indeed uninformed about the *Odes*, they should not have been qualified to serve as examiners.

Upon careful analysis, it appears that *Lu Shi* studies can be traced back to Master Shen, but contemporaries of Chu Shaosun failed to acknowledge Chu's performance as a student of *Lu Shi*. This raises questions about whether classicists were permitted to develop their own understandings of the classics. Could it be that Wang Shi's *Lu Shi* scholarship deviated from the received text of *Lu Shi*, resulting in Chu Shaosun's performance being unrecognizable to his contemporaries? If those in Chu's time were knowledgeable about *Lu Shi*, yet Chu's performance (and Wang Shi's sholarship) differed, why was he associated with *Lu Shi*? What criteria were used to assign a new Academician to a specific line of affiliation?

2. How was the *Lu Shi* (*Lu* line of affiliation of *Odes*) taught in Western Han

2.1. Wang Shi's *Lu Shi* scholarship

The second core question pertains to the scholarship of *Lu Shi* by Wang Shi. Limited evidence remains, confirming that Wang Shi was closely associated with *Lu Shi*.

First, historical records indicate that Wang Shi inherited the "orthodox" *Lu Shi*.[208] Additionally, it is documented that Wang Shi "served Master Xu of Mianzhong and

[208] This does not imply there was a written or stable recension transmitted.

Scholar Xu" (*shi Mianzhong Xugong ji Xusheng* 事免中徐公及許生).[209] This suggests that Wang's master–student relationships were akin to those of Wei Xian. As discussed earlier, both of his teachers were recorded to preserve their teachers'/line affiliation's scholarship and pass it on to others.[210] Therefore, it is evident that Wang's master–student affiliations and inheritance of *Lu Shi* were unequivocal.

Second, Wang Shi's master–student affiliations were not only similar to Wei Xian's, but they also shared similar experiences. *Lu Shi* had been deeply rooted in the teachings of the Han royal family for a long time. Wang Shi, on the other hand, "had instructed the prince day and night with the three hundred and five pieces of *Odes*" (*ji Shi sanbaiwu pian zhaoxi shou wang* 以《詩》三百五篇朝夕授王).[211] Liu He 劉賀, the Prince of Changyi 昌邑王, briefly ascended to the throne for only 27 days between the reigns of Emperor Zhao and Xuan. Liu He was the son of Prince Ai of Changyi 昌邑哀王, Liu Bo 劉髆; his feudal rank "Prince Ai of Changyi" was thus inherited from his father Liu Bo. Liu Bo was the son of Li Furen 李夫人 who was in Emperor Wu's good graces.[212] Since Emperor Zhao had no child, Liu He was enthroned for his identity as both the Emperor's grandson and Emperor Zhao's nephew—a fact that testifies to Liu's long being a recognized noble in the Han royal family. Having been appointed the teacher of Liu He, Wang Shi's status should not be too different from Wei Xian's—both were honoured for their extraordinary scholarship in the *Odes*.

[209] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[210] *Hanshu* 88.3608–9.
[211] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[212] *Hanshu* 63.2764–71.

Wang Shi's role as a teacher to Liu He, who held a significant position in the imperial court, suggests that his status was likely comparable to that of Wei Xian. Both were esteemed for their exceptional knowledge of the *Odes*, and their connections to Scholar Xu of Lu 魯許生, who was known for preserving his teacher's/line affiliation's scholarship and passing it on,[213] further solidify their comparable positions.

This underscores the strong likelihood that Wang Shi's scholarship in *Lu Shi* mirrors that of Wei Xian, with both scholars having been students of Master Xu. Notably, the fact that both were teachers to emperors and highly respected *Odes* masters is a crucial detail worthy of consideration.

Third, it is evident that Wang Shi held *Lu Shi* in high regard, as seen in his teachings and daily conversations. When teaching Chu on the *Odes*, he told Chu "it is all that I heard from the teacher" (*wen zhi yu shi ju shi yi* 聞之於師具是矣).[214] When humiliated by Academician Master Jiang, Wang responded by saying "heard from the teacher" (*wen zhi yu shi* 聞之於師).[215] This repeated phrase highlights Wang's deep respect and preservation of his master's teachings. These instances from the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter in *Hanshu* demonstrate Wang's profound reverence for his master's teachings. This suggests that the *Lu Shi* studies passed down from Wang Shi to Chu Shaosun should align closely with Master Shen's *Lu Shi* studies.

[213] *Hanshu* 88.3608–9.
[214] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[215] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

In summary, the Academicians were well-versed in the *Lu Shi* studies inherited from Master Shen, Wang Shi's master–student relationships and teachings conformed to the "orthodox" *Lu Shi*, and as a result, it was reasonable to expect that Chu Shaosun's *Lu Shi* studies would have met the contemporary Academicians' expectations.

Even if we concede that Wang Shi's *Lu Shi* studies was questionable and that he developed his own interpretation of *Odes* studies that differed from Master Shen's *Lu Shi* studies, is it feasible that the Academicians were unaware of Wang's *Odes* studies? Historical records indicate that the Academicians were well aware of Wang's *Odes* studies, regardless of its nature. This is evident from their reaction upon learning about the master–student relationships of Chu: "all had long heard about his [Wang Shi's] virtuous, collectively recommended [Wang] Shi" (*jie suwen qi xian, gong jian Shi* 皆素聞其賢，共薦式).[216]

The Academicians "all" (*jie* 皆) and "long" (*su* 素) were acquainted with Wang Shi's reputation and held him in high esteem. His good reputation had already been established among the Academicians. Thus, it was implausible for the contemporary classicists to be unaware of his *Odes* studies, regardless of its content.

The cited records can be organized in a table and a diagram to aid in cross-referencing and understanding of the arguments (see Appendix 2).

[216] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

Before delving into a detailed analysis of the relationship between Wang Shi, Chu Shaosun, and *Lu Shi*, this thesis will examine the case of Wang's peers. This approach can offer different perspectives on analysing the complete picture of *Lu Shi* transmission in the Western Han.

2.2. The case of the *Lu Shi* branch of Mr Wei studies (*Lu Shi Wei shi xue* 魯詩韋氏學)

We have examined the history of Wang Shi's *Lu Shi* learning, which demonstrates a clear master–student relationship and teaching in accordance with the traditional *Lu Shi*. This section will focus on Wei Xian, a *Lu Shi* master who was a contemporary of Wang Shi.

We have previously discussed the details about Wei Xian in previous sections. In these records, we find that Wei had a career path similar to Wang Shi. Both were: (1) disciples of a prominent *Lu Shi* scholar, namely Scholar Xu of Lu (*Lu Xusheng* 魯許生), who was renowned for preserving his teacher's/line affiliation's scholarship and passing it on;[217] (2) educators of emperors; and (3) *Lu Shi* Academicians.

In addition to their shared career paths, there are distinctive differences in their approaches to *Odes*-related matters. First, Wang Shi consistently demonstrated deep respect for and preservation of his master's teachings. In the "Traditions of

[217] *Hanshu* 88.3608–9.

Classicists" chapter of *Hanshu*, Wang emphasized twice, in the limited record about him, that his knowledge of *Odes* was "heard from the teacher" (*wen zhi yu shi* 聞之於師).[218] This type of acknowledgement or similar expressions of reverence towards his teacher are absent in Wei Xian's records. Furthermore, Wei Xian created his own scholarly lineage. As mentioned in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter of *Hanshu*, Wei Xian passed down his knowledge of *Odes* to his youngest son Wei Xuancheng 韋玄成 (fl. 61–38 BC), who later engaged in the Shiqu Pavilion 石渠閣 discussion. Subsequently, he followed in his father's footsteps, serving as Chancellor and *Odes* teacher to Emperor Ai 哀帝,[219] alongside his nephew Wei Shang 韋賞. Given the achievements of these three scholars from two generations within the same family, "from this point onwards, there exist for *Lu Shi* the branch of Mr Wei studies" (*you shi Lu Shi you Wei shi xue* 由是魯詩有韋氏學).[220]

The available evidence does not directly indicate the specific content of Mr Wei's study of *Lu Shi*. However, a stone stele exists mentioning the study (*zhi* 治) of the *Chapter and Verse of Lu Line of Affiliation Shijing by Mr Wei* (*Lu Shijing Wei jun zhangju* 魯詩經韋君章句) by a Han Assistant Superintendent of the Capital (*Han zhijinwucheng* 漢執金吾丞) named Wu Rong 武榮.[221] The stele, engraved during

[218] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[219] Yu Yanting 俞豔庭 suggested that Wei Xuancheng might have never taught *Shi* to Emperor Ai. The record of Emperor Ai learning *Shi* was found in Wei Shang's biography rather than Wei Xuancheng's. The "Traditions of Classicists" chapter of *Hanshu* might have "mis-recorded or copied" (*wu ji huo wu chao* 誤記或誤抄) the record about Wei Xuancheng teaching *Shi* to Emperor Ai (Yu Yanting 俞豔庭 2010).
[220] *Hanshu* 88.3609.
[221] The stele with the inscription of "*Lu Shijing Wei jun zhangju*" 魯詩經韋君章句) is recorded by Northern Song classicist Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072). See *Jigulu bawei* 集古錄跋尾 36–37. A full rubbing of the whole stele can be found at "The Palace Museum" website: https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/impres/231856.html, accessed 4 June 2025.

the first year of Yongkang 永康 in the Eastern Han Emperor Huan's 桓帝 reign (167), suggests that the Wei Xian family already had their own *Chapter and Verse* teachings, despite there being no record of it in the "Treatise on Arts and Literatures" chapter (*Yiwen zhi* 藝文志) of *Hanshu*.[222] It seems plausible that the stele corresponds to the record about the branch of Mr Wei studies related to *Lu Shi*.[223]

Although the specific texts from the *Chapter and Verse* are not available, the Wei family classicists involved in the *Lu Shi* branch of study were known for their creative odes. Scholars have observed that the *Lu Shi* branch of Mr Wei's teachings had distinctive characteristics in its interpretation of the *Odes* among others during the Han dynasty.[224] This emphasizes the fundamental differences between Wang Shi and Wei Xian, despite their similar career paths and both being associated with *Lu Shi* Academicians. Even though Wei Xian studied under two *Lu Shi* masters and was expected to inherit the "orthodox" *Lu Shi* studies, historical records indicate a clear departure with the statement "from this point onwards, there exist for *Lu Shi* the branch of Mr Wei studies" (*you shi Lu Shi you Wei shi xue* 由是魯詩有韋氏學).[225] This marks the establishment of a unique learning tradition, distinct from other *Odes* interpretations, initiated by Wei Xian, the founding Academician of *Lu Shi* the branch of Mr Wei studies. This development is unprecedented not only within the *Lu Shi* lineage but also among all other *Odes* Academicians. Consequently, in the *Odes*-related records found in the "Traditions of Classicists"

[222] *Jingyikao xinjiao* 經義考新校 vol. 5, 1892.
[223] See Yeh Kuo-liang 葉國良 (Ye Guoliang) 1985; Yeh Kuo-liang 1989; *Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注 88.5442.
[224] See Xu Jie 許結 2012; Wang Wei 王偉 2017; Hu Xu 胡旭 and Liu Meihui 劉美惠 2019.
[225] *Hanshu* 88.3609.

chapter of *Hanshu*, the phrase "from this point onwards, there exists for [Classic] the branch of (Mr) [surname] studies" (*you/you shi … you … (shi) zhi xue* 由／繇是……有……（氏）之學) appeared for the first time to indicate the difference.

After examining the studies above, it is evident that some classicists were known for preserving their master's teachings, while others did not. In the subsequent sections, this thesis will delve into another of Wang Shi's *Odes* students, who had a tradition of passing down *Odes* knowledge within his own family.

2.3. The case of Xue Guangde 薛廣德 family

Xue Guangde 薛廣德,[226] a student of Wang Shi's *Lu Shi*, lived during the reign of Emperor Xuan and Emperor Yuan (fl. 59–43 BC). According to *Hanshu*, he later became an Academician in *Lu Shi* and participated in the Shiqu Pavilion discussion of classical texts.[227]

However, within three generations, Xue Guangde's descendants shifted the focus of the whole Xue family to another line of affiliation on *Odes*: *Han Shi* 韓詩. According to *Houhanshu* 後漢書, from Xue's third-generation son onwards, their "name became prominent" (*zhuming* 著名) for *Han Shi*, and one of them was recorded as having "transmitted his father's scholarship from young" (*shao chuan fu ye* 少傳父業).[228]

[226] Loewe 2000: 627 provides a biography.
[227] *Hanshu* 71.3046–7.
[228] *Houhanshu* 後漢書 79b.2573.

Liu Yuqing 劉毓慶 posited that the *Odes* were a classic mastered by the Xue family, and they transitioned from the *Lu* 魯 line of affiliation to the *Han* 韓 line.[229]

The following table and diagram illustrate the Xue family and their records related to the *Odes*:

[229] Liu Yuqing 劉毓慶 2002: 45.

Table 3-1: Xue 薛 family and their *Odes*-related records

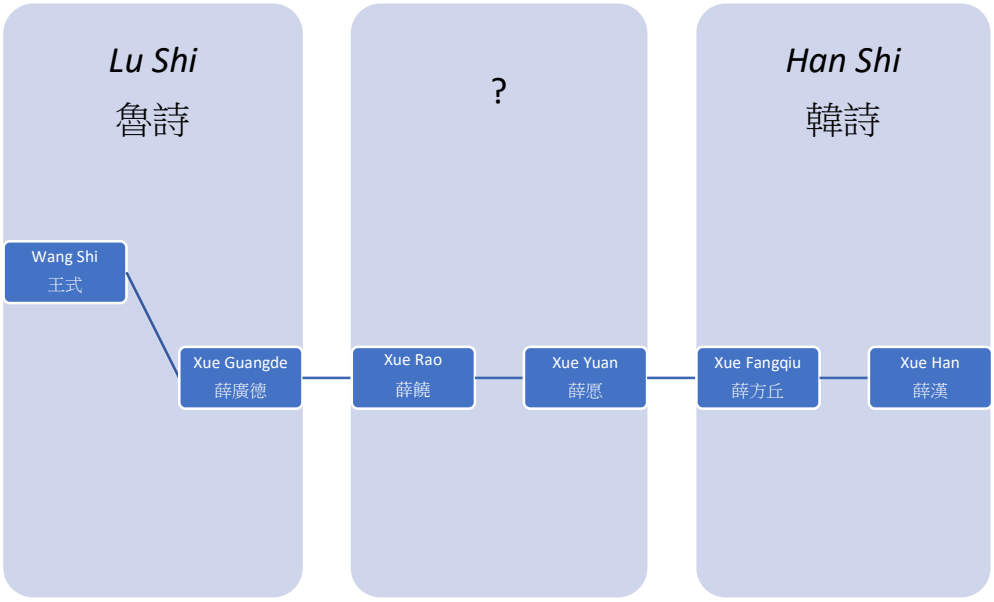
Xue family	***Odes*-related records**
Xue Guangde 薛廣德	初，薛廣德亦事王式，以博士論石渠，授龔舍。廣德至御史大夫，舍泰山太守，皆有傳。[230] Initially, Xue Guangde also served under Wang Shi, engaging in discussions at the Shiqu Pavilion as an Academician. He instructed Gong She. [Xue] Guangde advanced to Imperial Counsellor and [Gong] She Governor of Taishan. All had their own traditions. 以魯詩教授楚國〔……〕。為博士，論石渠[231] [Xue Guangde] imparted *Lu Shi* to Chu Kingdom […]. [He] became an Academician and engaged in discussion at the Shiqu Pavilion
↓ (?)[232]	
Xue Rao 薛饒	(None)
↓ (?)	
Xue Yuan 薛愿	(None)
↓ (?)	

[230] *Hanshu* 88.3611.
[231] *Hanshu* 71.3046–7.
[232] This information exists in a much later texts *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 73b.2990, where the passage listed the prominent persons in the family of *Xue* 薛.

Xue Fangqiu whose courtesy name was Fuzi 薛方丘，字夫子[233]	《薛夫子韓詩章句》[234] *Han Shi Chapter and Verse by Xue Fuzi*
↓	
Xue Han whose courtesy name was Gongzi 薛漢，字公子[235]	世習韓詩，父子以章句著名。漢少傳父業〔……〕。建武初，為博士，〔……〕。當世言《詩》者，推漢為長。[236] [The Xue family] was well-versed in the *Han Shi* for generations, and both the father and son were renowned for their own chapter and verses. [Xue] Han transmitted his father's scholarship from young […]. In the early years of the Jianwu period, he was appointed as an Academician […]. During that time, [Xue] Han was highly respected by his contemporary *Odes* classicists for his insights into the *Odes*. 《薛君韓詩章句》[237] *Han Shi Chapter and Verse by Sir Xue* 《薛氏韓詩章句》[238] *Han Shi Chapter and Verse by Mr Xue*

[233] *Xin Tangshu* 73b.2990.
[234] *Houhanshu* 28b.995.

Diagram 3-1: Xue family's *Odes* affiliations



The final section of the aforementioned records provides further evidence to support the plausible theory that interpretations within a single family followed a consistent line of affiliation. However, when considering the entire Xue family, a dilemma arises. The theory is reinforced, yet also encounters a barrier. Xue Fangqiu 薛方丘 and Xue Han 薛漢, as father and son, established their own *Han Shi* studies, which diverged from their ancestor Xue Guangde's 薛廣德 *Lu Shi* affiliation. The fact that Xue Guangde and his great-grandson belonged to different lines of affiliation contradicts the theory. In light of these findings, it can be concluded that classicists had the freedom to transition to other branches or lines within a single classic.

[235] *Houhanshu* 79b.2573.
[236] *Houhanshu* 79b.2573.
[237] *Houhanshu* 2.112.
[238] *Houhanshu* 10a.415.

2.3.1. Transmission of classical interpretations within a family

Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223–1296) from the Southern Song dynasty is recognized as the scholar who pioneered the collection of *Odes* interpretations from various lines in the Han dynasty, in addition to the standard text of *Mao*'s *Odes*.

Wang's foundational work in gathering, compiling, and categorizing *Odes*-related texts other than the *Mao Shi* laid the groundwork for later scholars. One of his theories is as follows:

> 《魯詩》出於浮丘伯，以授楚元王交。劉向乃交之孫，其說蓋本《魯詩》。[239]
> *Lu Shi* originated from Sir Fuqiu, and was passed on to [Liu] Jiao, King Yuan of Chu. Liu Xiang was the grandson of [Liu] Jiao, and his interpretations were likely based on *Lu Shi*.

Wang's theory is based on historical records indicating that King Yuan of Chu learned the *Odes* from Sir Fuqiu with Master Shen.[240]

From the Song dynasty scholar Wang Yinglin to Qing scholars such as Chen Shouqi 陳壽祺 (1771–1834), Chen Qiaocong 陳喬樅 (1809–1869), and Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842–1917), scholars have further developed and reinforced the theory that *Odes* interpretations within one family should follow the same line of affiliation. David Elstein correctly posits that, "In many instances, younger descendants are

[239] *Kunxuejiwen zhu* 困學紀聞注 356. Readers may consult Huang Chung-shen 黃忠愼 (Huang Zhongshen) 2015 for Wang Yinglin's 王應麟 contribution on *Odes* interpretations in Han.
[240] *Hanshu* 36.1921.

presumed to have the transmission of their ancestors' learning and are summoned on that basis."[241]

We can delve deeper into this theory by examining two examples from the Western Han—one from the *Book of Changes* (易) and the other from the *Documents* (書).

Han Ying 韓嬰, recognized as the founder of *Han Shi*, was also well-versed in the *Changes* 易 and even composed his own commentary (*zhuan* 傳).[242] His grandson, Han Shang 韓商, eventually became a *Changes* Academician.[243]

Scholar Han of Zhuo Commandery 涿郡韓生, a descendant of Han Shang, was summoned to the imperial court due to his expertise in the *Changes* (*yi Yi zheng* 以《易》徵).[244] Furthermore, the "Treatise on Arts and Literatures" chapter (*Yiwen zhi* 藝文志) of *Hanshu* contains a record of "Han's Two Chapters" (*Han shi er pian* 韓氏二篇) with the annotation "named Ying" (*ming Ying* 名嬰) under the category of the *Changes*.[245]

Upon examining this record, Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫 (1884–1955) concluded that the work was initiated by Han Ying and supplemented by Han Shang.[246] It is evident that Han Ying's knowledge of the *Changes* was passed down for at least three generations,

[241] Elstein 2006: 171.
[242] *Hanshu* 88.3613.
[243] *Hanshu* 88.3613.
[244] *Hanshu* 88.3613–14.
[245] *Hanshu* 30.1703.
[246] Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫 2011: 216–17.

and his own family's literary contributions were compiled, circulated, and included in historical records.

Another instance of scholarly recognition can be found in *Shiji*, which mentions a classicist:

> 伏生孫以治《尚書》徵，不能明也。[247]
> Scholar Fu's grandson was summoned for he researched the *Venerable Documents*, but he was unable to elucidate it.

In this case, it is evident that despite the imperial court being unaware of the scholarly abilities of a renowned *Documents* scholar's grandson, they assumed that he had mastered the Classics like his grandfather had. As a result, they summoned him, only to be disappointed.

Turning to the Xue Guangde 薛廣德 family, Xue Han 薛漢, a verifiable descendant of Xue Guangde, was noted to have "transmitted his father's scholarship from young" (*shao chuan fu ye* 少傳父業).[248]

Apart from Xue Han, numerous records in the *Hanshu* and *Houhanshu* indicate the transmission of knowledge within families.[249] Phrases such as "father's scholarship" (*fu ye* 父業), "household's scholarship"[250] (*jia ye* 家業), "household's studies" (*jia xue* 家學), "father's studies" (*fu xue* 父學), and "father's and grandfather's studies"

[247] *Shiji* 121.3125. A record in similar words in *Hanshu* 88.3603.
[248] *Houhanshu* 79b.2573.
[249] Nylan 2005: 17–18 also provides an observation with examples of classical knowledge transmission within families in Eastern Han.
[250] Nylan 2005: 17 and 2008a: 745 translate this phrase to "family business".

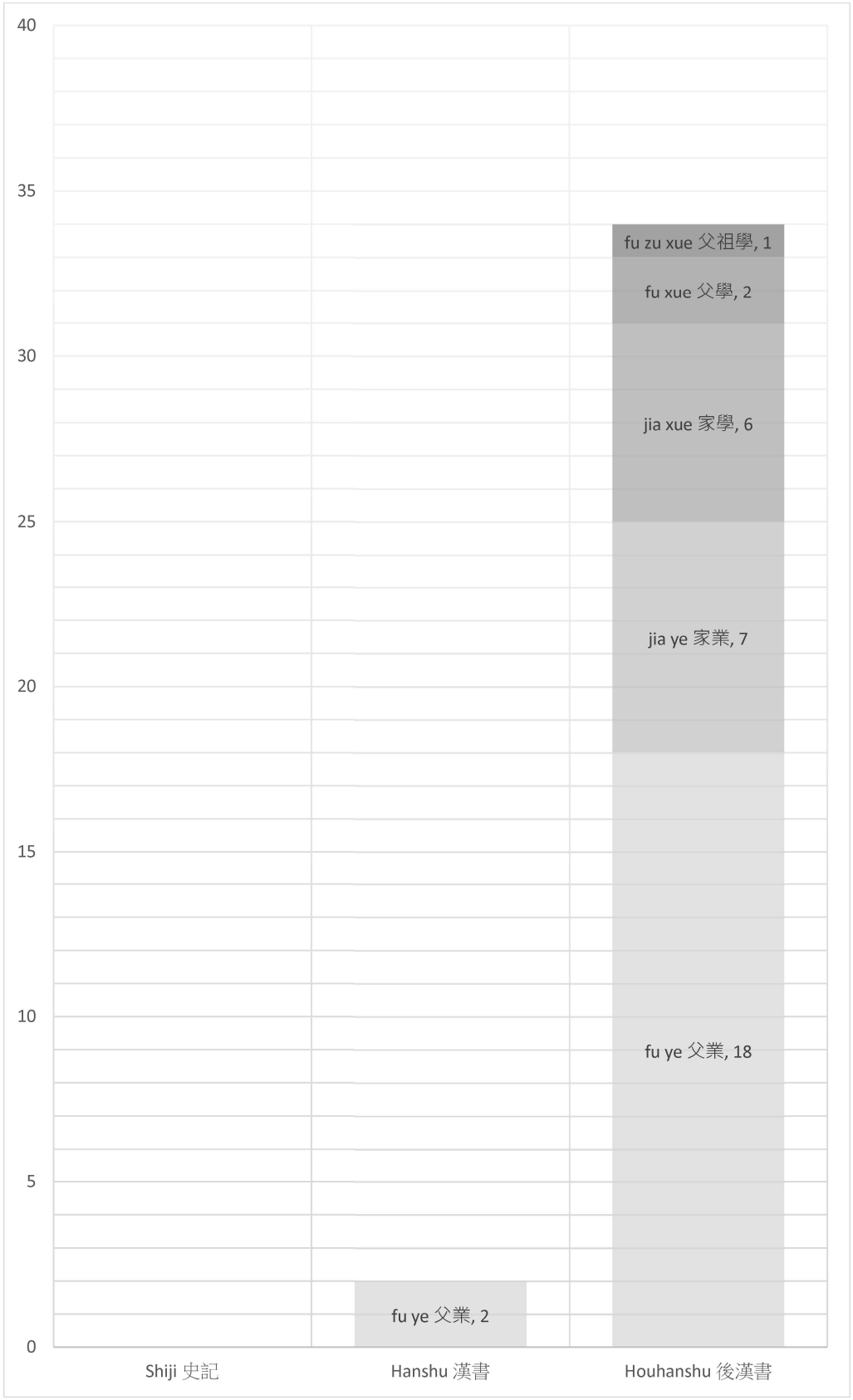
(*fu zu xue* 父祖學) serve as clear indicators of knowledge being passed down through generations within a family.

Of the three standard historical records of the Han dynasty, *Shiji* does not contain any of the aforementioned phrases. However, two instances of "*fu ye*" were found in *Hanshu*, and eighteen in *Houhanshu*. Additionally, seven instances of "*jia ye*",[251] six of "*jia xue*", two of "*fu xue*", and one of "*fu zu xue*" were exclusively found in *Houhanshu*. Furthermore, "*zu ye*" 祖業 in *Hanshu* and *Houhanshu* (none in *Shiji*) were used specifically to denote "ancestor's legacy" and not for knowledge transmission.

Please refer to Appendix 3 for details and translations of all the cases considered in the tables.

[251] Another three cases of "*jia ye*" 家業 in *Houhanshu* are excluded (*Houhanshu* 58.1867, 59.1912, and 84.2795). These three cases mean "household's business" which has nothing to do with scholarship and denotes the notion of creation of assets.

Diagram 3-1: Statistics of indicators of knowledge transmission within a family in the three standard historical records of Han

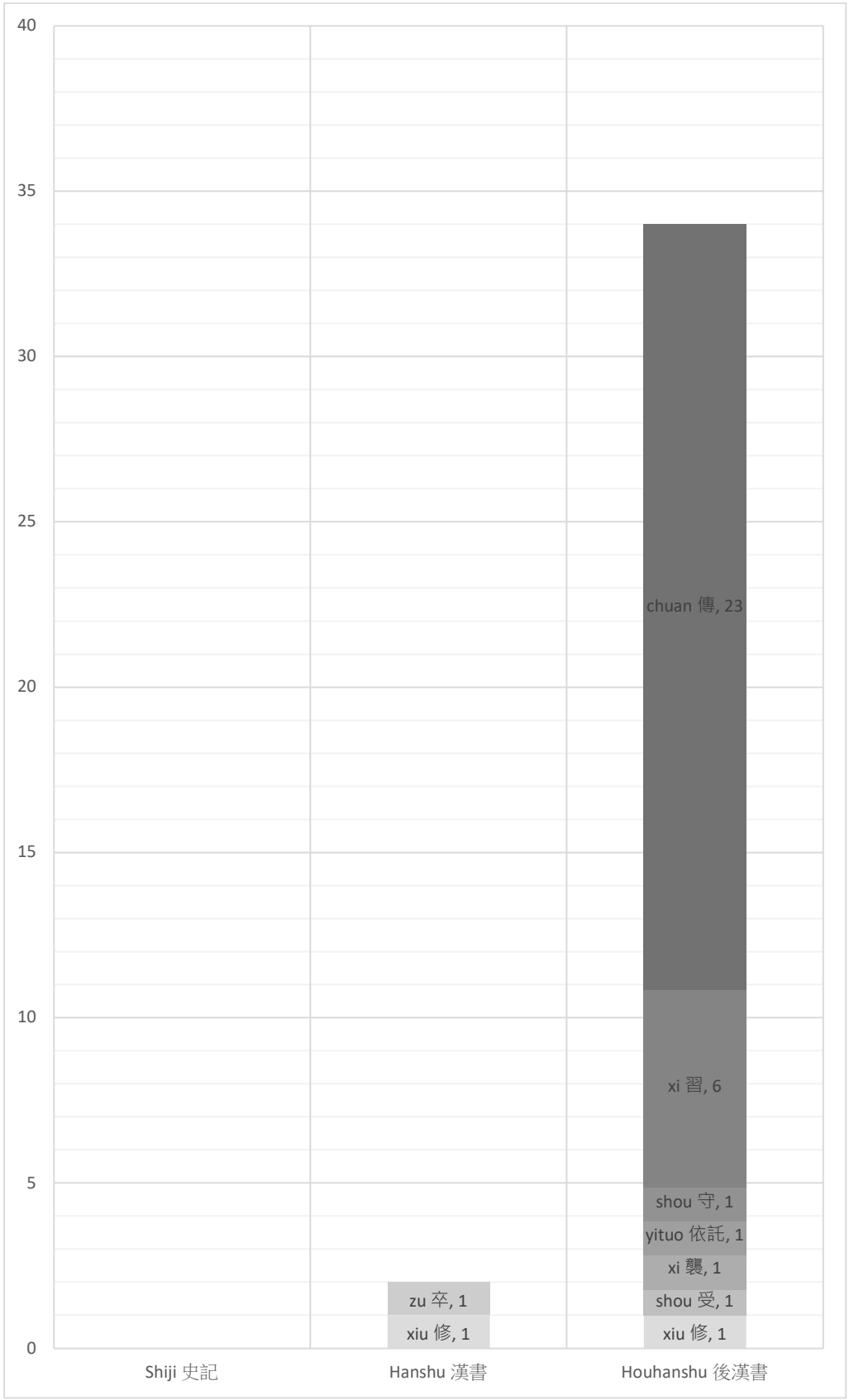

40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
fu zu xue 父祖學, 1
fu xue 父學, 2
jia xue 家學, 6
jia ye 家業, 7
fu ye 父業, 18
fu ye 父業, 2
Shiji 史記
Hanshu 漢書
Houhanshu 後漢書

In addition, it is worth noting that each of the thirty-six instances of these markers is consistently preceded by verbs associated with knowledge transmission or learning. The majority of these verbs are "to transmit" (*chuan* 傳, twenty-three instances), while others include "to practice" (*xi* 習, six instances), "to refine" (*xiu* 修, two instances, one in *Hanshu*), "to finish" (*zu* 卒, one instance in *Hanshu*), "to receive" (*shou* 受, one instance), "to follow along" (*xi* 襲, one instance), "to rely on" (*yituo* 依託, one instance), and "to preserve" (*shou* 守, one instance). All of these verbs indicate instances of knowledge transmission across generations within a family, a tradition that particularly flourished during the Eastern Han dynasty.[252]

The diagram below illustrates the statistics:

[252] Inokuchi Tetsuya 井之口哲也 2014: 37–40 investigates the transmission of knowledge of the *Documents* in generations within one family.

Diagram 3-3: Statistics of verbs preceding the indicators of knowledge transmission within a family in the three standard historical records of Han


40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
chuan 傳, 23
xi 習, 6
shou 守, 1
yituo 依託, 1
xi 襲, 1
shou 受, 1
xiu 修, 1
zu 卒, 1
xiu 修, 1
Shiji 史記
Hanshu 漢書
Houhanshu 後漢書

The use of terminology related to the transmission of family knowledge indicates that during the compilation of the *Houhanshu* sources, there was a greater emphasis on classicists who transmitted their ancestors' knowledge. Not all of these individuals were appointed Academicians, but when they were, they were consistently affiliated with the same line of affiliation as their ancestors. The choice of language in standard histories suggests that the development of line affiliations within a family was more significant in the Eastern Han than in the Western Han.[253]

It is important to note that, despite the clear growing trend of scholarship transmission within families throughout the Han dynasty, the practice of inheriting businesses or occupations within a family is not new. Zhao Lu's 趙璐 comprehensive summary provides compelling evidence that in the Western Han, there were numerous instances of family transmission along the same lineage.[254] Furthermore, the excavated bamboo slips from Zhangjiashan 張家山, having the *terminus ante quem* of the second year of Empress Dowager Lü 呂后 (186 BC), indicate the existence of hereditary occupations in the early Western Han period.[255]

[253] Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003 offers a thorough and persuasive examination of uncovering the layers within the three standard histories for the Han dynasty. They argue that these layers represent discrete rhetorical constructions, rather than a single historic unit. Additionally, Cheng Sudong 程蘇東 2015: 152–53 points to the evolution and strengthening of the Academician appointment system during the Han dynasty.

[254] Zhao 2019: 106–13. Sivin 1995: 177–88 provides accounts for the family transmission of medical texts.

[255] For essential annotations of the excavated materials discussed in this section, please consult the following works: Li Xueqin 李學勤 2002; Zhu Honglin 朱紅林 2005: 280–85; Zhangjiashan er si qi hao Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 張家山二四七號漢墓竹簡整理小組 2006: 80–82; and Tomiya Itaru 冨谷至 2006: 300–7.

The "Shilü" 史律 chapter records the education and examination of the sons of two specific occupations: *shi* 史 and *bu* 卜.[256]

In this section, we observe that the transmission of businesses and occupations was commonplace during the Han dynasty. However, when discussing the transmission of knowledge—specifically distinguishing between knowledge of classics and knowledge of classical interpretation tied to line affiliation—we see a notable increase during the Eastern Han period. This context highlights the significance of Xue Guangde's 薛廣德 case: the fact that Xue Guangde and his great-grandson belonged to different lines of affiliation contradicts the notion of stable knowledge transmission within a family. The situation of the Xue Guangde family serves as a clear counterexample to the idea that classicists remain loyal to their ancestors' lineage. Indeed, the records of classicists' line affiliations do not accurately reflect their knowledge or loyalty to their masters, ancestors, or the classical teachings of their lineage.

2.4. The case of Xue Guangde

The life and accomplishments of Xue Guangde are intriguing and merit further investigation. His appointment as an Academician sheds light on the intricate affiliations in the Western Han dynasty. The "Traditions of Xue Guangde" chapter of *Hanshu* provides valuable insights into his journey:

[256] Li Xueqin 2002: 70 noted that there were other excavated materials showing hereditary occupation of the position *shi* 史, for example, bronze inscriptions showing there was a clan serving as *shi* for consecutive generations from the late Shang to the late Western Zhou periods. See also Tomiya Itaru 2006: 300.

> 薛廣德字長卿，沛郡相人也。以魯詩教授楚國，龔勝、舍師事焉。蕭望之為御史大夫，除廣德為屬，數與論議，器之，薦廣德經行宜充本朝。為博士，論石渠[257]
> Xue Guangde whose courtesy name was Zhangqing was from Xiang [County] of Pei Commandery. He imparted *Lu Shi* to Chu Kingdom. Gong Sheng and [Gong] She served Xue as a teacher. Xiao Wangzhi (107–46 BC) was an Imperial Counsellor[258] and appointed [Xue] Guangde as a subordinate. Xiao discussed and shared opinions with Xue and thus appreciated his capabilities. [Xiao] recommended [Xue] Guangde that his knowledge of Classics and conduct was capable of serving in the imperial court. [Xue] became an Academician and participated in the Shiqu Pavilion discussion.

In the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter of *Hanshu*, it is noted that Xue, a student of Wang Shi 王式 in the *Odes*, was eventually recognized as an Academician in the *Lu Shi* section.[259]

Upon reviewing the biography of Xue, it appears that Xue began teaching *Lu Shi* before his appointment as an Academician, a timeline that differs from the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter and seems less plausible.

Regardless of when Xue started teaching, his promotion to the position of Academician was attributed to a recommendation from a *Qi Shi* 齊詩 scholar, Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之.[260] Xiao recommended Xue not only for his scholarly accomplishments but also for his character (*jian Guangde jing xing yi chong ben chao* 薦廣德經行宜充本朝).[261]

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[257] *Hanshu* 71.3046–47.
[258] Readers may find it useful to consult a discussion from Michael Loewe dedicated to "Imperial Counsellor (*yushi dafu* 御史大夫)" (Loewe 2004: 155–75).
[259] *Hanshu* 88.3611.
[260] See *Hanshu* 78.3271 and 88.3613.
[261] Nylan 2008a: 741–50 points out that literary knowledge might have only little to do with the advancement of status in the imperial court in Han.

Following his appointment as Academician, Xue represented *Lu Shi* in the Shiqu Pavilion's discussion on Classics.

It is worth noting that Xiao's recommendation showed Xue might probably not have followed his teacher's (Wang Shi) line of affiliation of *Odes* interpretations and established his own. In the *Hanshu*, Xiao was recorded as an enthusiast recommending others to the emperor. In his recommendation for Kuang Heng 匡衡, Xiao proposed (*zou* 奏) to the emperor, states,

> 衡經學精習，說有師道，可觀覽。[262]
> [Kuang] Heng is well-versed in classical studies, his explanation has a master's way, and can be held in recognition with appreciation.

For Zhang Yu 張禹, Xiao made another proposal,

> 禹經學精習，有師法，可試事。[263]
> [Zhang] Yu is well-versed in classical studies, has a master's method, and can be put on probation for appointments.

While the English translations may appear distinct, the two recommendation proposals share common elements: both Kuang and Zhang were described as being highly knowledgeable in classical studies ("*jingxue jingxi*" 經學精習), either having a master's approach or method ("*you shidao*" 有師道 or "*you shifa*" 有師法), and being deemed capable ("*ke*" 可).

[262] *Hanshu* 81.3332.
[263] *Hanshu* 81.3347. Yan Shigu's commentary: "To test with duties and tasks" (*shi yi zhi shi ye* 試以職事也).

It appears that, in comparison to Xiao's recommendation for Xue Guangde, Xiao particularly highlighted Kuang and Zhang's adherence to their master's approach or method, in addition to their mastery of classical studies. Among the three classicists recommended by Xiao,[264] Xue seemed to be the only one who did not align with his teacher's approach to classical interpretation and instead established his own. Nevertheless, based on the investigation, Xue was unmistakably categorized into the *Lu Shi* line of affiliation.

Based on the information provided, the only evidence linking Xue Guangde to *Lu Shi* was his association with his *Lu Shi* master, Wang Shi. Xue was recommended by a *Qi Shi* classicist, indicating that he might not adhere to *Lu Shi* interpretations. Despite these records, Xue was classified as an Academician in the *Lu Shi* section and even represented the *Lu Shi* in discussions at the Shiqu Pavilion.

3. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined the following points:

1. What led to the surprise among Chu Shaosun's contemporary Academicians? These Academicians were well-versed in the *Lu Shi* studies passed down from Master Shen. Wang Shi's master–student relationships and teachings adhered closely to the "orthodox" *Lu Shi*, making it reasonable to expect that Chu Shaosun's

[264] There were also officials without a strong link to classical studies being recommended by Xiao Wangzhi. For example, Zhang Chang 張敞. See *Hanshu* 76.3226.

understanding of *Lu Shi* would align with their expectations. Wei Xian's case demonstrates that the Wei family classicists involved in the *Lu Shi* branch of study were recognized for their inventive odes. Their interpretations of the *Odes* during the Han dynasty had unique characteristics that set them apart from others. This development was unprecedented not only within the *Lu Shi* lineage but also among all *Odes* Academicians. As a result, in the *Odes*-related entries found in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter of the *Hanshu*, the phrase "from this point onwards, there exists for [Classic] the branch of (Mr) [surname] studies" (*you/you shi … you … (shi) zhi xue* 由／繇是……有……（氏）之學) first appeared, highlighting a distinct divergence in their scholarship.

2. Academicians could be appointed based on criteria beyond their knowledge of Classics. Xue Guangde's 薛廣德 case mirrors the recruitment system outlined in *Han guan yi* 漢官儀 (*Ceremonial of Han Offices*) by Ying Shao 應劭, which categorized official recruitments into four categories (*si ke* 四科). One category, "comprehensive erudition and refined conduct, scholar with broad knowledge in classics" (*xue tong xing xiu, jing zhong boshi* 學通行修，經中博士)[265] suggests that expertise in Classics was not the sole criterion for appointment.

3. Within the *Odes*, a classicist's promotion to an Academician position may be facilitated by a recommendation from another line of affiliation.[266] In the case of

[265] It is said to be an edict by Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 and the passage in question is survived in the commentary of *Houhanshu* 24.3559

[266] Cheng Sudong 程蘇東 provides an observation on this situation. Xue Guangde's case reflects that from Emperor Wu to the Shiqu Pavilion discussion of classical texts, there was normally only one Academician at a time holding the position of *Odes*. None of the three major lines of affiliation were able to dominate the office, but instead took turns carrying the title of *Odes* Academician. The criterion for appointment was mastery of the classic. See Cheng Sudong 2015: 144.

Xue Guangde, it appears that his promotion by Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之 was not solely based on his knowledge of *Lu Shi*. This implies that mastery of *Lu Shi* was not the primary criterion for the recommendation.

4. In the context of the imperial court's appointment of Academician positions, the master–student affiliations played a significant role. They were used by the imperial court to determine which line of affiliation a newly appointed Academician belonged to. Hence, Xue's mastery of *Lu Shi* was not the sole factor in his placement under the *Lu* line of affiliation, nor was it solely based on a recommendation from another *Odes* scholar. Rather, his affiliation as a student of Wang Shi, a *Lu Shi* master, secured him a *Lu Shi* Academician position. This demonstrates that the categorization and recording of classicists according to their line of affiliation was crucial for the court, officials, and classicists to understand the Academician system.[267]

In summary, the cases of Xue Guangde and Wei Xian clearly indicate that during the Western Han dynasty in China, the Academician position was linked to classical studies, while the line of affiliation was associated with master–student relationships. Although the Wei family, particularly Wei Xian, inherited "orthodox" *Lu Shi* studies, they developed and established their own branch of studies, which differed from conventional *Lu Shi* and deserved to be treated and named independently. From an institutional perspective, the branch of Mr Wei studies was placed under the tradition of *Lu Shi* due to the master–student affiliations of the

[267] On the Han dynasty government official selection system, readers may consult the following works: Loewe 2006; Zhang Handong 張漢東 2007; Yan, Buke 閻步克 2015; and Liu Pak-yuen 廖伯源 (Liao Boyuan) 2017: 95–195.

involved classicists, not solely because of the similarity of the Mr Wei studies to *Lu Shi*.

Chapter Four: The Modes of *Odes* Delivery and Historical Records in Western Han

1. Chu Shaosun and *Lu Shi*

In the last Chapter, we have investigated the first two core questions raised in Section 3.6 of Chapter 3 of this thesis, we have obtained two negative answers, namely, it was implausible for the contemporary classicists to be unaware of the *Lu Shi* studies as it was transmitted from Master Shen 申公 and his students and grand-students, and equally implausible for them to be unaware of Wang Shi's 王式 *Odes* studies, regardless of its content. We now need to address the third and the last question: What was the relationship between Chu Shaosun 褚少孫 and *Lu Shi* 魯詩?

Historical records make it clear that "Scholar Zhang, Scholar Tang, and Scholar Chu were all appointed Academicians. […] From this point onwards, there existed for *Lu Shi* the branches of Mr Zhang, Mr Tang, and Mr Chu studies" (*Zhangsheng, Tangsheng, Chusheng jie wei boshi*.[…] *you shi Lu Shi you Zhang Tang Chu shi zhi xue* 張生、唐生、褚生皆為博士。〔……〕由是魯詩有張、唐、褚氏之學).[268]

However, the response of the Academicians indicates that what he learned about *Lu Shi* differed from Master Shen's 申公 and Wang Shi's 王式 *Lu Shi* teachings, and

[268] *Hanshu* 漢書 88.3610.

even from all the scholarship concerning the contemporary transmitted *Odes*. In other words, the answer to whether he performed *Lu Shi* in the election is a "*jein*", a German portmanteau word of "*ja*" (yes) and "*nein*" (no). How is this possible?

This chapter will unveil how these records combine to form an emerging picture of the relationship between academic training, classical scholarship, and political influence. Specifically, we will explore two distinct modes of delivering the *Odes*: recitation (*song* 誦) and explanation (*shuo* 說). These two approaches to *Odes* study allow for the conveyance of varied content and evoke different reactions. By examining these methods, we can advance our inquiry into the historical progression of interpretations of the *Odes* during the Han dynasties. What factors influenced the imperial court's or classicists' decision to appoint an Academician within a specific line affiliation? To what extent do academic training and master–student relationships contribute to classicists attaining roles as Academicians? Moreover, what is the connection between academic training, master–student affiliations, and the status of Academicians?

1.1. Chu Shaosun's *Lu Shi* performance in the imperial court

Upon close examination, it appears that Chu Shaosun's response during the Pupil election differed from what the Academicians already knew about *Lu Shi*. This suggests that there was a unique relationship between Chu and *Lu Shi*. We should reconsider Chu's conduct during the election:

詣博士，摳衣登堂，頌禮甚嚴。試誦說，有法，疑者丘蓋不言。[269]
Approaching Academicians, they lifted up their garments and ascended the hall, performing appearance rites extremely reverently. They were examined on making recitations (or chant) and explanations. [They] had a method. For matters that were subject to doubt, they refrained from voicing an opinion.[270]

The verbs in the first part, such as "approach" (*yi* 詣), "lift up" (*kou* 摳), "ascend" (*deng* 登), and "recite" (*song* 頌), all relate to physical performance. The second part of the quoted text should be connected to the *Odes*. From this passage, we can infer that Chu did not simply sit in the hall and answer questions, as is done in modern exams or interviews. Instead, Chu showcased both his performance and knowledge qualifications. Therefore, the Academicians' surprise should not be solely attributed to Chu's academic knowledge, but also to his actions.

1.2. What did Chu Shaosun learn from Wang Shi

In the *Hanshu* commentary by Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645), it is stated that "lifted up garments refers to lifting them up from the inside, making them leave the ground" (*kou yi, wei yi shou nei jü zhi, ling li di ye* 摳衣，謂以手內舉之，令離地也).[271] The term "*kou yi*" 摳衣 also appeared in the "Summary of the Rules of Propriety" chapter (*Qu li* 曲禮) in the *Record of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記). This was in reference to an incident about a conflict between Wang Shi and another Academician after the Pupil election.[272]

[269] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[270] Please refer to Chapter 2 of this thesis for notes.
[271] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[272] *Hanshu* 88.3610. Yang Shuda 楊樹達 1983: 238 provides a discussion on details of the incident.

Wang Shi's mention of the "Summary of the Rules of Propriety" chapter in the conflict linked Chu's performance to his academic knowledge. This suggested that Wang had a strong understanding of the chapter, and Chu's performance aligned with the standards described in it,[273] possibly indicating knowledge transmitted from Wang to Chu.

Based on Chu's performance in the Pupil's election, Ma Xin 馬昕 suggested that although Chu received short and unsystematic *Lu Shi* training under Wang Shi (*bing bu changjiu ye bu xitong* 並不長久，也不系統).[274] Without providing much support, Ma further opines that Chu was:

> 〔……〕已對王式的學行風範傾心相服，不僅在博士官面前將其引為己師，而且還繼承了王式重禮慎行的學術精髓。[275]
> […] already convinced by Wang's scholarship, behaviour, and model, and not only took him as his teacher in front of the Academician officials, but also inherited the academic essence of Wang, which emphasized the importance of courtesy and prudence.

Qian Mu's 錢穆 (1895–1990) explanation is more plausible:

> 是唐、褚亦能守王式師法，遇疑不能明者則闕不說。[276]
> Here is: Tang [Zhangbin] and Chu [Shaosun] are both able to preserve the master's method of Wang Shi. Whenever they encountered doubts that they could not clarify, they omitted explanations.

[273] Huang Qingxuan 黃慶萱 2008: 174.
[274] Ma Xin 馬昕 2022a: 11–12. See also Ma Xin 2013: 170.
[275] Ma Xin 2022a: 12. The quoted passage was identical to that in Ma Xin 2013: 170, albeit with less substantiation.
[276] Qian Mu 錢穆 2015: 227.

This implies that Chu might have at least learnt the method of interpreting the *Odes* from Wang.

Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that Master Shen 申公 was not only well-versed in the *Lu Shi*, but also in the *Rites* 禮. This inclination was passed down to Scholar Xu 許生, Master Xu 徐公, and Wang Shi. Wang Shi, who was knowledgeable in the *Xiao Dai Records of Rites* 小戴《禮》, enabled his student Chu to "perform appearance rites extremely reverently" (*song li shen yan* 頌禮甚嚴).[277]

Wang's contemporary, Wei Xian 韋賢, was also proficient in both *Odes* and *Rites*.[278] It is plausible that what Chu learned from Wang was more about the method of performance than explanations, which might be connected to *Lu Shi*.

This brings us to a study on *song* 誦 and *shuo* 說. Upon investigating all the pre-Han and Han *textus receptus* (received texts), there were only a few examples of putting *song shuo* 誦說 together, with Chu Shaosun's case included. There were no examples of *shuo song* 說誦.

1. The "On Attracting Gentlemen" chapter (*Zhi shi* 致士)[279] of *Xunzi* 荀子:

[277] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[278] Ma Xin 2022a: 10–12.
[279] Eric Hutton translates the title as "On Attracting Men of Worth". See *Xunzi: The Complete Text*.

尊嚴而憚，可以為師；耆艾而信，可以為師；誦說而不陵不犯，可以為師；知微而論，可以為師[280]
If one is honoured, dignified, and inspires awe, one can be a teacher. If at the age of fifty or sixty one is trustworthy, one can be a teacher. If one can recite and explain without transgressing and violating, one can be a teacher. If one understandings subtlety and [able to] debate, one can be a teacher.[281]

2. The "Treatise on Rites and Music" chapter (*Li yue zhi* 禮樂志) of *Hanshu*:

德化未流洽者，禮樂未具，羣下無所誦說，而庠序尚未設之故也。[282]
The convert to virtues has not yet spread widely can be attributed to the incompleteness of rites and music, the masses have nothing to recite and explain, and the district and hamlet schools have not yet been set up.

3. The "Traditions of Dongfang Shuo" chapter (*Dongfang Shuo zhuan* 東方朔傳) of *Hanshu*:

贊曰：劉向言：少時數問長老賢人通於事及朔時者，皆曰：朔口諧倡辯，不能持論，喜為庸人誦說，故令後世多傳聞者。[283]
Appraisal: Liu Xiang said when he was young, he inquired several times of elders and venerable people who understood matters thoroughly and [Dongfang] Shuo's time. They all said Shuo's mouth was humorous, performed quibble, was not able to sustain a debate, and had a penchant for reciting and explaining to mediocre people, so it leads to many hearsays in the later generations.

4. The "Traditions of Classicists" chapter of *Hanshu*:

試誦說，有法，疑者丘蓋不言。[284]
They were examined on making recitations (or chant) and explanations. [They] had a method. For matters that were subject to doubt, they refrained from voicing an opinion.

[280] *Xunzi xinzhu* 荀子新注 275.
[281] The translation here is based on Eric Hutton's. See *Xunzi: The Complete Text* 14.144.
[282] *Hanshu* 22.1035.
[283] *Hanshu* 65.2873.
[284] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

5. The "Traditions of Empress Yuan" chapter (*Yuanhou zhuan* 元后傳) of *Hanshu*:

> 五經傳記，師所誦說，咸以日蝕之咎在於大臣非其人[285]
> Records and commentaries of the Five Classics and the recites and explanations of the masters, all think the blame for the solar eclipse lies with the incompetence of officials.

6. The "Postface" chapter (*Xu zhuan* 敘傳) of *Hanshu*:

> 大將軍王鳳薦〔班〕伯宜勸學，召見宴昵殿，容貌甚麗，誦說有法，拜為中常侍。[286]
> General-in-Chief Wang Feng, recommended [Ban] Bo as a suitable Study Companion. The Emperor summoned Ban to Yanni Hall, where he appeared incredibly handsome and had a method of reciting and explaining.[287] He was appointed as a Regular Palace Attendant.

7. The "Rectify the Wrong" chapter (*Zheng shi* 正失) of *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 (worth noting this is very similar to 3):

> 謹按：《漢書》：〔……〕劉向少時，數問長老賢通於事及朔時人，皆云：朔口諧倡辯，不能持論，喜為凡庸誦說，故今後世多傳聞者。[288]
> Humbly note: *Hanshu*: […] When Liu Xiang was young, he inquired several times of venerable elders who understood matters thoroughly and [Dongfang] Shuo's time. They all said Shuo's mouth was humorous, performed quibble, was not able to sustain a debate, and had a penchant for reciting and explaining to ordinary and mediocre people, so now many hearsays in the later generations.

[285] *Hanshu* 98.4022.
[286] *Hanshu* 100a.4198.
[287] Zhou 2018: 37 translated "容貌甚麗，誦說有法" as "appeared very handsome, and was methodical in the recitation and exposition of texts".
[288] *Fengsu tongyi jiaozhu* 風俗通義校注 2.111.

This thesis conforms to modern punctuation conventions by combining the terms "*song*" 誦 and "*shuo*" 說, which are two separate verbs meaning "recite" and "explain", respectively. "*Song*" relates to performance, akin to behaviours derived from Master Shen such as "approach," "lift up," "ascend," and "recite", On the other hand, "*shuo*" involves Chu's interpretation of the *Odes*.

The phrase "[they] had a method. For matters that were subject to doubt, they refrained from voicing an opinion." (*you fa, yizhe qiu gai buyan* 有法，疑者丘蓋不言) can be divided into two parts. Grammatically, the entire quote should be understood as referring to both "*song*" and "*shuo*", although it is also valid to interpret them individually.[289]

Upon closer examination of the quoted example 6 from *Hanshu*, the sequence "*song shuo you fa*" 誦說有法 can be interpreted together, implying that "having a method" refers to both "*song*" and "*shuo*".

Prior to delving into my interpretation, it is important to note that Qian Mu's punctuation differs slightly from my understanding. Qian suggests that "have a method" (*you fa* 有法) refers only to "*song shuo*" 誦說, and that "*yizhe qiu gai buyan*" 疑者丘蓋不言 should be read separately:

> 試誦說，有法。疑者丘蓋不言。[290]

[289] During a conference discussion, Che Hsing-chien 車行健 (Che Xingjian) proposed that if *Hanshu* aimed to bifurcate the reference of the quote, it should be documented as "試誦，有法；說，疑者丘蓋不言" (personal communication, November 2018).
[290] Qian Mu 錢穆 2015: 227.

In Qian's further explanation of the quoted sentences, he explains that "For matters that were subject to doubt, they refrained from voicing an opinion" (*yizhe qiu gai buyan* 疑者丘蓋不言) pertains to the entire examination.[291]

Although Qian's interpretation of separating "*song*" and "*shuo*" differs from mine, it is not contradictory.

I would like to emphasise the discussion of the interpretation of the phrase "[they] had a method" as possibly referring primarily to "*song*", and the phrase "for matters that were subject to doubt, they refrained from voicing an opinion" as "*shuo*". This interpretation draws attention to the dual nature of the transmission of the *Odes* in the Han dynasty. It also seems reasonable to say that Chu Shaosun had a method for recitation and explanations, but not for "*yizhe qiu gai buyan*" 疑者丘蓋不言 (in this case it should be interpreted as "for matters that were subject to doubt, they remained silence"). This does not logically align with recitation, a form of performance. Chu should have only performed what he knew in the examination. It does not seem practical for him to abruptly stop the performance in the middle of the examination due to doubt. Although I lack further concrete evidence to support this interpretation, I will continue to interpret the entire phrase "[they] had a method. For matters that were subject to doubt, they refrained from voicing an opinion" as referring to both "*song*" and "*shuo*", as this interpretation is better supported by the evidence.

[291] Qian Mu 2015: 227.

Let's use the terms "*song*" and "*shuo*" as a basis for further investigation into what might have been discussed by Chu Shaosun in the Pupil election.

It is known that the early transmission of the *Odes* in Ancient China relied heavily on oral presentation and performance, supplemented by written texts. The art of recitation has long been a tradition among classicists in Early China.[292]

It has been documented that Chu "asked [Wang Shi] about several pieces of [the] Classic" (*wen jing shu pian* 問經數篇). Wang might have taught him "*song*" passed down from his grand-teacher Master Shen, representing certain characters of *Lu Shi*. Wang described how he taught the *Odes*:

> 臣以《詩》三百五篇朝夕授王，至於忠臣孝子之篇，未嘗不為王反復誦之也。[293]
> His official instructs the Prince days and nights by the 305 pieces of *Odes*.[294] Reaching the pieces on dedicated ministers and filial sons, I never failed to recite them back and forth for the Prince.[295]

Wang recited the *Odes* for his student, showing his professional familiarity with this form of performance. From the quoted passage, two important elements stand out:

1. Wang Shi should not be considered incapable of mastering the entire *Odes* just because he taught Chu Shaosun "several pieces of [the] Classic" (*shu pian* 數篇). On the contrary, Wang was well-versed in the entire 305 pieces of the *Odes*.

[292] Kern 2005b: 180.
[293] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[294] The transmitted *Classic of Odes* (*Mao Shi* 毛詩) consists of 305 pieces and 6 ode titles without contents. Chapter 7 of this thesis will discuss the difference in the number of pieces between *Mao Shi* and the three major line affiliation of *Odes* interpretations in the Han dynasty.
[295] Elstein 2006: 235 provides an alternative translation for this excerpt.

2. One of the primary methods of learning the *Odes* was to master the recitation, which requires practice and repetition. This record leads to my translation of "*bu keng fu shou*" 不肯復授 as "not willing to repeat teaching". While translating *fu* 復 to "resume" or "return" makes grammatical sense, "to repeat" aligns with the technique that Wang Shi mastered and used to teach the *Odes*.[296]

1.3. Distinguishing *song* 誦 (to recite) and *shuo* 說 (to explain)

Through the integration of historical records, it is believed that Chu's *Lu Shi* training greatly influenced his exceptional performance of *song* and *shuo*. It is argued that the Academicians observed both his recitational performance (*song*), which has a long history of origin from Wang Shi, and his interpretation of the *Odes* (*shuo*), which involved personal embellishments (*zi rense zhi* 自潤色之) and refraining from voicing opinions on uncertain matters (*yizhe qiu gai buyan* 疑者丘蓋不言). This interpretation aligns with the historical records and provides a potential explanation for the Academicians' reaction: they were surprised by Chu's overall performance.

The phrase "*you fa*" 有法 could also be interpreted as "according to standards" instead of "had a method" as this thesis interprets it. All interpretations share a common ground: the performance was considered to have reached a certain level of merit, suggesting that it met the criteria for being elected as a *Lu Shi* Academician.

[296] Thanks to Ho Che-wah 何志華 (He Zhihua) for providing the information in a seminar discussion (personal communication, September 2020).

1.3.1. The case of Chao Cuo 鼂錯

There is an example in the "Traditions of Chao Cuo" chapter (*Chao Cuo zhuan* 鼂錯傳) of *Hanshu* that reveals the differences between "recite" (*song* 誦) and "explain" (*shuo* 說):

> 孝文時〔……〕太常遣〔鼂〕錯受《尚書》伏生所，還，因上書稱說。詔以為太子舍人，門大夫，遷博士。又上書言：「〔……〕皇太子所讀書多矣，而未深知術數者，不問書說也。夫多誦而不知其說，所謂勞苦而不為功。〔……〕」[297]
>
> During the reign of Emperor Wen (r. 180–157 BC) […] the Superintendent of Ceremonial[298] dispatched [Chao] Cuo[299] (200–154 BC) to receive the *Venerable Documents* at Scholar Fu's place. Upon his return, [Chao] wrote to the Emperor quoting [*Documents*'] explanations. [The Emperor] decreed that he be made Member of the Suite of the Heir Apparent,[300] Counsellor of the Gate[301] [of the Heir Apparent], and later Academician. [Chao] further wrote to the Emperor, saying that "[…] The Heir Apparent reads many books but lacks a deep understanding of extrapolative numerology due to not seeking their explanations. Reciting many [books] without understanding their explanations is toil without benifit. […]"[302]

Chao Cuo was instructed by Scholar Fu (Fusheng 伏生) to study the *Shangshu* and report on what he had learned. When Chao reported to Emperor Wen about the education of the Heir Apparent, he noted that the Heir Apparent read many books but did not seek explanations for them. He also pointed out that the Heir Apparent could recite many books but did not understand their meanings (*duo song er bu zhi*

[297] *Hanshu* 49.2277.
[298] Charles O. Hucker (1919–1994) translates "*taichang*" as "Chamberlain for Ceremonials." (Hucker 1985: 476).
[299] Loewe 2000: 27–29 provides a biography.
[300] Hucker translates "*sheren*" 舍人 as "Houseman." (Hucker 1985: 417).
[301] Hucker translates "*men dafu*" 門大夫 as "Grand Master of the Gates." (Hucker 1985: 330).
[302] *Hanshu* 88.3608–9. Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: 88–89 provides an alternative translation.

qi shuo 多誦而不知其說). Chao Cuo was known for his expertise in explaining (*shuo*) texts and was selected by the Grand Master of Ceremonies to study the explanations (*shuo*) of the *Documents*. His observation of the Heir Apparent's lack of attention to the explanations of books highlighted two important points: first, Chao Cuo was highly knowledgeable about explanations (*shuo*) and his skills were valued at the imperial court, leading to his duty of receiving *shuo*, observing the Heir Apparent, and appointment as Academician. Second, he emphasized that reading (*du* 讀), reciting (*song* 誦), and explaining (*shuo* 說) are distinct activities when engaging with foundational texts. It is evident from Chao Cuo's records that reciting and explaining are two different aspects of interacting with texts, and his position as an Academician was a result of his proficiency in explaining (*shuo*) texts.

1.3.2. The case of King Gong of Dingtao 定陶恭王[303]

The case of Chao Cuo is not a singular instance in Han historical records that illustrates the contrast between "recite" and "explain". Another example can be found in the "Annals of Emperor Ai" chapter (*Aidi ji* 哀帝紀) of *Hanshu* which directly emphasizes the distinct techniques for approaching *Odes* in Western Han: recitation and explanation:

[303] Thanks to Che Hsing-chien for providing the information in a conference discussant comment (personal communication, November 2018).

> 上令〔定陶恭王〕誦《詩》，通習，能說。[304] 他日問中山〔孝〕王：「獨從傅，在何法令？」不能對。令誦《尚書》，又廢。[305]〔……〕成帝由此以為〔中山孝王〕不能，而賢定陶王，數稱其材。[306]
> Emperor [Cheng] commanded [the King Gong of Dingtao] to recite the *Odes*, and [he] was well-familiarised and able to explain. On another day, [the Emperor] asked the King [Xiao] of Zhongshan, "Follows only the mentor, this lies with which rule or command?" [King Xiao] could not answer. [He was] commanded to recite the *Documents*, but abolished again. […] From this, Emperor Cheng regarded that [the King Xiao of Zhongshan] was incapable and the King of Dingtao had high competence, several times acclaiming his talent.

This record clearly demonstrates that King Gong of Dingtao 定陶恭王 was able to recite (*song* 誦) the *Odes* upon command by Emperor Cheng. He was well-familiarized (*tongxi* 通習) with the recitation and sufficiently competent to provide explanations (*shuo* 說). Yan Shigu's commentary pointed out that *shuo*, in the quoted record, means "to explain its meaning" (*shuo qi yi* 說其義).[307]

It is evident from the record that King Gong was not only proficient in reciting (*song*) the *Odes* but also mastered the technique of explaining (*shuo*) their meaning. In the biography of King Gong of Dingtao, he was noted for his talents in musical sound:

> 王少而愛，長多材藝，習知音聲，上奇器之。[308]
> The King was cherished [by the Emperor][309] from young. When he matured, he displayed multiple talents and skills and was familiar with understanding modulated musical sounds, which greatly impressed His Highness.

[304] *Hanshu* 11.333.
[305] *Hanshu* 11.333.
[306] *Hanshu* 11.333
[307] *Hanshu* 11.333
[308] *Hanshu* 80.3326.
[309] *Hanshu* 80.3326.

The historical record aligns with the account in the "Annals of Emperor Ai" chapter, indicating that King Gong of Dingtao was remarkably talented in music and melody. Both sources highlight his expertise in mastering the *Odes* through recitation (*song*) and explanation (*shuo*), which earned him favour with the Emperor. While King Gong's biography does not mention his ability to explain the *Odes*, the "Annals of Emperor Ai" chapter does, emphasizing the distinction between recitation and explanation as two separate techniques related to the *Odes*.

1.3.3. Further investigations on distinguishing *song* 誦 and *shuo* 說

The analysis conducted above highlights the distinction between "recite" (*song* 誦) and "explain" (*shuo* 說). The differences between these terms can be elucidated by the following points:

Firstly, debate surrounds the morphology of *song shuo* 誦說 in the historical records of Chu Shaosun. "Explain/explanation" (*shuo*) may be interpreted as a noun or a verb, with both interpretations yielding very similar meanings. It is challenging to assert that Chu conveyed his explanations (*shuo*) in the form of performance (*song*). Therefore, it is suggested that *song shuo* should be viewed as two independent words rather than a verb–object compound.

Secondly, "recite" (*song* 誦) may not necessarily refer to performance, but could also imply "memorizing" (*beisong* 背誦 or *jisong* 記誦). If this viewpoint holds merit, *song* might share similarities with *shuo* (explain) in the context of

memorizing and reciting explanations of the *Odes*. However, this perspective does not align with the records of the Han dynasty. Xu Shen's 許慎 (58?–147?) *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字 from the Eastern Han period states that "*song* 誦 is *feng* 諷" (*song, feng ye* 誦，諷也)[310] and vice versa (*feng, song ye* 諷，誦也).[311] This implies a circular explanation, indicating a close relationship between *song* and *feng*.

Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) explains that "reciting texts is *feng*, marking the rhythm by sound is *song*" (*bei wen yue feng, yi sheng jie zhi yue song* 倍文曰諷，以聲節之曰誦).[312] The character "*bèi*" 倍 is a borrowed graph (*tongjia zi* 通假字) of "*bèi*" 背.[313] According to Guo Xiliang 郭錫良 (1930–2022), the reconstructed Old Chinese pronunciation (*shanggu yin* 上古音) of "倍" is "並之" (*bə)[314] and that of "背" is "幫職" (*puə̄k).[315] According to Wang Li 王力 (1900–1986), this suggests that they have a homologous relationship (*tongyuan* 同源) because their initials (*shengmu* 聲母, in classical Chinese: *niu* 紐) "並" and "幫" are both bilabial stop and their finals (*yunmu* 韻母) "之" and "職" are in the same thyme group.[316] Having the same thyme group means they have *duizhuan* 對轉 relationship, which means "the same vowel and the same point of articulation of syllable coda"

[310] *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 3a.75.
[311] *Shuowen jiezi* 3a.75.
[312] *Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏 vol. 8, 22.676.
[313] About the concepts of the borrowed graph and loan graph (*jiajie zi* 假借字) in the Chinese writing system, readers may consult: Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 2000: 91, 93–96, 273, and 382–83 and Wilkinson 2018: 37–38 and 47.
[314] Guo Xiliang 郭錫良 2010: 211.
[315] Guo Xiliang 2010: 211.
[316] Wang Li 王力 2014: 270–72.

(*yuanyin xiangtong er yunwei de fayin buwei ye xiangtong* 元音相同而韻尾的發音部位也相同).[317] In short, 倍 and 背 are phonologically similar enough to associate together to form a borrowed graph relationship.

The relationship between the characters "倍" and "背" as borrowed graphs is noted in dictionaries about classical Chinese. Both the *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 and *Gudai Hanyu cidian* 古代漢語詞典 indicate that "倍" is a borrowed graph of "背", and list four borrowed meanings, with the fourth one being "to recite" (*beisong* 背誦).[318]

Additionally, the *Dai kanwa jiten* 大漢和辞典 also includes "to recite" (*sorayomi* そらよみ; *anshō* 暗誦) as one of the definitions of 倍.[319]

A dictionary of borrowed graphs edited by Gao Heng 高亨 (1900–1986) and Dong Zhian 董治安 (1934–2012) listed 39 examples of the borrowing relationship between "倍" and "背" without distinguishing different borrowed meanings, with 38 of them being from pre-Han and Han books.[320]

[317] Wang Li 2014: 13. Wang Li's theory on *tongyuan* 同源 Chinese characters can be found in Wang Li 2014: 1–43. Wang Li 2014: 37–43 contains his criticism of the related research by Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (also known as Zhang Taiyan 章太炎, 1869–1936) and Bernhard Karlgren (1889–1978).
[318] Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風 2001: vol. 1b, 1515 and *Gudai Hanyu cidian* bianxie zu 《古代漢語詞典》編寫組 1998: 61.
[319] Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次 1986: vol. 1, 824.
[320] Gao Heng 高亨 and Dong Zhian 董治安 1989: 435–36.

Another dictionary of borrowed graphs also collected various examples from ancient books, including the cited passage from Zheng Xuan.[321]

Furthermore, in Paul W. Kroll's dictionary, both "倍" and "背" are noted to mean "turn from/turn against",[322] indicating the original borrowed meaning of these characters.

In addition to "marking the rhythm by sound is *song*" (*yi sheng jie zhi yue song* 倍文曰諷，以聲節之曰誦),[323] Zheng Xuan also suggests that "*song*" entails singing songs (*song wei ge yue ye* 誦謂歌樂也).[324]

Consequently, according to Zheng Xuan, "*feng*" 諷 denotes memorization, while song encompasses the act of performance and even singing. Jia Gongyan's 賈公彥 (7th century) annotation clarifies, "*feng* is conveying it directly without chant. *Song* does not directly recite texts. The distinction lies in the use of chant and marking the rhythm by sound" (*feng shi zhiyan zhi, wu yinyong, song ze fei zhi bei wen, you wei yinyong yi sheng jie zhi wei yi* 諷是直言之，無吟詠，誦則非直背文，又為吟詠以聲節之為異).[325] Jia likened and elucidated the disparity between "*feng*" and "*song*": "*feng*" denotes recitation and memorization without meter and rhythm, while "*song*" is more akin to chant and comprises elements of marking the rhythm and singing, with meter and rhythm. In essence, although both "*feng*" and "*song*"

[321] Wang Haigen 王海根 2006: 59.
[322] Kroll 2022.
[323] *Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏 vol. 8, 22.676.
[324] *Zhouli zhushu* vol. 8, 22.676.
[325] *Zhouli zhushu* vol. 8, 22.676.

can be translated as "to recite", their interpretations in classical Chinese diverge based on the presence or absence of meter and rhythm.

1.4. Chu Shaosun's *Lu Shi* performance in light of *song* 誦 and *shuo* 說

Prior to summarizing the findings concerning the "*song*" and "*shuo*" in Chu Shaosun's performance at the imperial court, it is important to revisit the interpretation of Wang Shi's words: "It is all that I heard from the teacher. Do the embellishing yourself" (*wen zhi yu shi ju shi yi, zi runse zhi* 聞之於師具是矣。自潤色之).[326] This statement can be split into two components—"recite" (*song* 誦) and "explain" (*shuo* 說). When discussing the transmission of *Odes* to Chu Shaosun, Wang's scholarship about *Odes* can be seen as consisting of two parts: he "heard" (*wen* 聞) the recitation from his teacher and then encouraged the students to "do the embellishing" (*runse* 潤色) themselves.

Delving deeper into Wang's life story as recorded in *Hanshu*, it seems that Wang had mastered these two techniques related to the *Odes*. When Wang was accused of not admonishing the Prince of Changyi 昌邑王, an emperor who reigned for only 27 days, he responded,

> 至於忠臣孝子之篇，未嘗不為王反復誦之也；至於危亡失道之君，未嘗不流涕為王深陳之也。[327]
> Reaching the pieces on dedicated ministers and filial sons, I never failed to recite them back and forth for the Prince. Reaching[328] the rulers who had

[326] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[327] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[328] Elstein 2006: 235 adds "the pieces on" here which makes good sense, but I see "至於忠臣孝子之

been in peril of perishment and had lost the Way, I never failed to shed tears, explaining it profoundly for the Prince.[329]

In contrast to the ambiguity surrounding the division of descriptions of Chu Shaosun's *Odes* performance in the court, the quoted passage can be neatly divided into two parts, referring to recitation and explanation, respectively.

We found that Wang Shi emphasized twice the importance of learning through hearing from his teachers (*wen zhi yu shi* 聞之於師).[330] The Chinese character for "hear" (*wen* 聞) contains the graphical component "耳" (ear), which symbolizes the act of using ears to listen. Based on historical inscriptions, from oracle bone inscriptions, bronze inscriptions, and bamboo slip scripts, the only consistent component of this character was "耳", while the phonetic component varies.[331] Although the exact content of what Wang Shi learned from his teachers is not explicitly stated, this thesis suggests a potential interpretation: Wang Shi may have only heard the traditional *Lu Shi* recitation (*song* 誦) of several odes from his teachers and then transmitted them to Chu Shaosun. As for the explanations (*shuo* 說) of the *Odes*, it seems to have involved more personal interpretation and embellishment (*zi runse zhi* 自潤色之).[332] Therefore, it is likely that Wang Shi

篇" and "至於危亡失道之君" parallel.
[329] Elstein 2006: 235 provides an alternaative translation for this passage.
[330] In a notable instance, Wang Shi reiterated the phrase "heard from the teacher" (*wen zhi yu shi* 聞之於師) for the second time, specifically in reference to the manner of singing, which entails hearing, odes from the *Odes*. See *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[331] Numerous research works and dictionaries exist about ancient Chinese scripts. For essential analysis of scripts, readers may refer to the following works: Yu Xingwu 于省吾 1996 (oracle bone inscriptions); Zhou Fagao 周法高 1974 and 1982 (bronze inscriptions); and He Linyi 何琳儀 1998 (bamboo slip scripts).
[332] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

applied his techniques of recitation and explanation to advise the Prince of Changyi and to instruct Chu Shaosun.

The interpretation of the information about recitation (*song* 誦) and explanation (*shuo* 說) in the *Lu Shi* tradition, as seen in the practices of Wang Shi and Chu Shaosun, is summarized in the following table:

Table 4-1: Distinguishment of "recite" (*song* 誦) and "explain" (*shuo* 說)[333]

Classicists	**To recite (*song* 誦)**	**To explain (*shuo* 說)**
Wang Shi 王式	未嘗不為王反復誦之也 I never failed to recite them back and forth for the Prince	未嘗不流涕為王深陳之也 I never failed to shed tears, explaining it profoundly for the Prince
	聞之於師具是矣 It is all [I] heard from the teacher	自潤色之 Do the embellishing yourself
Tang Zhangbin and Chu Shaosun 唐長賓、褚少孫	試誦 They were examined on making recitations (or chants)	說 And explanations
	有法，疑者丘蓋不言 [They] had a method. For matters that were subject to doubt, they refrained from voicing an opinion	

[333] All contents in this table are from *Hanshu* 88.3610.

In summary,

(1) The explanation (*shuo* 說) content embellished (*runse* 潤色) by Chu Shaosun surprised the Academicians. Chu's recitation (*song* 誦) was related to *Lu Shi*, influenced by Wang Shi, and was performed during the election of Pupils of Academicians. These two contents were performed in the election of Pupils of Academicians.

(2) Chu was appointed Academician due to his proficiency in explanations (*shuo* 說), similar to Chao Cuo.

(3) Chu's appointment as *Lu Shi* Academician may be attributed to his master–student affiliations, retrospectively pursued by contemporary Academicians, or/and his inheritance of the recitation (*song* 誦) technique from Master Shen 申公.

(4) Chu primarily inherited the recitation (*song* 誦) method of *Lu Shi* from his teacher Wang Shi. The explanations (*shuo* 說) of *Lu Shi* might have been only partially transmitted, if at all. Chu needed to "embellish" (*runse* 潤色) the content himself in order to succeed in the election of Pupils of Academicians.

1.5. Chu Shaosun's *Lu Shi* explanations (*shuo* 說)

In contrast to most *Odes* classicists who also have a clear record of line affiliation from the Han dynasty, Chu Shaosun's *Odes* explanation (*shuo* 說) is distinguishable

and provides valuable insight into the subject. This record plays a crucial role in our examination of the aforementioned findings. Despite being identified as a *Lu Shi* Academician, we seek to understand the depth of Chu's knowledge of the *Odes* and its reflection on the *Lu Shi* tradition. This conversation is found at the end of chapter 13 in the transmitted *Shiji* 史記, the "Chronological Table of the Three Generations" chapter (*San dai shibiao* 三代世表).[334]

Upon careful examination, this thesis wishes to draw attention to two key works that form the foundation of this section: (1) Dorothee Schaab-Hanke's article in 2003, which provides an extensive discussion on how it portrays Chu's historical judgement,[335] and (2) Nicolas Standaert's book in 2016, where a chapter is dedicated to "Chinese Interpretations of Marvellous Births" (chapter 3).[336] In section 3.1 "Pre-Song Interpretations of Marvellous Births", Standaert offers a detailed summary and translation of relevant texts to be discussed in this section.[337]

While this thesis approaches the texts from a different angle by examining Chu Shaosun's line affiliation, the aforementioned works provide an important starting point for the English translation of the texts.[338]

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[334] Regarding the discussions about Chu Shaosun supplementing *Shiji* 史記 passages, please consult Chapter 2 of this thesis.
[335] Schaab-Hanke 2003.
[336] Standaert 2016.
[337] Dun Wencong 頓文聰 2014: 12 also provides a summary of Chu Shaosun's thoughts on marvellous births.
[338] Regarding marvellous births of sages without fathers, please consult the following works: Hu Hanping 胡瀚平 1994; Chen Tongsheng 陳桐生 2000: 176–92 and 2002: 397–401; Wang Baoxuan 王葆玹 1997: 374–80 and 2008: 378–86; Lu Jui-ching 魯瑞菁 (Lu Ruijing) 2006 and 2007; Zhao Maolin 趙茂林 2006: 429–36; and Li Mian 李勉 and Yu Fangjie 俞方潔 2016. Besides, van Ess 1993: 223–25 summarizes the impact of discussions in Han times on marvellous births. In email communication, Hans van Ess provided further clarification regarding his perspective on the discussion of marvellous births: it happened in the context of justifying or critiquing the construction of ancestral temples (personal communication, September 2024).

The upper part of the conversation is as follows:

> 張夫子問褚先生曰：「《詩》言契、后稷皆無父而生。今案諸傳記咸言有父，父皆黃帝子也，得無與《詩》謬乎？」
> Master Zhang inquired of Mister Chu, "The *Odes* states that Xie and Houji were both born without fathers. Now, various traditions and records all mention [they] have fathers, and these fathers are all sons of the Yellow Emperor. Is this not contradicting with the *Odes*?"
>
> 褚先生曰：「不然。《詩》言契生於卵，后稷人跡者，欲見其有天命精誠之意耳。鬼神不能自成，須人而生，柰何無父而生乎！一言有父，一言無父，信以傳信，疑以傳疑，故兩言之。
> Mister Chu responded, "No. The *Odes* refers to Xie being born from an egg and Houji' origin from a human footprint to show the idea that they have the heavenly mandate and pure integrity. Ghosts and deities cannot create themselves; they must be born from humans. How could they be born without fathers? One says have fathers; another says no fathers. Reliable transmitted as reliable; doubtful transmitted as doubtful. Hence saying both of them.
>
> 堯知契、稷皆賢人，天之所生，故封之契七十里，後十餘世至湯，王天下。堯知后稷子孫之後王也，故益封之百里，其後世且千歲，至文王而有天下。
> Yao recognized both Xie and Ju were wise persons, considering them being born by Heaven. Therefore, he enfeoffed Xie with 70 *li*. After more than ten generations, it came to Tang who reigned all under Heaven. Yao foresaw the descendants of Houji becoming future kings, thus granting him an additional 100 *li*. His later generations moreover [reached] a thousand years, it came to King Wen to own all under Heaven.
>
> 《詩傳》曰：『湯之先為契，無父而生。契母與姊妹浴於玄丘水，有燕銜卵墮之，契母得，故含之，誤吞之，即生契。[339] 契生而賢，堯立為司徒，姓之曰子氏。子者茲；茲，益大也。詩人美而頌之曰「殷社芒芒，天命玄鳥，降而生商」。商者質，殷號也。
> *Odes's Commentary* said, 'Tang's ancestor was Xie who was born without a father. Xie's mother, along with her sisters, was bathing in the Xuanqiu water when a swallow held an egg in its mouth and dropped it. Xie's mother got it, kept it in her mouth, and mistakenly swallowed it, leading to the birth of Xie. Xie grew to be wise and was established as Chancellor by Yao, who gave him the family name Zi 子. "*Zi*" means "*zi*" 茲 which means "to increase and grow". Poets praised it with the eulogy, "The god of the soil of Yin is boundless. Heaven commands the dark bird to descend and give birth to Shang [clan]." "Shang" means "natural", and "Yin" is the [dynastic] title.

[339] A Similar passage can also be found in *Shiji* 3.91.

文王之先為后稷，后稷亦無父而生。后稷母為姜嫄，出，[340]見大人蹟而履踐之，知於身，則生后稷。姜嫄以為無父，賤而弃之道中，牛羊避不踐也。抱之山中，山者養之。又捐之大澤，鳥覆席食之。姜嫄怪之，於是知其天子，乃取長之。[341] 堯知其賢才，立以為大農，姓之曰姬氏。姬者，本也。詩人美而頌之曰「厥初生民」，深修益成，而道后稷之始也。』

The ancestor of King Wen was Houji, who was also born without a father. Houji's mother, Jiang Yuan, went out and saw the footprints of a giant and stepped on it. She knew it in her body and then gave birth to Houji. Jiang Yuan regarded him as having no father, so she despised and abandoned him on a road, where he was avoided from trampling by cattle and sheep. She carried him to the mountains, where he was nourished by the mountain people. Later, he was relinquished at a big marsh, where birds covered him, made a mat for him, and fed him. Jiang Yuan, feeling curious about it, therefore knew that he was Heaven's son, only then did she take him [back] and raise him. Yao recognized his wise talent and established him as Minister of Agriculture, naming his family name Ji 姬. "*Ji*" means root. Poets praised it with the eulogy, "This the first birth of commonfolk." Deeply refines the increasing accomplishment and narrates the beginning of Houji.'

孔子曰：『昔者堯命契為子氏，為有湯也。命后稷為姬氏，為有文王也。大王命季歷，明天瑞也。太伯之吳，遂生源也。』天命難言，非聖人莫能見。舜、禹、契、后稷皆黃帝子孫也。黃帝策天命而治天下，德澤深後世，故其子孫皆復立為天子，是天之報有德也。人不知，以為氾從布衣匹夫起耳。夫布衣匹夫安能無故而起王天下乎？其有天命然。」[342]

Confucius stated, 'In ancient times, Yao commanded Xie to become the Zi clan, leading to the existence of Tang; he commanded Houji to become the Ji clan, leading to the existence of King Wen. King Tai commanded Jili, was to make clear Heaven's omen. Taibo went to Wu, completed the origins of birth.' The heavenly mandate is difficult to articulate and not to be perceived by non-sages. Shun, Yu, Xie, and Houji were all descendents of the Yellow Emperor. The Yellow Emperor was mandated by Heaven to reign all under Heaven, and his virtue profoundly benefited later generations. Therefore, his descendants were all reinstated to be established as Heaven's sons. This is Heaven repaying those with virtue. People who are unaware of this think that they rose up from no more than plain-garbed commoners. How could plain-garbed commoners be able to rise and reign all under heaven without reason?[343] It was Heavenly mandate."[344]

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[340] This comma is added in the revised version *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局 *Shiji*. See *Shiji* (2013) 13.641.

[341] Similar passage can also be found in *Shiji* 4.111.

[342] *Shiji* 13.504–6.

[343] Van Ess 2015c: 485 has an alternative translation for this part.

[344] Please refer to Standaert 2016: 181–84 for an alternative translation. Arbuckle 1995: 587–88 n. 9 and 589–90 n.19 offers one more translation for the last few sentences. Additionally, Arbuckle claims that the passage was added by Chu Shaosun, although without presenting any supporting evidence.

In a later part of the conversation, Chu and Zhang discussed the descendants of the Yellow Emperor, which is less relevant to this thesis's analysis on lines of affiliation. However, there is an excerpt:

> 以《詩》言之，亦可為周世。周起后稷，后稷無父而生。以〈三代世傳〉言之，后稷有父名高辛；高辛，黃帝曾孫。[345]
> By referring to the *Odes*, this can also be considered as the Zhou generations. The Zhou began with Houji, who was born without a father. According to the "Chronological Traditions of the Three Generations", Houji had a father named Gaoxin. Gaoxin was a great-grandson of the Yellow Emperor.[346]

The above excerpt mentions "Master Zhang", who is believed to be Zhang Chang'an 張長安, Wang Shi's student of *Odes* and a senior to Chu Shaosun. He later became a *Lu Shi* Academician as well.[347]

While most researchers agree that Master Zhang is Zhang Chang'an,[348] there are additional reasons to support this claim. First, it is possible that the excerpt is a supplement by Chu, using the honorific "master" (*fuzi* 夫子) to address Zhang Chang'an, his senior learning mate under the same teacher. This usage would make sense in that context. Secondly, the content of the conversation focused on the *Odes* explanation, which aligns with their experience of learning under an *Odes* master. Lastly, both Zhang and Chu were appointed *Lu Shi* Academicians, so it is

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Loewe 2004: 436 also makes reference to the *Shiji* passage.
[345] *Shiji* 13.506.
[346] Please consult Standaert 2016: 191–92 for an alternative translation.
[347] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[348] Schaab-Hanke 2003: 12. See also Wang Baoxuan 王葆玹 1994: 336, 1997: 379, and 2008: 385, Lu Jui-ching 2007: 158, and Ma Xin 馬昕 2013: 175.

reasonable to assume that they would have discussed the *Odes* explanations on various occasions.

Moreover, Qing classicist Zhang Wenhu 張文虎 (1808–1885) criticised the text in question as being "remarkably low and mistaken in Chu Shaosun's supplement" (*ci Chu Shaosun xu diao zhi you bimiu zhe* 此褚少孫續貂之尤鄙謬者) and "largely stained his teacher (Wang Shi)" (*dian qi shi shen yi* 玷其師甚矣).[349] Zhang essentially confirmed that the text was authored by Chu Shaosun.

In the excerpt, the main argument between Zhang and Chu centres around the different accounts of the paternity of Xie 契 and Houji 后稷. Zhang explicitly stated that the *Odes*, attributed to *Lu Shi*, opined that sages were born without fathers. This view contradicts "various traditions and records" (*zhu zhuanji* 諸傳記). Zhang's statement can be classified as a *Lu Shi* explanation, supported by evidence from a work by the Eastern Han classicist Xu Shen 許慎. This work, *Different Meanings of the Five Classics* (*Wujing yiyi* 五經異義), is an important source for studying

[349] Zhang Wenhu 張文虎 2003: 4.91. I find the punctuation slightly erroneous so I checked the *Shuyi shi suibi* 舒藝室隨筆 4.6a–6b.

conflicting views among lines of interpretations.[350] Although the complete work was lost, fragments have survived till today.[351]

> 《詩》齊、魯、韓、《春秋・公羊》說：聖人皆無父，感天而生。《左氏》說：聖人皆有父。[352]
> In the explanations of *Qi Shi*, *Lu Shi*, and *Han Shi*, as well as the *Gong Yang Springs and Autumns*, it is mentioned that sages are all born without fathers but [are brought into the world due to their mother being] moved by Heaven. In the explanation by *Mister Zuo*, it is stated that all sages had fathers.[353]

To talk about *gan* 感 and *gan sheng* 感生, Standaert provides an explanation: "Meaning 'affect(ed), move(d), touch(ed) (by),'.it often appears in the combination *gan-sheng* 感生, which is also used as a modern term for 'marvellous birth.'"[354]

In the above quoted texts, it is apparent that the *Odes* from *Lu Shi* suggest that sages were supernaturally born.[355]

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[350] The compiler, Chen Shouqi 陳壽祺 (1771–1834), explicitly states in the preface that this work extensively incorporates "*shi fa*" 師法, "*jia fa*" 家法, and "*xianshi yishuo*" 先師遺說, describing it as "comprehensive and richly detailed" (*xiangshan* 詳贍). He writes: "*Bohu tongyi* 白虎通義, abridged and compiled by Ban Gu 班固, deeply obscured the names of the various masters—a significant oversight. In contrast, the *[Wujing] yiyi* 異義 cites ancient and modern masters, all presenting the inherited teachings of earlier masters of the Five Classics. Its style follows the model of the *Shiqu lun* 石渠論 , yet it surpasses them in comprehensiveness and detail" (*Baihu tongyi jing Ban Gu shanji, shen mo zhongjia xingming, shu wei shushi, buru Yiyi suo yuan gujin baijia, jie ju Wujing xianshi yishuo, qi ti fang Shiqu lun, er xiangshan guo zhi* 《白虎通義》經班固刪集，深沒眾家姓名，殊爲疎失，不如《異義》所援古今百家，皆舉五經先師遺說，其體倣《石渠論》，而詳贍過之) (*Wujing yiyi shuzheng* 五經異義疏證 4 (自序)).

[351] Readers may consult Van Ess 1999: 39 and Standaert 2016: 172 for further information. The following works are also useful for understanding Xu Shen's 許慎 work and the debate on different lines of affiliation in Han: Jiang Zefeng 蔣澤楓 and Wang Ying 王英 2008; Yeh Kuo-liang 葉國良 (Ye Guoliang) 2011; Zhu Jun 朱軍 2016; Cheng Yuanmin 程元敏 2018: 393–99; and Honey 2021: 207–15.

[352] *Wujing yiyi shuzheng* c.197. The same excerpt is cited in Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 (574–648) commentary to *Mao Shi*, which was officially approved by the Tang dynasty. See *Mao Shi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 17a.1249. It should be noted that the Peking University version mistakenly punctuated the *Wujing yiyi* 五經異義 as one of the subjects who held the explanation.

[353] Please consult Standaert 2016: 185 for an alternative translation.

[354] Standaert 2016: 186.

[355] Cheng Yuanmin 2018: 397–98 briefly explains Xu Shen's point of view on marvellous birth.

Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), in his response to *Wujing yiyi*,[356] tries to reconcile two opposing viewpoints like what Chu did.

> 玄之聞也：諸言感生得無父，有父則不感生，此皆偏見之說也。《商頌》曰：「天命玄鳥，降而生商。」謂娀簡吞鴅子生契，是聖人感生，見於經之明文。劉媼是漢太上皇之妻，感赤龍而生高祖，是非有父感神而生者也？且夫蒲盧之氣嫗煦桑蟲成為己子，況乎天氣，因人之精，就而神之，反不使子賢聖乎？是則然矣，又何多怪？[357]
> Xuen heard that: Those who claim that a birth resulting from being moved [by Heaven] has no father, and that having a father means it is not a result of a birth from being moved, are all of the explanations with biased viewpoints.[358] The *Shang Song* states, "Heaven decrees the dark bird to descend and give birth to Shang [clan]." This means that Song Jian swallowed a swallow's egg to give birth to Xie. This [demonstrates that] sages are born through being moved, as evident from the explicit texts in the classics. Liu Ao, the wife of Han Emperor Emeritus, bore Gaozu after being moved by a red dragon. Can this not be considered a birth without a father and moved by a deity? Furthermore, if the breath of *pulu* can warm silkworms to become their offspring, how much more can the breath of Heaven approach humans, elevate them with divine essence, and not make them worthy and sage-like? This is indeed the case, so why should it [be viewed as something] so strange?

In his attempt to reconcile conflicting perspectives, Zheng Xuan sought to integrate divergent views by suggesting that the paternal lineage could still contribute to the act of giving birth resulting from being moved by Heaven. Hans van Ess notes that Zheng "took in fact a synthesizing approach towards the Classics and were for a number of reasons—most often political reasons—not exclusively biased towards one side or the other."[359] Similarly, Chu, in his interpretation of the *Odes*, sought to

[356] Readers may consult Cheng Yuanmin 2018: 425–30 for further information.
[357] *Wujing yiyi shuzheng* c.197–98. Readers will find it useful to consult *Bo wujing yiyi shuzheng* 駁五經異義疏證 6.473–76 for a discussion of this passage.
[358] Please consult Standaert 2016: 186 for an alternative translation of this excerpt. Nicolas Standaert erroneously ascribed it to Kong Yingda.
[359] Van Ess 1999: 37. Other scholars also agree Zheng tried to unite different interpretations. See also Wang Baoxuan 1994: 329–37, 1997: 374–80 and 2008: 378–86 and Shi Yingyong 史應勇 2007: 180.

reconcile discordant viewpoints by establishing connections between them rather than staunchly defending a specific interpretation.[360] Refusing to pass judgment by defending his own affiliated line of affiliation and instead embracing both perspectives, Chu's approach mirrored his notion of "saying both of them" (*liang yan zhi* 兩言之).[361] This balanced stance was also evident in his consideration of *Lu Shi* classical explanations, wherein he acknowledged co-existing interpretations from both the *Odes* and historical records. As Standaert summarized, "Chu seems to combine both, as appears from the discussion quoted earlier."[362]

Regarding Chu's "saying both of them", Schaab-Hanke links it to the political context, suggesting that Chu's statements allude to the relationship between the heavenly mandate and sovereignty.[363] Furthermore, Ma Xin 馬昕 draws attention to Chu's discussion with Zhang Chang'an about the Yellow Emperor 黃帝, which aligns with the fundamental principles of the *Gongyang* 公羊 line of interpretation to the *Spring and Autumns*.[364] Establishing a connection with Chu's great-uncle, Chu Da 褚大, a notable proponent (*sui* 遂) of Dong Zhongshu's 董仲舒 teachings on *Gongyang Springs and Autumns* 公羊春秋,[365] further underlines Chu's academic background and his adherence to the *Springs and Autumns* tradition.[366]

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[360] Standaert 2016: 184–85.
[361] Schaab-Hanke 2003: 13 n. 11 points out that this might be an interpretation method by the *Lu Shi* line. See also Chen Tongsheng 陳桐生 2000: 176–79.
[362] Standaert 2016: 192.
[363] Schaab-Hanke 2003: 12–15. *Dushu ou ji* 讀書偶記 4.59, Liu Guoping 劉國平 2010: 44–45, and van Ess 2015c: 484–85 also provide discussions on how Chu Shaosun making links between Huo Guang and the Yellow Emperor.
[364] Ma Xin 馬昕 2013: 171. However, it is worth noting that "信以傳信，疑以傳疑" appears verbatim once only in *Guliang Springs and Autumns* 穀梁春秋 among all pre-Han and Han transmitted texts. See *Chunqiu guliangzhuan zhushu* 春秋穀梁傳注疏 3.48.
[365] *Shiji* 121.3127–29 and *Hanshu* 88.3615–16. See also van Ess 2015c: 479.
[366] *Shiji* 128.3225 and Pokora 1981: 425–26.

Chu's assertion of "saying both of them" reflects his unique *Odes* interpretation, wherein he sees the *Odes* as revealing Heaven's command, while "various traditions and records" (*zhu zhuanji* 諸傳記) reflect historical truth.[367] This multifaceted approach not only reflects Chu's personal stance but also his political and historical discernment, distancing his viewpoint from his academic lineage or *Lu Shi* interpretations. Chu's response to Zhang Chang'an is a testament to his individuality and departs significantly from the typical *Lu Shi* Classical interpretation.[368]

Classicists were allowed to maintain their own classical studies, but their connection with their affiliated lines should not be ignored. In Dorothee Schaab-Hanke's article on Cai Yong's 蔡邕 (132–192) *Odes* studies, she demonstrated with evidence that there were clear changes and tendencies within lines of affiliation. While "Cai Yong's reading of the *Odes* favored the exegesis associated with Lu", "Cai Yong in his *Qincao* [琴操] and in this rhapsody applied a specific voice in exegesis".[369] Although Cai Yong's case is in the latter part of the Eastern Han and there is no record of Cai's line affiliation, except that he was accountable for the stone stele *Lu Shi*, his case also shows that there is no conflict between having a tendency to a specific line of affiliation of interpretation and having an own voice. Such a case aligns with what Chu Shaosun demonstrated in his performance: His own voice of explanations with a certain extent of elements inherited from Wang Shi/*Lu Shi*.

[367] Ma Xin 2013: 175–77.
[368] Ma Xin 2013: 177.
[369] Schaab-Hanke 2022: 268.

Before concluding this section, it is important to address doubts about Chu Shaosun's position within the *Lu Shi* affiliation. Dai Junren 戴君仁 (1901–1990) suggests that Chu provided a "conciliatory explanation" (*tiaoting zhi shuo* 調停之說)[370] in this regard. Wang Baoxuan 王葆玹 opines that Chu was not highly esteemed in the *Lu Shi* line, based on the conversation. Unlike Zhang Chang'an, who represented the "traditional opinions of the *Lu Shi* line" (*Lu Shi yi pai de chuantong yijian* 《魯詩》一派的傳統意見)[371] during the Shiqu Pavilion 石渠閣 debate, Chu may have held a secondary (*ciyao de diwei* 次要的地位)[372] or even heretical (*shenzhi shi yiduan de diwei* 甚至是異端的地位)[373] position within the *Lu Shi* line. However, Wang's assessment lacks evidence regarding Chu's position, whether it was high or low. Furthermore, Ma Xin 馬昕 correctly pointed out that Zhang Chang'an represented *Lu Shi* in the Shiqu debate because he was a student of Wang Shi before the Liu He incident, making him senior to Chu and appointed Academician before the Shiqu debate.[374] Ma's claim is supported by historical records.

It is unclear from the conversation what exactly Chu's *Odes* (or *Lu Shi*) training entailed. The passage only reveals his attitude towards an explanation attributed to *Lu Shi*. When considered in conjunction with the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter of *Hanshu*'s records regarding Chu's *Odes* training under Wang Shi, it becomes

[370] Dai Junren 戴君仁 1974b: 10–11.
[371] Wang Baoxuan 1997: 379.
[372] Wang Baoxuan 1997: 379.
[373] Wang Baoxuan 1994: 336 and 2008: 385.
[374] Ma Xin 2013: 175. See *Hanshu* 88.3610.

evident that Chu held and even taught his own interpretations of the *Odes*, which diverged from traditional *Lu Shi* explanations.

In general, it seems that a classicist's affiliation with a specific line or their official appointment as an Academician bearing the name of a line has little, if any, bearing on the content of the classical interpretations they promote. Classicists are evidently unafraid to make their differing interpretations public, and this can even become a supplementary part of an officially accepted historical record. In Chu Shaosun's case, his own classical interpretation, despite differing from or even contradicting his affiliated line, did not jeopardize his position as a *Lu Shi* Academician. Therefore, it seems that classicists ascribed to a particular line are not bound to convey a specific set of classical interpretations, regardless of whether texts and explanations were transmitted within that line.

In the context of this thesis, the identification of relevant information pertaining to the lines of affiliation of *Odes* interpretations during the Han dynasty is crucial. When considering established theories of classifying lines of affiliation, it is apparent that the amalgamation of both contextual and contentual information would offer the most comprehensive insight. However, it is imperative to question this assumption. A detailed discussion can be found in Chapter 6 of this thesis,

A critical analysis reveals that the aforementioned study challenges the reliance on contentual information due to the following reasons:

1. Chu Shaosun, despite his official designation as a *Lu Shi* Academician, publicly expressed skepticism regarding a conventional *Lu Shi* classical explanation, subsequently establishing his own branch of *Lu Shi* studies divergent from established norms.[375]

2. Chu's classical explanation is documented in the supplementary section of an imperially authorized version of a historical record without being revised or edited by other classicists according to *Lu Shi* standards.

This examination underscores a prevalent practice in the Han imperial court, wherein classicists' line affiliation was determined by factors unrelated to the alignment of their classical interpretations with a specific line. It is evident that a classicist's appointment as an Academician was predicated solely on their classical knowledge, independent of the proximity of their interpretations to a specific line.

The available evidence suggests a lack of foundation for the existence of a unified and comprehensive classical explanation transmitted across generations within a line. In closing, I would like to reference David Elstein, who succinctly summarized the behaviour of classical students in Han, noting that "[e]ven when the government was more involved in education and had a greater opportunity to enforce standards of behaviour for students, deference was not the rule for students. They actually had a good deal more freedom than most scholars have appreciated"[376] as emphasized in his doctoral thesis.

[375] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[376] Elstein 2006: 18.

2. What can be observed through Chu Shaosun's case

2.1. A seemingly self-contradictive historical picture

The question of whether Chu Shaosun performed *Lu Shi* in the election can be answered as a Germanic hybrid word of yes and no, "*jein*", similar to a sphinx or Minotaur, but not oxymoronic.

Our examination of historical records regarding contemporary classicists, Wang Shi, and Chu Shaosun's relationship with *Lu Shi* indicates that *Lu Shi* was a familiar concept among classicists. However, it also reveals that *Lu Shi* was not a stable and rigid recension or interpretation of the *Odes*, but rather a collection of classicists who were connected to it.

It is evident that Chu received instruction from a *Lu Shi* master, tracing the transmission back through generations of masters who preserved and imparted the scholarship (*shou xue jiao shou* 守學教授).[377] Although he developed his own set of teachings distinct from *Lu Shi* and other *Odes* interpretations,[378] his interpretations did not prevent him from becoming an inheritor of *Lu Shi*. He officially transmitted the *Lu Shi* line of affiliation and became the Academician of the *Lu Shi* interpretative tradition of *Odes* interpretation because his own

[377] *Hanshu* 88.3608–9.
[378] Robert P. Kramers (1920–2002) says, "especially with the Shih-ch'ü discussions, the need to defend their own position forced the masters to construct extensive commentaries and go into the smallest textual detail." (Kramers 1986: 757). Kramers posits that scholars in the Han dynasty may have developed their own classical studies and presented them at the Shiqu Pavilion 石渠閣. This was done despite the fact that they were representing their designated lines of affiliation.

"embellished" (*runse* 潤色) interpretations were considered excellent and were recognized and sanctioned by the court, leading to the retroactive tracing of his master–student affiliations.

In summary, Chu's affiliation with *Lu Shi* and his subsequent ratification as a *Lu Shi* Academician were not determined by the similarity of his scholarship to *Lu Shi* interpretation, but rather by the court's acknowledgement of his interpretations as *Lu Shi* studies. This case is not related to the authenticity or orthodoxy of *Lu Shi* readings or how well he transmitted *Lu Shi* studies.[379]

In the context of Chu's simultaneous recognition as a *Lu Shi* Academician and his distinct approach to classical studies compared to other *Lu Shi* classicists, the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter in *Hanshu* introduces the phrase "from this point onwards, there exist for [Classic] the branch of (Mr) [surname] studies" (*you/you shi … you … (shi) zhi xue* 由／繇是……有……（氏）之學). This phrase aims to reconcile the seemingly contradictory facts of a classicist diverging from their teacher's or affiliation's studies to establish their own interpretation of classics, while still maintaining an official connection to the line. In Chu Shaosun's case, this phrase indicates the development of his own interpretation of the *Odes* within the Lu interpretative tradition.

[379] For a comprehensive analysis supported by solid evidence regarding the purpose of the imperial academy (*taixue* 太學), readers are advised to refer to Nylan and Constantino 2022. This study concludes that the *taixue* primarily functioned as a ritual centre as opposed to a venue for traditional lecture-based instruction. The study asserts that, "In contrast to priests in the Christian West, the ritual masters of Western and Eastern Han were not preoccupied with orthodoxy (belief in the efficacy of the correct Word), but rather with orthopraxy (belief in the efficacy of correct performance of the rites)." (Nylan and Constantino 2022: 262).

Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗 (1842–1906) acknowledged this phrase as denoting the establishment of unique interpretative lines that extended beyond the three major *Odes* interpretative lines of Lu, Qi, Han, and the elder and younger Master Mao. Particularly, those who could establish interpretative lines bearing their name beyond these major lines were highlighted in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter in *Hanshu* (*Han Rulin Shi jia zi Lu Qi Han sanjia ji da xiao Mao Gong wai, qi ming jia zhe […]* 《漢・儒林》《詩》家自魯、齊、韓三家及大小毛公外，其名家者〔……〕).[380]

David Elstein categorizes *xue* 學 in the aforementioned phrases as "tradition" and "branch".[381] In his translation of the entire "Traditions of Classicists" chapter in *Hanshu*,[382] Elstein consistently differentiates "tradition" and "branch" for *xue* in cases where a distinction is made—with one exception, where Elstein uses "version".[383] When *xue* is barely attached to the name of the classic or does not mention ancestral traditions, Elstein uses "tradition (of the [Classic])", while for *xue* derived from earlier traditions, he uses "branch (of the [Classic] tradition)". This distinction may stem from the ongoing debate concerning the differentiation of *shifa* 師法 and *jiafa* 家法.[384] It is worth noting that this distinction is not evident in the original chapter, and the debate may originate from the complex nature of distinguishing these concepts.

[380] *Hanshu yiwenzhi shibu* 漢書藝文志拾補 207.
[381] Elstein 2006: 145.
[382] Elstein 2006: 201–55.
[383] Elstein 2006: 224–25.
[384] Readers may consult Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: 87–97, esp. 93–95 and Yang Qinghua 楊青華 and Yang Quan 楊權 2017 for a point of departure on this topic. See also the discussion in Xu Jianwei 徐建委 2011a: 113–20.

It is interesting to note that, among all the Five Classics, only the *Odes* (*Shi* 詩) bear the name of a tradition (Lu, Qi, Han, or Mao) consistently when referring to the standard phrase "from this point onwards, there exist for [Classic] the branch of (Mr) [surname] studies" in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter (*Rulin zhuan* 儒林傳) of the *Hanshu*. This could explain Elstein's choice to consistently translate all *xue* in *Odes*-related phrases as "branch". It is important to highlight that Elstein translates *xue* related to *Gongyang* 公羊 and *Guliang* 穀梁 *Springs and Autumns* 春秋 differently, using "tradition" for their *xue*.[385] This distinction may arise from the fact that both *Gongyang* and *Guliang Springs and Autumns* are later recognized as part of the Thirteen Classics. Elstein's choice of words reflects his perception of the *Odes* as a distinct Classic, while *Gongyang* and *Guliang Springs and Autumns* are treated as standalone Classics, similar to *Changes* (*Yi* 易), *Documents* (*Shu* 書), and *Rites* (*Li* 禮). In the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter (*Rulin zhuan* 儒林傳), Elstein's choice seems appropriate, but it may not be consistent with other accounts in *Hanshu*. In the "Treatise on Arts and Literatures" chapter (*Yiwen zhi* 藝文志), the accounts of *Odes* and *Springs and Autumns* share similar origins with early traditions from the Western Han period. On the other hand, the records of *Changes*, *Documents*, and *Rites* are associated with much later texts.[386]

Chu Shaosun's case serves as a turning point in the Han Dynasty's developmental history of the lines of affiliation of *Odes* interpretations. Despite being

[385] Elstein 2006: 245 and 252–53.
[386] Xu Jianwei 徐建委 2017b: 91.

acknowledged as a *Lu Shi* scholar and transmitter, the majority of the records contrastingly suggest that he should not be regarded as a *Lu Shi* scholar. This discrepancy raises fundamental questions regarding the existence and transmission of stable knowledge within lines of affiliation and prompts an exploration into the purpose and systematic recording of these affiliations.

2.2. Why were the lines of affiliation, or master–student affiliations, recorded?

The research above regarding the transmission history of *Lu Shi* among Wang Shi and Chu Shaosun provides a comprehensive insight into the development of the *Odes* interpretative traditions in the Western Han dynasty.

Chu, having received Wang's *Lu Shi* teaching, supplemented it with his own distinct interpretations, thereby enriching the existing knowledge of Wang's *Odes*. His exceptional classical interpretation abilities, "embellishments", earned him the position of Pupil of Academicians and later as an Academician, attributing his scholarship to a *Lu Shi* line of affiliation. Chu was notable for establishing his own branch of studies and openly expressing scepticism toward *Lu Shi* interpretations of the *Odes*.

David Elstein provides several potential reasons for the importance of tracing back the line of affiliation, including establishing the authority of a classicist as a teacher, the value of belonging to a renowned tradition and an eminent teacher, and competition for the emperor's favour.[387] While these reasons may not directly align

[387] Elstein 2006: 154–58.

with Chu's case, they form the basis for the Han imperial court's efforts to compile a comprehensive understanding of different lines of interpretations of classics.

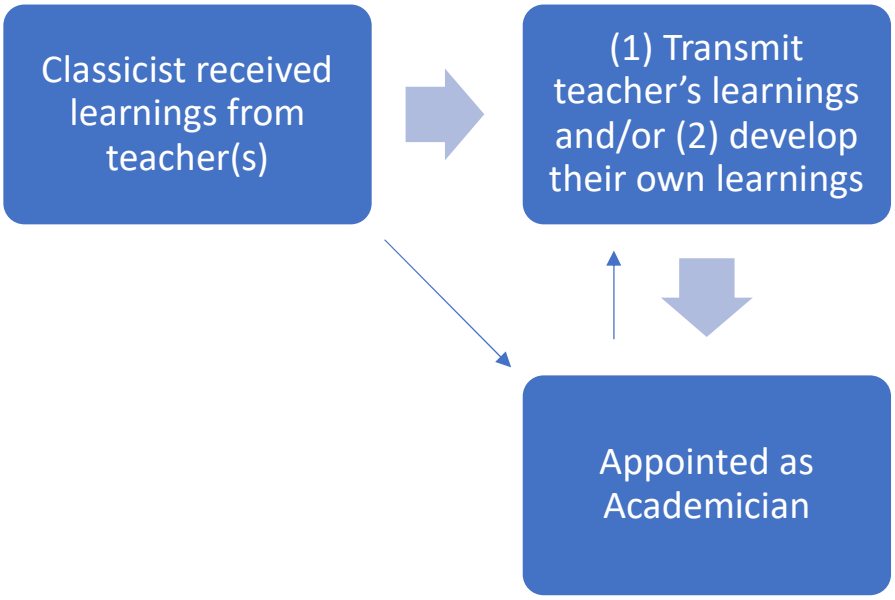
In summary, the receipt of teachings of a line of affiliation, development of personalized interpretations of the classic, and establishment as an Academician attached to a line are not contradictory, but their cause–effect relationship should be differentiated. Traditionally, it is described that Chu was appointed as a *Lu Shi* Academician due to receiving teachings from a *Lu Shi* master and presenting *Lu Shi* in the court. The master–student connections within the field of classics, and by extension the substance of one's education, determined the appointment or endorsement of an individual as an Academician along a particular line of affiliation.[388] However, in the cases analysed, classicists earned their Academician position based on their individual knowledge, and their master–student affiliations were subsequently traced back to determine their allocated line of affiliation. The process had little to do with the similarity of the scholarship of a classicist and the line he was ascribed to.

The conventional belief and the propositions presented in this article can be juxtaposed in the following chart, showing the logical reasoning of knowledge transmission and official positions:

Conventional belief: →

Suggestion of this article: ➡

[388] Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan have pointed out this pitfall: "There are no grounds to conflate paradigms of discipleship as conceptualized in late Warring States and early Han with the notion of multi-generational textual lineages that arose later in China." (Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: 65).



The significance of master–student affiliations should not be dismissed. However, this thesis posits that master–student relationships continue to play a crucial role in determining the academic lineage to which a scholar is affiliated. The perspective offered here differs from traditional scholarship. It was not the master–student relationships that produced the next generation of scholars, but rather the classicists who earned their positions through their own proficiency in classical erudition. The lines of affiliation are closely intertwined with the master–student relationships, as the latter were primarily used to determine the appropriate line of affiliation for individuals. From the perspective of the Han imperial court, the primary concern lay in organizing various officials, including newly appointed ones. While a certain level of classical knowledge was a prerequisite for obtaining an Academician position, adherence to a teacher's or line of affiliation's scholarship was not necessary. This does not imply that the imperial court disregarded the classical

knowledge of the scholars, but rather that scholars were free to establish their own areas of expertise.[389]

The academic context of the master–student affiliations underscored the importance of possessing a certain level of knowledge of the classics to secure or earn an imperial appointment. The records of master–student affiliations primarily served the growing need to organize officials, rather than discussing the dissemination or transmission of knowledge or emphasizing competition among or within lines of affiliation. It is only when viewed from this perspective that the historical records become coherent: Chu Shaosun received *Lu Shi*'s scholarship from Wang Shi, and contemporary Academicians were impressed by his exceptional performance and knowledge of the Classics, leading to his appointment as a *Lu Shi* Academician.

In summary, the records pertaining to Chu Shaosun present what appears to be a paradoxical scenario: (1) up to Wang Shi's generation, including Wei Xian, the transmission and preservation of *Lu Shi*'s scholarship from Master Shen was effectively carried out by a few masters;[390] (2) there is insufficient evidence to demonstrate any reliable trace of the content of what was (not) transmitted or followed within a line; (3) the effective transmission and preservation, however, was not a strict requirement or regulation for a classicist to be affiliated under a master (as opposed to a teacher). The case of Chu Shaosun illustrates that a

[389] David Elstein contends that academic success served as a pathway to securing positions within the government, advancing in rank, and establishing a lasting legacy. He challenges Mark Lewis's perspective, which he believes overemphasizes the impact of scholars, and also refutes Michael Nylan's viewpoint of their underappreciation. See Elstein 2006: 159–75 for further details.
[390] Honey 2021: 225–40, esp. 234–35 and 248, provide examples and studies about the transmission of classical knowledge during the Han dynasty. However, Cai Liang 蔡亮 may dispute this, as she questions whether the Academicians were able to secure high official positions, suggesting that they were only a "powerless minority" (Cai 2014: 6).

classicist was at liberty to establish his own form of study within a particular line of affiliation. The transmission of *Odes* studies from Wang Shi to Chu Shaosun highlights the coexistence of receiving classical knowledge and formulating one's own interpretations.

Chapter Five: Ban Gu and *Hanshu*'s Records About Classicists

1. Introduction

Following a thorough investigation into Chu Shaosun's classical scholarship recorded in standard histories, this chapter aims to examine the historiography surrounding the record. It is reasonable to question the accuracy of Ban Gu's 班固 *Hanshu* 漢書 record on classicists, as it differs from *Shiji*'s 史記 record in terms of the expansion of the classicist group and their influence. A historical record inevitably reflects the historian's ideas, understanding, knowledge, and biases, whether or not they sought to manipulate history. Therefore, this chapter will discuss Ban Gu's historical records.

One might question Ban Gu's motives for recording the learning process. Was there an underlying purpose behind his decision to document Chu Shaosun's classical learning process? According to *Hanshu*, Chu's classical education was directly taught by Wang Shi 王式, a record that sets him apart from other Academicians recorded in *Hanshu*. Why did Ban include this record to suggest that Chu only learned "several pieces" (*shu pian* 數篇)? Was he criticizing *Lu Shi* and previous and contemporary classicists?

Building on the case of Chu Shaosun discussed in earlier chapters of this thesis, this chapter examines the reliability of historical records, particularly those found in Ban Gu's *Hanshu*, in relation to the lines of affiliation of classical interpretations. It argues that the writings of classicists should be understood as a blend of narratives and objective histories, offering new insights into the credibility of the traditional four lines of *Odes* interpretation. Ban Gu did not aim to provide an accurate transmission of classical studies; rather, he sought to present a historical narrative of the classicists and the position of the Academicians. Ultimately, despite any underlying agenda he may have had, Ban Gu did not attempt to resolve the inconsistencies in his accounts of classical studies. This reveals that his agenda did not align with portraying a coherent transmission of classical scholarship.[391]

2. Chu Shaosun in *Hanshu*

Timoteus Pokora (1928–1985) wrote an article discussing the biography of Chu Shaosun. Upon analysing the same narrative, Pokora concluded that Ban Gu criticized Chu Shaosun for being a "Confucian scholar" who was without "a profound knowledge" [392] of the classics. This caused difficulties during the election of Pupils of Academicians because they were "unable to formulate their opinions clearly when faced with doubtful questions."[393]

[391] Readers can refer to Chin 2014: 143–88 (esp. 143–50) for an in-depth discussion of the historiographies surrounding the Shiji and Hanshu, particularly in relation to their accounts of the Xiongnu 匈奴 and economic markets.
[392] Pokora 1981: 411.
[393] Pokora 1981: 411.

Later, Hans van Ess conducted a detailed investigation of Chu's supplement to *Shiji* and opined that critics disliked Chu's historiography.[394] Van Ess agreed with Pokora and added the observation that "Wang Shi had been unwilling to teach Chu more than a couple of poems from the *Odes*", after which Chu was "successful at court, despite having failed some unspecified part of an examination."[395]

Overall, Pokora and Van Ess state that Ban attacked Chu because of his discontentment with Chu supplementing *Shiji*.[396] Ban expresses such disagreement as a historian by portraying Chu as an incompetent classicist.

2.1. Chu Shaosun's classical training

Nonetheless, Timoteus Pokora and Hans van Ess's suggestions do not align with the historical account in the following ways:

(1) Wang Shi's biography, consisting of a mere 530 characters, reveals that he withdrew from teaching or office at least three times throughout his career. First, after the Prince of Changyi 昌邑王 incident,[397] Wang "returned home and no longer taught or transmitted" (*gui jia bu jiao shou* 歸家不教授).[398] Second, when teaching Chu Shaosun, Wang "refused to repeat teaching" (*bu ken fu shou* 不肯復授).[399]

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[394] Van Ess 2015a: 494.
[395] Van Ess 2015a: 495.
[396] Readers will find it useful to consult the following works for the biography of Chu Shaosun and his interpolation to *Shiji* 史記: Chessa 1978; Loewe 2000: 49–50; Loewe 2003: 73; Schaab-Hanke 2003; and Chang 2010.
[397] *Hanshu* 漢書 72.3062, 88.3610, and 89.3638.
[398] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[399] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

Third, after being humiliated by Academician Master Jiang 博士江公, Wang "withdrew [from office] due to illness and returned home where he spent the rest of his life" (*xie bing mian gui zhong yu jia* 謝病免歸，終於家).[400] Thus, it appears that Wang's "unwillingness to teach" was a personal habit rather than a result of his discontentment towards Chu.

(2) Pokora and van Ess's argument about the failure in the examination was likely based on the record "For matters that were subject to doubt, they refrained from voicing an opinion" (*yi zhe qiu gai bu yan* 疑者丘蓋不言).[401] However, it is not accurate to consider the examination results a failure for the following reasons: Firstly, Chu's eventual success in acquiring the Pupil position results from surprising Academicians positively in the examination. Michael Nylan also agreed the Academicians were "astonished at the degree of savoir faire they [i.e. Chu Shaosun and Tang Zhangbin 唐長賓] displayed".[402] Secondly, Chu's *Odes* teacher, Wang Shi, was "recommended together" (*gong jian* 共薦) by Academicians, and later "[the emperor] proclaimed the edict to appoint [him as] an Academician" (*zhao chuxia wei boshi* 詔除下為博士).[403] Thirdly, when meeting with various Counsellors and Academicians, "together they brought alcoholic beverages and meat to extol [Wang] Shi, all paying attention and looking up to him" (*gong chi jiurou lao Shi, jie zhu yi gao yang zhi* 共持酒肉勞式，皆注意高仰之).[404] In conclusion, Chu's entire performance in the election, including the alleged failure,

[400] *Hanshu* 88: 3610.
[401] *Hanshu* 88: 3610.
[402] Nylan 2005: 20.
[403] *Hanshu* 88: 3610.
[404] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

was likely considered appropriate and favourable, meeting the standard of being an Academician instead of a failed act.[405]

(3) David Elstein's doctoral study on master–student relations in China includes a chapter dedicated to the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter (*Rulin zhuan* 儒林傳) in the *Hanshu*. Elstein notes that Ban Gu used certain criteria to determine a student's line of affiliation, and one important criterion was the student's eminence. "Another important reason that students are included in someone's teaching lineage is that they were eminent people in their own right and associating them with a teacher reflects some glory back on that teacher for having taught such important people."[406] Upon examining Chu Shaosun's case, it appears that neither his teacher, Wang Shi, nor Chu himself were considered eminent during their time. Wang Shi failed to transform Liu He 劉賀 by teaching him *Odes* repeatedly and days and nights, being insulted by an Academician, and hiding himself from teaching ever after. Neither of them had individual biographies, except for the record of Chu's learning of *Odes* and eventually being appointed as *Lu Shi* Academician. In standard historical records including *Shiji* and *Hanshu*, we can hardly find any traces of Chu, except for a part that is believed to be written by himself. Elstein's conclusion suggests that *Hanshu*'s attitude towards Chu was not too negative, as he was treated the same as other eminent classicists who held high offices.[407] Furthermore, Elstein demonstrated Chu Shaosun's learning experience under Wang Shi as an example

[405] In an email exchange, Hans van Ess elaborated on his perspective regarding what should have been considered a shortcoming in the examination. He contended that the students should have found a way to study the sections of the *Odes* that were not covered in Wang Shi's instruction. Their inability to do so meant that their lack of commentary on those sections was unavoidable. According to van Ess, the ability to impress examiners is not synonymous with being a proficient classical scholar (personal communication, September 2024).
[406] Elstein 2006: 153.
[407] Elstein 2006: 172–73.

that "successful students enhanced a teacher's reputation".[408] Elstein thus states that "the fact that he [Wang Shi] had an opportunity to come back to the capital and be an academician was due to his illustrious students".[409]

(4) Wang Shi's teaching style might not be expressing his personal attitude towards Chu, but a style of *Lu Shi* teaching. According to historical records about the first *Lu Shi* classicist Master Shen 申公, Shen maintained a policy of "omitting and refusing to transmit if in doubt" (*yi zhe ze que bu chuan* 疑者則闕不傳) when teaching the *Odes*.[410] Qian Mu 錢穆 (1895–1990) notes that, "Wang Shi, who still preserved Master Shen's viewpoint, omitting and not transmitting if in doubt, so what he said was sketchy and he refused to explain in a glossy and appealing way" (*Wang Shi reng shou Shen Gong yilai queyi fu chuan zhi zhi, gu suo yan jianlüe, buken ju wenshi shuo ye* 王式仍守申公以來闕疑弗傳之旨，故所言簡略，不肯具文飾說也).[411] These records suggest that Wang Shi's teaching style, along with Chu Shaosun's tendency to "refrain from venturing opinions if in doubt",[412] were in line with *Lu Shi*'s traditions. As a result, explanations offered by Timoteus Pokora and Hans van Ess do not align with other *Lu Shi*-related records.

2.2. Chu Shaosun's classical knowledge

[408] Elstein 2006: 172.
[409] Elstein 2006: 173.
[410] *Shiji* 121.3121.
[411] Qian Mu 錢穆 2001: 227.
[412] *Hanshu* 88: 3610.

Timoteus Pokora and Hans van Ess's point of view is based on the possibility that Ban Gu's attack on Chu Shaosun was motivated by the latter's falsification and interpolation of *Shiji*. Ban's reasons for doing so could be personal disdain, academic dissent, or a desire to protect the integrity of state-supported historical records.

However, Yi Ping 易平 offers the opinion that Ban might not have been aware of Chu's later widely accepted interpolations to *Shiji*.[413] Lu Shih-hao 呂世浩 (Lü Shihao), on the other hand, suggests that Ban intentionally avoided using Chu's interpolations.[414] Regardless of the reason, Ban did not need to undermine Chu's academic or historical credibility in *Hanshu* since Chu's writing was already excluded. In fact, the attack on Chu's credibility by the narrative might have the opposite effect of increasing a reader's confidence in Chu's knowledge of classical studies. This can be further explained through the following points:

First, the story reveals that Chu Shaosun was proficient in at least two Classics, as indicated by the records in *Shiji* that are attributed to him.[415] He specifically mentions his expertise in the *Springs and Autumns* (*Chunqiu* 春秋) early on in his career, without referencing the *Odes*:

> 褚先生曰：臣以通經術，受業博士，治《春秋》，以高第為郎。幸得宿衛，出入宮殿中十有餘年。[416]
> Scholar Chu says, because of my thorough understanding of classical arts,[417] received training from Academicians, and paid attention to the *Springs and*

[413] Yi Ping 易平 2000: 151–80.
[414] Lu Shih-hao 呂世浩 (Lü Shihao) 2015.
[415] Lü Shihao 2015.
[416] *Shiji* 128.3225.
[417] Van Ess 2015c: 479, also n. 124 translates "經術" into "arts associated with the classics". Baccini

> *Autumns*, I was appointed as a Gentleman at Arms through high grades. I was fortunate to obtain a post in the Palace Guard, and I enjoyed entrée to the palace for some ten years.

This means that, even if Ban Gu fabricated the story of Chu learning the *Odes* under Wang Shi, it does not support the accusation that Chu "did not have a profound knowledge"[418] of the Classics. Instead, it adds another Classic to his repertoire, which strengthens the reader's confidence in Chu's comprehensive knowledge of different types of Classics. It would be illogical for Ban to falsely implicate Chu's own "branch of Chu studies" from *Lu Shi* if his only goal was to diminish Chu's credibility. Additionally, Chu Shaosun's ancestor, Chu Da 褚大, who lived in his grandparent's generation, was noted as being "comprehensively knowledgeable on the Five Classics and being an Academician" (*tong wujing, wei boshi* 通五經，為博士). This suggests that Chu Shaosun followed in his ancestor's footsteps and mastered more than one Classic.

Second, if the purpose of the story was to undermine Chu's credibility in classical knowledge, Ban Gu's attack also included Tang Zhangbin 唐長賓 and their *Lu Shi* teacher Wang Shi 王式. However, neither of them had any involvement in supplementing or interpolating content in *Shiji*, nor did they have any known conflict with Ban. It would be unusual for Ban, a classicist who was tasked with compiling historical records by the emperor, to include innocent and prominent classicists such as Wang Shi in his target of attack just to discredit one individual.

2015: 119 translates it into "canonical learning".
[418] Pokora 1981: 411.

2.2.1. Mastering both *Shi* 《詩》 and *Chunqiu* 《春秋》

There are other examples in the Western Han dynasty of individuals who have mastered more than one classic,[419] including the *Springs and Autumns* and *Odes*.[420] One such example is Master Shen 申公, the first *Lu Shi* Academician, who "taught both the *Odes* and the *Springs and Autumns*" (*yi Shi, Chunqiu shou* 以《詩》、《春秋》授).[421] A corresponding record indicates that one of his students, Master Jiang of Xiaqiu 瑕丘江公, "received teachings on the *Guliang* line of affiliation of *Springs and Autumns*[422] and the *Odes* from Master Shen of Lu" (*shou Gulian Chunqiu ji Shi yu Lu Shen Gong* 受《穀梁春秋》及《詩》於魯申公).[423]

The case of Master Jiang of Xiaqiu is one that merits investigation. According to *Hanshu*, "Master Jiang of Xiaqiu was completely able to transmit the teaching and had the most students" (*Xiaqiu Jiang Gong jin neng chuan zhi, tu zhong zuisheng* 瑕丘江公盡能傳之，徒眾最盛)[424] among the students of Master Shen. Based on the aforementioned records, both Master Jiang of Xiaqiu and his classical teacher, Master Shen, were proficient in the *Odes* and the *Springs and Autumns*. It is difficult to determine whether the statement itself refers to one or both Classics.

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[419] Pokora 1981: 426.
[420] It is worth noting that based on the information presented in the records, it is possible that Chu might have been proficient in more than one classic texts, but Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1927) raises doubts about whether "Mister Chu", who mastered the *Springs and Autumns*, and "Chu Shaosun", who mastered the *Odes*, were actually the same person (*Chu Xiansheng zhi Chunqiu, er Shaosun zhi Shi, yi fei yiren* 褚先生治《春秋》，而少孫治《詩》，疑非一人) (Li Chaoyuan 李朝遠 and Wo Xinghua 沃興華 2009: 76).
[421] *Hanshu* 88.3608.
[422] Regarding which line of affiliation of *Springs and Autumns* Chu received, readers will find it useful to consult Ma Xin 馬昕 2013: 170–1.
[423] *Hanshu* 88.3617.
[424] *Hanshu* 88.3608.

However, considering the structure and organization of the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter in the *Hanshu*, it seems likely that the statement refers to the *Odes*. Master Jiang of Xiaqiu is recorded as one of the iconic classicists in the *Guliang* line of affiliation of *Springs and Autumns*, and he has a dedicated record in that section. By contrast, he is recorded as an ordinary student in the section dedicated to Master Shen. Additionally, one of his students is recorded as "completely able to transmit his *Odes* and *Springs and Autumns*" (*jin neng chuan qi Shi, Chunqiu* 盡能傳其《詩》、《春秋》).[425] All of these records indicate that Master Jiang of Xiaqiu was well-versed in both the *Odes* and the *Springs and Autumns*.

As quoted above, Chu once spoke about his early career as mastering the *Springs and Autumns*.[426] Chu's words reveal that he was proud of his knowledge of classical arts, particularly the *Springs and Autumns*, during his early career. However, the only transmitted evidence of his classical learning process comes from his experience learning the *Odes* under Wang Shi 王式.[427] This raises the question of whether the training of a mere "several pieces" (*su pian* 數篇) of the *Odes* is enough to classify him as a *Lu Shi* Academician and even establish his own branch of studies (*Chu shi zhi xue* 褚氏之學).[428]

Despite this, combining the records available suggests that Chu Shaosun had mastered both the *Odes* and the *Springs and Autumns*. According to Pokora's

[425] *Hanshu* 88.3617.
[426] *Shiji* 128.3225.
[427] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[428] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

research, Chu may have learned the *Springs and Autumns* first before learning the *Odes* from Wang Shi later in life.[429]

Chu discussed how he landed the position of Gentleman at Arms (*lang* 郎).[430] Interestingly, there is a similar statement in the well-known proposal by Gongsun Hong 公孫弘 to Emperor Wu regarding the recruitment of Pupils of Academicians (*boshi dizi* 博士弟子).[431] During the recruitment process, chosen commoners received education under the guidance of the Superintendent of Ceremonial (*taichang* 太常), with the promise that "those with high grades will be able to become Gentleman of the Palace" (*qi gaodi keyi wei langzhong* 其高第可以為郎中).[432] Huang Qingxuan 黃慶萱 argues, with supporting evidence, that the word "*lang*" 郎 should have been used instead of "*langzhong*" 郎中,[433] which further reinforces Chu's self-proclaimed title.

On the appointment of Academicians, there were no strict rules until the reign of Emperor Wu.[434] The case of Chu illustrates the lack of clear guidelines. According

[429] Pokora 1981: 427.
[430] Readers will find it useful to consult the following works dedicated to *lang* 郎: Yen Keng-wang 嚴耕望 (Yan Gengwang) 1951; Loewe 2004: 131–32; and Huang Yi-chun 黃怡君 (Huang Yijun) 2024: 182–87.
[431] For the process by which Academicians and Pupils of Academicians were elected in the Han dynasty, readers may consult the following works: Nishikawa Toshifumi 西川利文 1990 and 1991; Liu Pak-yuen 廖伯源 (Liao Boyuan) 1998: 13–14; and An Zuozhang 安作璋 and Xiong Tieji 熊鐵基. 2007: 830–33; Nagata Hidemasa 永田英正 2018: 70–73; and Huang Yi-chun 2024: 238–48.
[432] *Hanshu* 88.3594. *Langzhong* 郎中 was the lowest level of court Gentleman at three hundred bushels (*sanbai dan* 三百石). See Liu Pak-yuen 1998: 53. Huang Yi-chun 2024: 95–96 provides explanations on the proposal.
[433] Huang Qingxuan 黃慶萱 2008: 33–34. Huang presented philological evidence and quite some examples of classicists who appointed *lang* when they initiated their careers.
[434] Zufferey 2003: 193. The book by Nicolas Zufferey devoted to the *ru* 儒 (classicist) and *boshi* 博士 (Academician) in Qin and Han dynasties is useful to understand the history of the establishment of Academicians.

to Chu himself, he considered his expertise to be in the *Springs and Autumns* rather than the *Odes*. When he completed his academic training, he only mentioned the *Springs and Autumns*. This supports the conclusion drawn in Chapter 4 of this thesis: Chu received training in only "several pieces" of the *Odes* from Wang Shi, a *Lu Shi* master. He then established his own interpretation of the *Odes*, which was ratified by the imperial court as affiliated with *Lu Shi*.

It is worth investigating whether the classicists recorded in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter in *Hanshu* specialized in just one text. David Elstein correctly pointed out that "Academicians were appointed for a specific interpretation, though they could teach others. A teacher made a name for himself by mastering one particular version of a text and establishing himself as an authority on that interpretation."[435] However, it is important to note that this may be due to the neat structure of the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter, which categorized classicists into different lines of affiliation.

As demonstrated in Chapter 4 of this thesis, the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter in *Hanshu* has been fulfilling its proper duty of portraying the historical picture by categorizing classicists. In Chu Shaosun's case, he is clearly categorized by the *Hanshu* as a *Lu Shi* Academician. However, what he mastered or what he considered himself to have mastered may have been different from the mere affiliation he attached to. In other words, even though Chu is only recorded as a *Lu Shi* Academician, it does not confine his classical knowledge to *Lu Shi*, especially not confining him to Wang Shi's *Lu Shi*.

[435] Elstein 2006: 146.

When we analyse *Hanshu*'s depiction of Chu Shaosun's life, we can arrive at a conclusion that differs greatly from the beliefs of Timoteus Pokora and Hans van Ess. It appears that Chu was a classicist who had a thorough understanding of the *Springs and Autumns*, as well as a ratified Academician in the *Odes* due to his learning experiences. This ratification was earned despite his limited exposure to the teachings of *Lu Shi* classicist Wang Shi.[436] David Elstein's assertion that "Basically, a student is considered part of a given teacher's lineage if he passed on that interpretation when he became a teacher, possibly establishing his own branch of the teacher's lineage"[437] may not entirely apply to Chu. Although he may have only gained a small amount of knowledge from his *Lu Shi* teacher, Chu was still able to establish his own branch of *Lu Shi* studies.

3. Classicists in *Hanshu*

3.1. "Traditions of Classicists" chapter

Despite the clear records presented in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter (*Rulin zhuan* 儒林傳) of *Hanshu*, there are concerns regarding their authenticity. Could Ban Gu, the author of this chapter, have fabricated the entire story to advance a particular agenda? This thesis will delve deeper into this suspicion before addressing any of the research questions at hand.[438]

[436] Elstein 2006: 144–451 highlights the allowance for and commonness of classicists in the Han period to access instruction from various teachers.
[437] Elstein 2006: 152.
[438] For the whole historical framework that lay behind Ban Gu, his attitude towards *Shiji*, and how he

Scholars have raised doubts about the records of Academicians' lineage in Ban Gu's *Hanshu*, citing forged narratives and exaggerated claims. According to Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan, Ban Gu sought to "reinforce the implied parallel between faithful service to the dynasty and faithful transmission of the canonical traditions."[439] As a result, "the greater the emphasis on state-sponsored transmission, the greater the likelihood of falsified connections and forged texts, since learning that enjoyed imperial patronage was bound to be traded and bought as a valuable commodity."[440] In an article later, Nylan once again stated that the *Hanshu* "Traditions of Classicists" chapter assured the "unity and coherence" of classical scholarship by describing the "dramatic rise in the number of classicists on the government payroll; this overall rise was mirrored in the number of Academicians at court." [441]

In another subsequent article, Michael Nylan turns the emphasis on the "major shifts in interpretive focus over time"[442] and the Han imperial court's "disinclination to impose an ideological orthodoxy on its men of learning".[443] Combining these perspectives, it becomes clear that the records of fixed and stable lines of affiliation and the flourishing of classical interpretations may not be as solid as presented in *Hanshu*. In other words, Ban Gu or the information providers had room and incentive to fabricate stable lines and connections among classicists.[444]

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reacted to them on the compilation of *Hanshu*, readers will find it beneficial on consulting Ng and Wang 2005: 67–76 and Loewe 2015a: 333–55.

[439] Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: 87.

[440] Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: 89.

[441] Nylan 2005: 14–15.

[442] Nylan 2008a: 724.

[443] Nylan 2008a: 740–41.

[444] Nylan 2014: 161 mentions the close relationship between manuscripts and relations such as master–pupil in late Western Han. Nylan 2014: 166–67 also talks about the criticism in late Western

Fukui Shigemasa 福井重雅 (1935–2020) also suggested that some of *Hanshu*'s records were falsified in favour of Ban Gu's own political views. Fukui believes that Ban Gu, who was blinded by his bias towards contemporary politics and academia, assimilated his thoughts into *Hanshu*. Therefore, *Hanshu* should not be regarded as an objective historical record. For example, Fukui believes Ban has embellished the biography of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BC) and forged the record about "Confucianism becoming official studies" (*jukyō no kangaku-ka* 儒教の官學化),[445] that is, the institutionalization of the study of the Five Classics.

Cai Liang 蔡亮 also expresses a view that both *Shiji* and *Hanshu* compiled their "Traditions of Classicists" chapters in order to create the *ru* 儒 class.[446] The class thrived after the witchcraft scandal in the reign of Emperor Wu 武帝 (*r*. 141–87 BC) and the advocacy of Huo Guang 霍光 (?–68 BC).[447] Cai Liang proposed that to create the *ru* 儒 class adherent to what Sima Qian had done in *Shiji*, Ban Gu planned to portray a "homogeneous textual community."[448]

Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan, Fukui, and Cai's major points of view and deductions are not similar, but they have one view in common on *Hanshu*: Ban Gu carefully

Han of the Academicians defending their lines of affiliation instead of the classics.
[445] Fukui Shigemasa 福井重雅 2005: 517–18.
[446] Cai 2014: 4–5. Readers may also consult Cai 2011. Cai provides a more detailed explanation of this point in Cai 2014, Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. Additionally, readers can refer to Durrant, Li, Nylan, and van Ess 2016 for discussions on the various perspectives regarding the significance of the "Letter to Ren An" (*Bao Ren An shu* 報任安書) in reflecting Sima Qian's intention in compiling *Shiji*.
[447] Cai 2014: 151.
[448] Cai 2014: 56.

edited or manipulated the records about the affiliations of classicists in *Hanshu* in order to portrait a relatively stable and continuous transmission of classical studies.

On top of doubts about Fukui's[449] and Cai's[450] research, their suspicion does not fit in with the text quoted in this thesis. Ban Gu seemed not to have an agenda of creating the legitimacy of textual transmission. Quite the contrary, Ban preserved

[449] Fukui Shigemasa's book about about *jukyō no kangaku-ka* 儒教の官學化 (Fukui Shigemasa 2005), has been the subject of substantial criticism. Fukui has been accused of employing selective criteria to manipulate historical records to align with his theory. When these criteria were relaxed, divergent conclusions emerged from the same data set. Tomiya Itaru 冨谷至 wrote a comprehensive critique of the book, challenging its validity chapter by chapter. Tomiya highlighted Fukui's hasty dismissal of the credibility of the *Hanshu* records and manipulation of key definitions such as "acceptance of Confucianism", "Confucianism" (*jukyō* 儒教), "Confucian studies" (*jugaku* 儒學), "state religion" (*kokkyō* 國教), and "official studies" (*kangaku* 官學), which resulted in contrasting historical interpretations. See Tomiya Itaru 冨谷至 2005. Sawada Takio 澤田多喜男 expressed concerns about Fukui's unwarranted skepticism regarding the establishment of the Academicians of Five Classics and potential oversight of the process's long-term nature. See Sawada Takio 澤田多喜男 2005. Similarly, Shiroyama Takanobu 城山陽宣 published a detailed critique, questioning Fukui's work from various perspectives, including the distinction between private and public historical records, record manipulation, and the possibility and challenges of Ban Gu systematically forging records throughout the *Hanshu*. See Shiroyama Takanobu 城山陽宣 2007. Other contributions by Watanabe Yoshihiro 渡邉義浩 (Watanabe Yoshihiro 渡邉義浩 2005b) provide valuable insights into the latest related research and offer a compiled list of related works from Japan, China, and abroad, while Hoshina Sueko's 保科季子 work (Hoshina Sueko 保科季子 2008) offers further avenues of exploration regarding scholarly discussions among Japanese academics. In addition to Japanese scholars, Chen Hung-sen 陳鴻森 has presented findings merging different records from *Shiji* and *Hanshu*, demonstrating the establishment of Classical Academicians predated Fukui's claims. See Chen Hung-sen 陳鴻森 (Chen Hongsen) 2005. Deng Hong 鄧紅, who studied in Japan and currently lectures there, has published multiple articles challenging Fukui's assertions, consolidating scholars' works to refute the existence of a "definitive theory" (*teisetsu* 定說) regarding the history of Confucian studies as suggested by Fukui. See Deng Hong 鄧紅 2014. Watanabe Yoshihiro 渡邉義浩 also orchestrated a discussion forum on Fukui's book, with the majority of the report offering commendations. See Watanabe Yoshihiro 2005a: 199–218. However, Deng Hong subsequently published a scathing critique, raising doubts about the forum's purpose and academic credibility due to the perceived close relationship between proponents and their reciprocal endorsements. See Deng Hong 2015.

[450] Similar to Fukui, Cai faced criticism for not taking into account different perspectives when interpreting historical records, which could lead to significantly different conclusions. According to Hans van Ess, the role of *ru* 儒 might not have been as significant as suggested in an independent biography in *Shiji*, and the records may have merely reflected the foundation of the rise of Confucianism rather than elevating its status. Additionally, the promotion of *ru* may not have been driven by Ban Gu's or the Emperor's agenda, but rather by circumstantial forces that compelled the Emperor to utilize them. See van Ess 2015b: 342 and 346. Michael Nylan's critique highlighted several concerns regarding Cai's book, including its reliance on a monocausal hypothesis to explain complex historical events, misconceptions about Han institutions, shortcomings in handling the "Traditions of Classicists" chapters, and deficiencies in the analysis of primary and secondary sources. See Nylan 2015. Additionally, Michael Loewe's review article focused primarily on the treatment of Han government institutions. See Loewe 2014.

the evidence showing a lack of faithful transmission of classical studies. At least in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter, there was no faithful transmission of classical knowledge that could be observed. All we can see is only the plain records of classicists' lines of affiliation.

As in the quoted records in this chapter, the "canonical tradition" or "textual community" obviously failed to be transmitted, let alone unified, from Wang Shi to Chu Shaosun. Out of the total 305 pieces, Wang Shi merely taught a few pieces of the *Odes* to Chu Shaosun, and then asked him to elaborate on the remaining pieces by polishing them. This record shows that the *Odes* was apparently not transmitted completely. Moreover, the contemporary Academicians were not capable of recognizing what lines of scholarship Chu and Tang Zhangbin presented, yet both of them were eventually ratified as *Lu Shi* Academicians. If the alleged agenda of "faithful transmission" of a "homogeneous" text or "unity and coherence" of classical studies is conveyed by Ban Gu, his record of such a story in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter is a direct contradiction to what he wanted to persuade the readers. This record only reflects that the teacher's or recension's scholarship was actually not fully transmitted.

Moreover, among all *Odes* classicists recorded in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter in *Hanshu*, the record of Wang, Tang, and Chu is the only record describing details of a direct transmission of classical knowledge. Almost all other records in the chapter, there only recorded the line of affiliation of classicists instead of describing or explaining the scholarship or their transmission themselves. Considering this fact, one simple question should be prompted to ask, if we accept

Ban Gu as a man with logic: Why did he spend the effort inventing and interpolating such a story of an incomplete transmission of classical scholarship? Ban had every reason to keep only the phrase "to serve [Wang] Shi" (*shi Shi* 事式)[451] to convey his alleged agenda. Such a phrase—as normal as any other records about classicists and Academicians in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter—would be sufficient to establish a "faithful" transmission or "unity and coherence" of classical scholarship without raising any doubt.

Albeit I am not questioning that *Hanshu* was overall intended to praise the Han dynasty,[452] based on the above deductions, it is rather unlikely that Ban forged or manipulated the quoted record to construct the stable transmission of classical studies—the quoted record contradicts the alleged purpose. On the contrary, Ban seemed to be well aware of discrepancies among and within lines and thus did not feel the necessity to treat those records differently but to just keep them that way.

3.2. *Lu Shi*

People might suspect that Ban Gu conveyed political biases in *Hanshu* by attacking *Lu Shi*. He might have attacked *Lu Shi* by claiming that the transmission of *Odes* studies among *Lu Shi* scholars is problematic in order to promote *Qi Shi* 齊詩, to which he was claimed to be an adherent.[453]

[451] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[452] Chen Qitai 陳其泰 2018: 48–52 offers an overview of Ban Gu's perspectives on the praise for the Han dynasty in the compilation of *Hanshu*, and its correlation with comparable sentiments expressed in *Lunheng* 論衡. For further insights into Ban Gu's compilation of *Hanshu* to extol the Han court, readers may refer to Honey 2021 185–96.
[453] Some scholars hold the position that Ban Gu belongs to the *Qi Shi* camp. For example, Tang Yan

However, Wang Jue 王玨 suggests that Ban Gu used all four recensions of the *Odes* interpretation in his writings without showing any preferences on lines.[454] On the other hand, Guan Xiaobin 關小彬 regarded *Baihu Tong* 白虎通 as a book compiled by Ban Gu, and he ascribed Ban Gu to *Mao Shi* 毛詩 recension.[455] Shi Yingyong 史應勇 claims that *Baihu Tong* contains both *jinwen* 今文 and *guwen* 古文 texts and interpretations.[456] In other words, there was no definitive evidence to conclude that Ban was affiliated with *Qi Shi* (or any other recensions of *Odes* interpretation), and attacked *Lu Shi* in *Hanshu* because of this affiliation. On the contrary, the "Treatise of Arts and Writings" chapter of *Hanshu* describes the *Lu Shi* as the closest interpretation to the *benyi* 本義 (original meaning) of the *Odes*, a rather positive comment on *Lu Shi* and more importantly, a positive comment after comparing the conventional recensions of *Odes* interpretation.[457] It is thus highly impossible that Ban forged a whole story of *Odes* transmission in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter to specifically attack *Lu Shi*, but gave a contradictive high comment in the "Treatise of Arts and Writings" chapter.

3.3. Ban Gu's contemporary classicists

唐晏 1986.

[454] Wang Jue 王玨 2007: 41–43.

[455] Guan Xiaobin 關小彬 2007: 38–39. Chou Te-liang 周德良 (Zhou Deliang) has proposed that Ban Gu should not be considered the author/compiler of *Baihu Tong* 白虎通 (Chou Te-liang 周德良 (Zhou Deliang) 2007: 421). Further references include Kageyama Terukuni's 影山輝国 works: Kageyama Terukuni 影山輝国 1990; 1991; and 1992.

[456] Shi Yingyong 史應勇 2007: 39–40.

[457] *Hanshu* 30.1708. Readers may consult Chen Guoqing 陳國慶 1983: 41–42 and Zhang Shunhui 張舜徽 1990: 43–44 for further explanations.

Besides Chu Shaosun and the narratives of the history of classicists, one might still doubt that Ban Gu recorded the story to attack the contemporary classicists and Academicians.

In a book review, Hans van Ess opines that Sima Qian, in his *Shiji* "Self-Postface" chapter (*Taishigong zi xu* 太史公自序), criticized classicists. "He thought that they were not well equipped for handling important affairs of the state."[458] In the "Arrayed Traditions of Classicists" chapter, "he thought that this would be the beginning of what is, in later histories, described as learning for bureaucratic success, instead of learning to become competent in something."[459] Van Ess's opinion makes a lot of sense as one might think of how Liu Xin 劉歆 (46 BC–23), who was active in the late Western Han, excoriated his contemporaries for "being narrow-minded, oblivious to much of the evidence at hand and deaf to new ideas. He further charged them with being so unacquainted with the past."[460] After all, contemporary classicists of Chu Shaosun seemed to fail to recognize his *Odes* studies but still appointed him as Pupil of *Odes* and recommended Wang Shi, who was not even present at the imperial court at that time to take up an Academician position.

The criticism of contemporary classicists, however, might not apply to the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter. First of all, although I have discussed that Ban Gu might not have tried to establish a stable transmission of classical studies for the

[458] Van Ess 2015b: 342.
[459] Van Ess 2015b: 343.
[460] Loewe 2015b: 378. Michael Loewe's work explains in more detail Liu Xin and his father, Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BC), criticizing contemporary classicists. Loewe 2015a: 353–55 also gives a concise discussion.

Odes, the alleged agenda is fundamentally contradicting by discrediting classicists. Any evidence supporting the theory suggesting Ban constructed stable transmission lines can, by and large, be used to attack the allegation of Ban attacking classicists, and vice versa. After all, if a stable transmission of classical studies existed, classicists should have been credited instead of criticized.

Furthermore, instead of suspecting Ban of criticizing someone or something in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter, these records presented themselves more directly: The story of Chu learnt *Odes* from Wang and attending the Pupil election was the information in Ban's hands. As stated above, Ban seemed to have no reason or intention to hide or expand the records about classicists in the *Odes*. Thus, when compiling a narrative of Han dynasty classicists, Ban seems to have been facing contradicting records to put together, as demonstrated in previous chapters in this thesis: (1) The contemporary Academicians failed to recognize what Chu Shaosun performed; (2) Chu transmitted only a few *Lu Shi* teachings from Wang Shi; and yet (3) Chu was appointed *Lu Shi* Academician without raising questions.

4. Ban Gu: An active compiler of historical records

In chapter four of this thesis, I have explored that Ban Gu invented the phrase "from this point onwards, there exist for [Classic] the branch of (Mr) [surname] studies" (*you/you shi ... you ... (shi) zhi xue* 由／繇是……有……（氏）之學) in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter (*Rulin zhuan* 儒林傳) to converge contradictive facts. As long as Ban Gu was trying to draw lines and invent phrases to put together the seemingly contradicting information, the lack of coherence might not make the

historical records less credible. On the contrary, it shows that the records of fixed and limited lines and flourishing classical interpretations are not highly manipulated by the historian, at least, not a forgery.[461] After all, as the final person in charge of the *Hanshu*, Ban could have edited and compiled a smooth story.

It is also worth clarifying here the concept of uninterrupted textual transmission bespoke from the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter in *Hanshu*. As discussed in chapter four and above, in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter in *Hanshu*, there were records of lines of affiliation and such records, at least at the surface, are not more than records of master–student affiliation. Whether or not there was textual or classical knowledge transmission is not something that can directly be deduced from the records. It takes a logical leap to take them as records of textual transmission. In other words, I agree with Jerome McGann's insightful suggestion that a written work (here I mean *Hanshu*) is not free from "the producers' aims and purposes toward their contemporary institutional situation" and thus "the product of an interaction between the artist, on the one hand, and a variety of social determinants on the other",[462] but I see the records of lines of affiliation itself reflect that in Ban

[461] See also Cai 2014: 111–12: "the connections between the relatively late interpretive schools and the scholarly lineages compiled by Sima Qian were created out of thin air. Rather than declare that great schools had been erected by less influential men, some people—members of the schools? Ban Gu himself?—forged a series of master–disciple relationships between obscure figures and the more famous *ru* recorded in *The Grand Scribe's Records*."

[462] McGann 1992: 100: "Literary production is not an autonomous and self-reflexive activity; it is a social and institutional event. Critical editors serve important functions within the institution and are themselves literary productions of a special sort. What they do—what they actually produce—reflects […] the producers' aims and purposes toward their contemporary institutional situation." Further explanations in Coser, Kadushin, and Powell 1982: 4: "The relations between creators of ideas and their publics are typically mediated through a variety of social processes." McGann 1985: 119: "every work of art is the product of an interaction between the artist, on the one hand, and a variety of social determinants on the other." See also McGann 1992: 54 and a summary in Stillinger 1991: 199: "The 'textual authority' of a work 'rests neither with the author nor with his affiliated institution [by which McGann means the publisher]; it resides in the actual structure of the agreements which these two cooperating authorities [and, I would add, the rest of the participants as well] reach in specific cases.'" And McKenzie 2002: 6: "In their introduction to a collection of McKenzie's writings, Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez explain, '[T]he meaning of a book

Gu's time, compared to Sima Qian's time, there was a growing trend of emphasizing the records of master–student—instead of the transmission of classics-related materials. These records are not the creation of the historian, but his compilation of earlier or contemporary texts. The flourish of classical interpretations is what Ban was facing, while as a compilator of historical records, Ban Gu tried drawing lines of affiliation to make sense of the classicists.

In the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter, there is another phrase also worth investigating: "All/have their own traditions" (*jie/zi you zhuan* 皆/自有傳). Together with chapter four of this thesis, we can see that Ban Gu was an active compiler in writing the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter. In the chapter, despite the flourishing of classical interpretations, Ban categorized classicists according to their master–student affiliations. What Ban achieved in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter is he put classicists into fixed and limited lines to make sense of the diversified classical interpretations.

The following shows all the similar phrases used in *Hanshu* and their corresponding information. For easier referencing and to aid the discussion that follows, I also include the page number of the phrase appearing in David Elstein's complete translation of the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter.

is not the product of the author's intentions alone, but of the intentions and actions of all the agents involved in its production and reception'."

Table 5-1: All cases of jie/zi you zhuan 皆/自有傳 in Hanshu

Count	**Phrase**	***Hanshu***	**Referring to whom**	**Referring to which biography in *Hanshu***	**Page in Elstein 2006**
1	自有傳 *zi you zhuan*	38.1987	劉長 Liu Chang	44.2135–53	
2		54.2467	常惠 Chang hui	70.3003–5	
3		55.2493	霍光 Huo Guang	68.2931–59	
4		76.3239	王駿 Wang Jun	72.3067–68	
5		88.3601			218
6		88.3602	京房 Jing Fang	75.3160–67	219
7		88.3603	倪寬 Ni Kuan	58.2628–34	222
8		88.3604	平當 Ping Dang	71.3048–51	223
9			龔勝 Gong Sheng	72.3080–85	223
10			鮑宣 Bao Xuan	72.3086–94	223
11			夏侯建 Xiahou Jian	75.3159	224

Count	Phrase	*Hanshu*	Referring to whom	Referring to which biography in *Hanshu*	Page in Elstein 2006
12			孔光 Kong Guang	81.3352–65	225
13		88.3605	李尋 Li Xun	75.3179–95	227
14		88.3609	韋玄成 Wei Xuancheng 韋賞 Wei Shang	73.3108–31[463]	233
15		88.3612	夏侯始昌 Xiahou Shichang	75.3154	239
16		88.3613	師丹 Shi Dan	86.3503–10	240
17		88.3614	蔡誼 Cai Yi	66.2898–99	241
18			王吉 Wang Ji	72.3058–68	
19		88.3616	董仲舒 Dong Zhongshu	56.2495–526	244
20			眭孟 Sui Meng	75.3153–54	245

[463] Under the biography of Wei Xian 韋賢 which includes three generations of his family.

Count	Phrase	*Hanshu*	Referring to whom	Referring to which biography in *Hanshu*	Page in Elstein 2006
21		88.3617	孫寶 Sun Bao	77.3257–63	247
22			馬宮 Ma Gong	81.3365–66	
23		88.3618	翟方進 Zhai Fangjin	84.3411–24	251
24		93.3725[464]	韓增 Han Zeng	33.1857	
25		97a.3961	史丹 Shi Dan	82.3375–79	
26		97a.3964	王商 Wang Shang	82.3369–75	
27		97b.3973	孝元皇后 Empress Xiaoyuan	98.4013–36	
28		97b.4004	傅喜 Fu Xi	82.3380–83	
29	皆有傳	54.2469	霍光 Huo Guang	68.2931–59	
			張安世	59.2647–53	

[464] *Hanshu* 93.3725: Yan Shigu 顏師古 commentated: "at the end of 'Traditions of Han Xin'" (*zai Han Xin zhuan mo* 在〈韓信傳〉末).

Count	**Phrase**	***Hanshu***	**Referring to whom**	**Referring to which biography in *Hanshu***	**Page in Elstein 2006**
	jie you zhuan		Zhang Anshi		
			韓增 Han Zeng	33.1857	
			趙充國 Zhao Chongguo	69.2971–95	
			魏相 Wei Xiang	74.3133–42	
			丙吉 Bing Ji	74.3142–51	
			杜延年 Du Yannian	60.2662–66	
			劉德 Liu De	36.1927–28	
			梁丘賀 Liangqiu He	88.3600–3601	
			蕭望之 Xiao Wangzhi	78.3271–89	
			蘇武 Su Wu	54.2459–69	
30			張禹 Zhang Yu	81.3347–52	214

Count	Phrase	*Hanshu*	Referring to whom	Referring to which biography in *Hanshu*	Page in Elstein 2006
		88.3598[465]	彭宣 Peng Xuan	71.3051–53	
31		88.3611	薛廣德 Xue Guangde	71.3046–48	237
			龔舍 Gong She	72.3080–85	
32		88.3613	翼奉 Yi Feng	75.3167–78	239
			蕭望之 Xiao Wangzhi	78.3271–89	
			匡衡 Kuang Heng	81.3331–47	
33	皆自有傳 *jie zi you zhuan*	55.2490[466]	李廣 Li Guang	54.2439–50	
			張騫 Zhang Qian	61.2687–98	
			公孫賀 Gongsun He	66.2877–79	

[465] Huang Qingxuan 黃慶萱 2008: 121 opines, "talking [Zhang] Yu, [Peng] Xuan, etc. 'have biographies' means Zhang Yu and Peng Xuan are narrated in other biographies in the *Hanshu*" (*yan Yu, Xuan deng youzhuan zhe, wei Zhang Yu, Peng Xuan yu Hanshu ling you Zhuan xu zhi ye* 言禹、宣等「有傳」者，謂張禹、彭宣於《漢書》另有傳敘之也).

[466] *Hanshu* 55.2490: Yan Shigu commentated: "Severn people have their own biographies and eight people are listed afterwards. In total 15 people" (*qi ren zi you zhuan, ba ren jin lie yu ci xia, fan shiwu ren ye* 七人自有傳，八人今列於此下，凡十五人也).

Count	Phrase	*Hanshu*	Referring to whom	Referring to which biography in *Hanshu*	Page in Elstein 2006
			李蔡 Li Cai	54.2446–49	
			曹襄 Cao Xiang	39.2021	
			韓說 Han Shuo	33.1857	
			蘇建 Su Jian	54.2459	
34		88.3617	貢禹 Gong Yu	72.3069–80	247
			疎廣 Shu Guang	71.3039–40	

First of all, it is essential to talk about different understandings of the phrase "*zi you zhuan*" 自有傳, especially in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter (*Hanshu* 88). This is because, in his complete translation of the chapter, David Elstein consistently put it into "having their own lines of transmission" (with one exception: "learning was passed on" (count 11) which will be explained later). Including the exception, Elstein read 傳 as *chuan*. However, Elstein's translation is a misunderstanding. Judging from the table above, the phrase and its similar forms appeared in total 34 times in *Hanshu*—among them, 23 times in *Hanshu* 88—and it

always points to another interpretation: a biography(es) (*zhuan* 傳) of the person(s) in question.

Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentaries for counts 24 and 33 and Huang Qingxuan's 黃慶萱 comment for count 30 (all in the footnote of the table) supported the *zhuan* reading. Count 33's case is even more supportive of my reading. Its counterpart in *Shiji* was "the one who became Lieutenant General called Li Guang, having his own traditions. Those who without traditions are (as follows)" (*wei pijiang zhu yue Li Guang, zi you zhuan. wu zhuan zhe yue* 為裨將者曰李廣，自有傳。無傳者曰).[467] *Shiji* then followed the passage by listing short biographies of the people in question. Sima Zhen's 司馬貞 annotation further confirmed the reading by quoting texts from *Hanshu*.[468] David Honey's reading for count 7 also accords with mine.[469]

4.1. The compilation of the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter

The differences between interpretations of the phrase reveal how carefully Ban Gu compiled the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter. The seemingly slight differences between phrases, like using *zi* 自 or *jie* 皆, were all used to convey precise meaning.

For count 5, Elstein understood the phrase *zi you zhuan* as referring to both Liangqiu Lin 梁丘臨 and Wang Jun 王駿. However, the fact is it only referred to Wang Jun, the classicist that goes right before the phrase. In *Hanshu* there is only

[467] *Shiji* 111.2941.
[468] *Shiji* 111.2941.
[469] Honey 2015: 123.

Wang's biography but not Liangqiu's. Elstein might not be the one to blame because in the well-known *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局 1962 edition of *Hanshu* in light green cover, the punctuation here is:

〔梁丘〕臨代五鹿充宗君孟為少府，〔王〕駿御史大夫，自有傳。[470]

The problem occurs with modern punctuation. For the comma before the name Wang Jun 王駿, we should use a period. When it is correctly separated by a period, Liangqiu Lin's and Wang Jun's descriptions will not be mixed up. This is a systematic error in both *Zhonghua shuju Hanshu* and Elstein. For counts 9, 10, 11, and 23, the exact same case and error occurred methodically without any exception for both *Zhonghua shuju* and Elstein. In all the counts, every time the phrase *zi you zhuan* was referring to the last classicist that just mentioned but not anyone before.

Another example is count 11. It is the only exception that Elstein used "their learning was passed on" instead of "having their own lines of transmission", as he used in all other places to translate *zi you zhuan*. Besides the same error that is just investigated, the exception reflects Elstein actually noticed the incompatibility of using "having their own lines of transmission" here. I suspect this is because the whole section was about Xiahou Sheng 夏侯勝. Talking about him "having his own line of transmission" right before ending the section with "having Xiahou tradition" (*you Xiahou zhi xue* 有夏侯之學)[471] is obviously redundant. This might be the reason that forced Elstein to change the expression slightly instead of, in all other

[470] *Hanshu* 88.3601.
[471] *Hanshu* 88.3604.

cases, constantly putting *zi you zhuan* into "having own lines of transmission". Moreover, scholars in this case agreed that *zi you zhuan* means having a biography. Qian Dazhao 錢大昭 (1744–1813) opines "Matters of [Xiahou] Jian are attached to the traditions of [Xiahou] Sheng. This cannot be called 'having his own traditions'" (*Jian shi fu yu Sheng zhuan, bude yun zi you zhuan* 建事附于勝傳，不得云「自有傳」).[472] Yang Shuda 楊樹達 (1885–1956) disagrees with examples from different *Hanshu* chapters, proving that having a biography attached to others can still be called "having his own traditions".[473] No matter which side we agree with, it is clear that both Qian and Yang understood *zi you zhuan* as having biographies.

More importantly, *Hanshu* carefully uses different phrases to distinguish different situations. When it comes to the case that *you zhuan* 有傳 referring to more than the one who goes right before the phrase, it always adds *jie* 皆. For example, count 32 uses "*jie you zhuan*" 皆有傳 to conclude that there were biographies of Yi Feng 翼奉, Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之, and Kuang Heng 匡衡. *Hanshu* does have their biographies. Taking into account the above investigation, if it used "*zi you zhuan*" 自有傳 instead, then it would indicate only the last classicist in the row. Therefore, having *jie* or not is the pivot factor determining how many classicists the phrase covers. The following table shows the pattern:

[472] *Hanshu bianyi* 漢書辨疑 20.9b (400).
[473] Yang Shuda 楊樹達 2006: 689–90.

Table 5-2: Different combinations of jie/zi you zhuan 皆/自有傳

Jie **皆**	***Zi*** **自**	***You zhuan*** **有傳**	**Case**	**Result**
	✓	✓	X, Y *zi you zhuan*	X does not have his own biography and Y does
✓		✓	X, Y *jie you zhuan*	Both X and Y have their own biographies
✓	✓	✓	X, Y *jie zi you zhuan*	

Overall, in all 34 cases of using the phrase "All/have their own traditions" (*jie/zi you zhuan* 皆/自有傳), *Hanshu* carefully and clearly used them without any exceptions to convey different meanings as collected above. Such a careful use of phrases is subtle to an extent that also confuses later scholars. Despite the subtlety, it shows how the compiler of *Hanshu* treated his work: In a rigorous way. Together with the investigation in chapter four of this thesis which talked about the phrase "from this point onwards, there exist for [Classic] the branch of (Mr) [surname] studies" (*you/you shi ... you ... (shi) zhi xue* 由／繇是……有……（氏）之學), it can conclude that Ban Gu compiled the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter in a professional manner with a precise choice of which word to use.

4.2. The sequence of the compilation of chapters in *Hanshu*

In the table, it is statistically worth noticing that the distribution of the phrase "All/have their own traditions" (*jie/zi you zhuan* 皆/自有傳) is not at all even in the

whole *Hanshu*. On the contrary, it is overwhelmingly concentrated in certain chapters, especially the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter. Such a concentrated use of a phrase reveals the sequence of compilation of different chapters in *Hanshu*. It shows the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter compiled in a relatively later stage.

In total, the phrase appeared 34 times in *Hanshu*. Considering the 100 chapters in *Hanshu*, the phrase appeared 23 times just in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter, a noticeable 67.6% just in one chapter. Moreover, coincidentally all three types of phrases (zi you zhuan 自有傳, *jie you zhuan* 皆有傳, and *jie zi you zhuan* 皆自有傳) appeared in the chapter. The statistic reflects that Ban Gu was familiar with using such a terminology—and distinctively on different cases—all over *Hanshu* 88.

"Having their own traditions" is an indicator of cross-referencing. One can cross-reference only if the destination that is referred to already exists. In other words, when Ban Gu compiled *Hanshu* 88, most of the other biographies that bear the names of people should have already existed.[474] The usage of such phrases is not much different from how academic articles nowadays make a footnote saying, "Please refer to". At least, those classics-related people's biographies have been formed and edited, with no further major editing expected. Only under such circumstances, the narrator is able to point to the reference point for further

[474] I draw inspiration from Ho Che-wah 何志華 (He Zhihua) 2008: esp. 441–49, and the Documentary Hypothesis theory regarding the formation of the canonical Torah when I developed this idea. In his article, Ho Che-wah employs the phrase "*jie zai hu*" 解在乎 (explanation lies in) to demonstrate the internal organization of the chapters of *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋. For an earlier source of inspiration, please see Lau 1991. For further information on the Documentary Hypothesis theory that influenced my idea, readers can refer to Schwartz 2021: esp. 173–77, as a starting point.

investigation or understanding. It is with confidence to conclude that *Hanshu* 88 is compiled at a later stage of the whole Traditions (*zhuan* 傳) category.

Besides the biographies in *Hanshu*, *Hanshu* 88 is meant to be based on other historical records. Regarding the historical sources that Ban Gu based on when compiling *Hanshu* 88, Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗 (1842–1906) opines with textual evidence that one of the sources is *ji lüe* 輯略 by Liu Xiang 劉向.[475] Yang Shuda 楊樹達 (1885–1956) regards Yao's opinion as stating the records of master–student relationships in the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter based on *Qi lüe* 七略 and opines "his opinion is trustworthy and with evidence" (*qi shuo yi xin er you zheng* 其說亦信而有徵).[476] Cui Shi 崔適 (1825–1924) also states, "The 'Traditions of Classicists' chapter [of *Hanshu*] talks about classical masters teaching and receiving. This is closely related with *qi lüe*" (*[Hanshu] Rulin zhuan yan jingshi shoushou yu Qi lüe xiangbiaoli* 〔漢書〕〈儒林傳〉言經師授受與〈七略〉相表裡).[477] Wang Liqi 王利器 (1912–1998), based on similar evidence, also states, "This means the texts of the 'Traditions of Classicists' chapter is adopting *bie lu*" (*shi Rulin zhuan zhi wen, ji cai Bie lu wei zhi ye* 是〈儒林傳〉之文，即採《別錄》為之也).[478]

[475] *Qilüe yiwen* 七略佚文 8. Regarding Yao Zhenzong's 姚振宗 recovery of Liu Xiang's 劉向 work and its authenticity, readers may consult Fu Rongxian 傅榮賢 and Fang Liang 房亮 2022. Regarding the underlying philosophy of the work and knowledge organization in Western Han, readers will find it beneficial to consult Lee and Lan 2009 and 2011 and Lee 2016.
[476] Yang Shuda 1983: 293.
[477] *Shiji tanyuan* 史記探源 1.1.
[478] Wang Liqi 王利器 1989: 130.

Furthermore, just like many other chapters that Ban Gu copied Sima Qian's *Shiji*,[479] *Hanshu* 88 is no exception. Comparing the texts about Confucius's disciple Zilu 子路 (Zhong You 仲由) in the counterpart in *Shiji* (*Shiji* 121) and *Hanshu*, *Hanshu* missing "Zilu lives in *Wei*" (*Zilu ju wei* 子路居衛).[480] Without quoting *Hanshu*, Pei Yin's 裴駰 (fifth century) commentary provides evidence from another *Shiji* chapter ("Arrayed Traditions of Disciples of Confucius" chapter (*Zhongni dizi liezhuan* 仲尼弟子列傳)) pointing out the erroneousness of that sentence.[481] Chen Jun 陳君 compared the texts and concluded that it was not that Ban Gu missed copying the text, but he already noticed the sentence in *Shiji* 121 was a mistake and thus crossed it away in *Hanshu* 88.[482] This is evidence that Ban did careful research on historical records when compiling *Hanshu* 88. The incompatibility of *Shiji* 121 and other records resulted in the missing sentence.

Although the compilation of *Hanshu* 88 was in a later stage of the *Hanshu* biographies writing and adopted the whole *Shiji* 121, Ban Gu tried to make sense of the compilation and put it back to the whole picture of the Han dynasty. Ban endeavoured to establish a connection between *Hanshu* 88 and other segments of the *Hanshu* in order to seamlessly illustrate his interpretation of Han history. As an active compiler and editor, Ban tried to present a reasonable portrait amid different kinds of earlier resources.

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[479] In his book comparing Sima Qian's and Ban Gu's standard histories, van Ess 2014: 5 noted that 67 out of 100 chapters in the *Hanshu* "were copied either verbatim or almost verbatim from the corresponding parts of the *Shiji*". In 32 cases, even the historiographer's personal comments "were either fully adopted or at least used as the basis for Ban Gu's own judgements." This observation was referenced in Dorothee Schaab-Hanke's book review (see Schaab-Hanke 2016: 225).
[480] *Shiji* 121.3116 and *Hanshu* 88.3591.
[481] *Shiji* 121.3116.
[482] Chen Jun 陳君 2020: 78–79.

4.3. On collective traditions (*lei zhuan* 類傳)

Furthermore, if we zoom out a little bit instead of just focusing on how *Hanshu* 88 uses the phrase "All/have their own traditions" (*jie/zi you zhuan* 皆/自有傳), there are other noticeable discoveries.

If we include *Hanshu* 93 and 97 which are also collective traditions (*lei zhuan* 類傳)[483] as *Hanshu* 88, the number even climbs to 28 out of 34 times, that is, only three chapters consist of 82.4% of using such a phrase in the whole *Hanshu*. Among the whole category of *zhuan* 傳, Ban Gu arranged 57 biographies named by people's names at first, then followed by collective biographies, frontiers, and rebels. As the head of collective biographies, *Hanshu* 88 is the beginning of Ban Gu starting to link to the individual biographies that came before. This explains why a phrase that indicates previous information occurs so concentrated in collective biographies, especially the first one in a row.

One might still be prompted to ask: Since the phrase appeared concentrated on collective biographies, why does it not seem to be seen in other collective biographies besides the classicist one? A possible explanation is that the people in those chapters are not prominent enough to "have their own traditions". Their only biographies are the ones in the collective biographies themselves. People like

[483] For the *lei zhuan* 類傳 category in *Hanshu*, readers may consult Poon Ming-kay 潘銘基 (Pan Mingji) 2019: 61–62.

classicists were able to earn their position in the imperial court thus having their own biographies. Regarding "having their own traditions" as an indicator of reaching a high rank, Michael Nylan agrees. She provides a statistic, "By a rough count, about 69 out of 189 men (nearly 28%) appearing in the *Hanshu* 'Rulin' chapters are otherwise unknown".[484] Nylan's assertion that "the *Hanshu* explicitly states that its 'Rulin zhuan' supplies biographies only for those classicists not important enough to merit biographies elsewhere in the history"[485] aligns with her earlier claim. These men who are "otherwise unknown" are those who are without "their own traditions". It can be seen clearly that, the *Hanshu* 88 consists of both relatively prominent figures who already have their own compiled and even edited biographies and those who have not reached any high office throughout their life.

Among the comparatively abundant investigations on the sources that Ban Gu (and other major *Hanshu* contributors) based on when compiling the *Hanshu* and Ban being an active compiler and editor,[486] the studies of internal arrangements and

[484] Nylan 2005: 16–17. I hold a slightly differing viewpoint from Nylan's assertion that *Hanshu* did not have knowledge of some classicists of "even what version of a canonical text they had studied" (Nylan 2005: 17). Specifically, the classicists' chapter in *Hanshu* appears to have systematically organized classicists based on their respective affiliations.

[485] Nylan 2015: 198. I am not entirely certain about the foundation of Nylan's argument. She cited *Hanshu* 88.3602 (and *Shiji* 121.3115) as support. My understanding, based on *Hanshu* 88.3602, is as follows: Nylan may be referring to the line "高〔相〕、費〔直〕皆未嘗立於學官" in relation to the fact that *Hanshu* 88 provided biographies for them, but used the standard indicator "*zi you zhuan*" 自有傳 for Jing Fang 京房. Upon closer examination, it seems that the corresponding passages in *Hanshu* simply reinforce the points I am outlining in this section: Noteworthy figures already "have their own traditions", so Ban Gu did not see the need to reproduce the entire biographies, choosing instead to utilize a standard indicator to trace their connections in classical interpretations, which encompassed both prominent and lesser-known figures. Furthermore, even though *Hanshu* 88 used the standard indicator "*zi you zhuan*" for Jing Fang 京房, it still dedicated 138 characters to summarizing his affiliations, whereas it only used 55 characters for the entire biography of Bi Zhi 費直 and 123 for Gao Xiang 高相. Although Ban Gu could not alter the complexity of the classicists' biographies, I believe that this allocation of passage is sufficient for providing a wide range of biographical information to trace affiliations.

[486] Those interested in exploring the sources utilized by Ban Gu and other significant contributors to the *Hanshu* should refer to the work of Loewe 2015a, as it provides valuable insights into Ban's active role as a compiler and editor. Additionally, the following works are recommended for further consultation: Yang Shuda 楊樹達 1983: 291–96; Wang Liqi 王利器 1989: 113–46; Liu Guoping 劉

sequence of compilation of chapters within *Hanshu* are largely neglected. Taking the above investigations on *Hanshu* 88, 93, and 97, it is reasonable to deduce arranging them at the end of the *Hanshu* might not only be due to their inferiority compared to those who were prominent enough to have their name crowning chapter titles, but also the actual sequence of the compilation. After all, compiling an individual or people who share a similar nature's biographies might be easier due to more concentrated historical sources. Compiling a collective biography, as the name reveals, takes a further step on top of individual biographies by collecting, synthesizing, analysing, and editing the sources. This requires a work of higher level than compiling individual biographies.

The nature of collective biographies tends to conclude different trends in history. Such a conclusion is better made when the information is ready, in this case, biographies of prominent people. The collective biographies are of the nature of conclusions. In the case of *Hanshu* 88, as many classicists earned official positions, their importance already earned them various "own traditions", thus the concentrated existence of the phrase "All/have their own traditions" (*jie/zi you zhuan* 皆/自有傳) in the chapter. Ban Gu has enough reasons to indicate cross-referencing by this carefully formed phrase: (1) For his or his team's own reference; (2) To avoid repeat copying or to save the chapter from being unnecessarily lengthy; and (3) For readers' reference. The phrase plays a route map pointing to other parts of the whole work. In this case, putting the collective biographies back to the whole picture of Han history—a complete record of Han history that this historian would like to present.

國平 2010: 141–56; and Poon Ming-kay 2019: 90–129.

Overall, the *Hanshu* 88 incorporates multiple layers of information, including: (1) content sourced from the *Shiji*; (2) biographies of well-known classicists; and (3) biographies of lesser-known classicists. These diverse sources are amalgamated within the account of lines of affiliation.

Observing from the compilation of *Hanshu* 88, Ban Gu is an active, effective, and systematic compiler. Amid different historical sources, a reasonable historical portrait is presented in his *Hanshu*. Regarding the master–student relationship and the alleged implied textual transmission, whether Ban Gu copied it from Liu Xiang and Liu Xin or his own observations from different biographies that were already compiled when he was compiling *Hanshu* 88 is not very important to this chapter. What is worth noticing is that his narrative in *Hanshu* 88 reflects the facts observed in previous chapters of this thesis: The master–student relationship and the implied classical tradition records seemed to undoubtedly have their source. It might be common knowledge among Ban Gu's contemporary classicists and the imperial court. Simultaneously, however, whether or not the alleged "faithful transmission of the canonical traditions"[487] or "unity and coherence" [488] of classical studies existed was not something worth his discussion. As an active compiler, Ban Gu regards the existence of flourished textual and interpretative differences and the limited lines of affiliation to be able to come together reasonably. Together with the investigation in chapter four of this thesis which talked about the phrase "from this point onwards, there exist for [Classic] the branch of (Mr) [surname] studies" (*you/you shi … you*

[487] Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: 87.
[488] Nylan 2005: 15.

... *(shi) zhi xue* 由／繇是……有……（氏）之學), Ban Gu tried portrait the whole picture of the developmental history of lines of affiliation of classical studies.

5. Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, I would like to add to my discussion of the following topic: To what extent are the standard histories reliable on lines of affiliation of classical interpretations? How reliable are the records of the four *Odes* interpretative lines? As discussed in this chapter, scholars ranging from different backgrounds and training have cast doubt on the agenda behind the main historian—Ban Gu—behind *Hanshu*. It seems plausible to believe that the records of classicists and Academicians should be regarded as a writer's narrative instead of a historian's record. In the case of *Ode's* line affiliation, despite the conventional four lines, there seemed to be much more different interpretations (and recensions, probably). Should we rely on or get rid of the conventional four lines?

In the case of Chu Shaosun, the suspicion of Ban Gu in his *Hanshu* trying to build a trustful transmission of classical studies should be eased. After all, classical studies were not faithfully transmitted between generations of *Odes* classicists and the records, on the contrary, showed a flourish of different interpretations of the *Odes*. It is about the perspective of how we treat the records of *Hanshu*. As this chapter showed, some scholars see the records of fixed and limited lines and the flourishing of classical interpretations seemed to be contradicting and thus revealed the agenda of Ban Gu. However, when we look into the details of those contradictions, the discrepancies themselves often fundamentally disagree with one concept: The

faithful transmission of classical studies. We can see that, the classical studies discrepancies—together with stable lines of affiliation—were not a problem in Ban Gu's records. In other words, even if we assumed what he wanted to do was to convey a certain agenda via *Hanshu*, Ban Gu spent no effort on erasing or explaining the odd ones.[489]

Another example showing Ban Gu's *Hanshu* as a combination of historiography and historical records was his attitude towards Emperor Wu. As Ng On-cho 伍安祖 and Wang, Q. Edward 王晴佳 noted, although "he believed the emperor fared better than his predecessors" and "even comparable to those of the Three Dynasties", Ban was still able to give Emperor Wu "a criticism that echoed Sima Qian's sentiments in his own chapter", which was "similar to that of many Confucian scholars in the famous 'salt and iron debate'". Ng and Wang pointed out this demonstrated "Ban Gu's ambivalent attitude toward Emperor Wu's reign".[490] Such an attitude shows not Ban's ambivalence but a combination of his own judgement (ideological goal of promoting Han legitimacy) and records (the fact that Emperor Wu was criticised). This is also true in the story presented in this chapter: a combination of his own judgement (drawing lines) and historical records (flourishing classical interpretations). As Ng and Wang rightly states, "The accomplishment represented by the *Han History* [i.e. *Hanshu*] owed much to Ban's ability as both a historian and a compiler who effectively organized, selected, and processed all the sources

[489] Olberding 2012: 1 points out that Han histories like *Hanshu* were often pre-assumed there was "a dominant authorial voice, and with this authorial voice attends the assigning of a unitary authorial intent."
[490] Ng and Wang 2005: 73–74.

available to him, weaving them, almost singlehandedly, into a tightly knit narrative."[491]

This thesis sees the discrepancy between records of fixed and limited lines and the flourishing of classical interpretations not as historians manipulating information but as they trying to make sense of the discrepancies and present them logically. The explanation of the issue is simple: lines are fixed and limited, with little limitation on the flourishing of classical interpretations. From this perspective, there were no contradictions between the records of limited lines and flourished classical studies.

[491] Ng and Wang 2005: 75.

Chapter Six: Methodological Reflection on Line of Affiliation of *Odes* Interpretation

1. Introduction

Within the annals of the *Odes* (*Shi* 詩, and later *Shijing*, the *Classic of Odes*), only four major lines of affiliation of *Odes* interpretation existed during the Han dynasty. The internal consistency of recension and interpretation of *Odes* within each line remains a topic of contention. The method of classifying fragmented *Odes* and *Odes*-related texts into distinct lines is heavily influenced by the underlying theories and assumptions regarding the developmental history of lines among scholars. As such, these theories and assumptions play a crucial role in the classification process of scattered and variant texts.

From the Song dynasty onward, organized efforts have been made to assemble, compile, and categorize scattered and variant *Odes* texts. This practice reached its pinnacle during the Qing dynasty.[492] Scholars have employed varying methods for classifying these texts. Regardless of the methods employed, the information relies on either content-based or context-based information. In cases where background information is lacking, scholars rely primarily on the texts themselves—i.e. contentual information—to determine their appropriate placement.[493] Relying

[492] Yeh Kuo-liang 葉國良 (Ye Guoliang) 2005c and Chen Zhi 陳致 2008: 1–7.

[493] For the history of assembling and categorizing *Odes*-related texts other than that of *Mao Shi* 毛詩, readers will find it useful to consult these books dedicated to the subject (especially Qing dynasty): Fang Ruili 房瑞麗 2018b, Ma Xin 馬昕 2022b, and Cheung Kam-siu 張錦少 (Zhang Jinshao) 2022.

predominantly on textual information represents a methodological decision, albeit one made under circumstances that leave little room for choice.

The unearthing of the *Odes* in the tomb of Marquess of Haihun 海昏侯, Liu He 劉賀 (92?–59 BC),[494] in 2015 proved to be an invaluable resource in comprehending the developmental history of classical interpretations during the Han dynasty. A total of 1200 *Odes* slips were discovered, making it the largest corpus of its kind dating to the Han dynasty ever unearthed.[495]

The Haihun *Odes* contain crucial historical information that is currently being debated by scholars. As the tomb occupant and thus the supposed possessor of manuscripts, Marquess of Haihun, had a distinguished background in his exposure to the *Odes*, there is ongoing debate among experts as to whether the discovered *Odes* represent a recension of *Lu Shi* 魯詩 or *Han Shi* 韓詩. After the Han dynasty, all major interpretative lines of the *Odes* were lost, with the exception of *Mao Shi* 毛詩. The Haihun *Odes* is now the most comprehensive Han dynasty recension of a long-forgotten interpretative lineage besides *Mao Shi*.[496] Overall, the Haihun *Odes*

Rusk 2012: 150–52 also gives a very brief history regarding where the assembling starts.

[494] Loewe 2000: 305–6 provides a biography. Xin Deyong 辛德勇 has a book narrating Liu He's whole life from his ancestors to his tomb. See Xin Deyong 辛德勇 2016a.

[495] Guan Li 管理, Hu Sheng 胡勝, and Yang Bo 楊博 2020b: 61–62.

[496] While focusing on pre-Qin history, Shaughnessy and Loewe 1999: 10–11 provided a succinct analysis of the challenges associated with using excavated Chinese artefacts in early China studies. Their analysis concluded that the artefacts mainly come from tombs, thus offering limited insights. The understanding of the ancient world through these artefacts is significantly constrained by the selection motives, the specific group represented, and the symbolic value attributed to these artefacts. As a result, they aptly concluded, "The artifacts that have been found surely represent only a small percentage of those that had been in use in ancient China" (11). Although this thesis primarily examines historical writing instead of historical truth on the developmental history of classical interpretations in Han dynasty, the discourse on the interplay between transmitted texts and excavated materials provides valuable insights into the subject matter, especially in this chapter and the next. Those interested in the topic would benefit from consulting Edward L. Shaughnessy's collection (Shaughnessy 2020), which encompasses discussions surrounding the compilation and

serves as a prime example for analysing interpretative lineages during the Han dynasty.

However, there are two significant challenges when utilizing the excavated Haihun *Odes* to investigate the developmental history of interpretative lines. Firstly, the manuscript is an outlier among transmitted records. As a result, there are limited counterparts to compare with, given that records of line affiliations lie only in the standard histories. Therefore, a direct comparison of the manuscript to *textus receptus* (received text) of the *Odes* will only prove how different it is from the received *Mao Shi*, not how close it is to the *Lu Shi* or *Han Shi*. Secondly, there is no evidence indicating who is responsible for the authority of the text (source of authority), either solely or majorly. Although the tomb occupant's supposed scholastic record is clear and traceable, the text itself does not contain any hard evidence proving or disproving its authoritative connection with the tomb occupant or any of his classical masters. Hypothetically speaking, if there was an *Odes* master, whose name is not recorded, who wrote and edited the manuscript, the entire construction of the interpretative line based on the comparison of background information and transmitted records would collapse.

In this chapter, I aim to conduct a methodological discussion by emphasizing: What kind of evidential data should be employed to establish line affiliations? I will not closely scrutinize the viewpoints on allocating specific *Odes* texts.

composition of *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*. For further discussions on the relationship between archaeological findings and transmitted texts, it is useful to consult: Falkenhausen 1993 and Saussy 2021.

2. Contentual information versus contextual information: a methodological choice

Two types of evidence support research into utilizing excavated texts for the developmental history of lines of affiliation of interpretations of classics.

The first is contentual information, which pertains to the content found within the texts themselves, such as the choice of character, allograph, interpretation, theme, and structure.[497]

The second is contextual information, which encompasses peripheral or background details, such as the authorship, source of authority, writer, audience, purpose, excavated object, and environment.

These two types of information are all-inclusive since any evidence related to the lines of affiliation of classical interpretations falls into either category.

However, some fundamental questions should be answered: When we talk about lines of affiliation of interpretation of the *Odes*, what are we talking about? On what basis do we know anything about the lines? The portrait of *Odes* transmission is confined within the four major lines due to the record of the standard histories. If we investigate the line affiliation of a scattered or unearthed *Odes* text or interpretation,

[497] When utilizing excavated texts for *Odes* research, particularly in terms of contentual information, Jiang Wen's 蔣文 book, which is based on her doctoral thesis, offers a wealth of examples and a review of related studies. See Jiang Wen 蔣文 2019. A similar study with less analysis has been done by Yu Fu 于芾 2004.

what should we rely on? Are the criteria, contentual or contextual, equal? On what basis should we determine the importance of criteria and, ultimately, the line affiliation of texts?

When examining the three primary historical texts regarding the Han dynasty—the *Shiji* 史記 (*Records of the Historian*), the *Hanshu* 漢書 (*History of the Han*), and the *Houhanshu* 後漢書 (*History of the Later Han*)—we discover that the lines of classical interpretations are arranged based on master–student relationships. The main records of these affiliation lines can be found in the "Arrayed Traditions of Classicists" chapter (*Rulin liezhuan* 儒林列傳) in the *Shiji* and its counterpart the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter (*Rulin zhuan* 儒林傳) in the *Hanshu*. These serve as the cardinal—if not the only—sources for researching the developmental history of affiliation lines of interpretations of classics in Han.[498] Furthermore, there is one important characteristic of the information that should never be overlooked: These standard historical records provide nearly no content-based information regarding the lines. Instead, they offer abundant contextual information, while scattered and excavated texts provide almost only contentual information. Plausibly, the combination of these two sets of information would create the most accurate portrayal of history. However, is that so?

The notion of the major "lines of affiliation" in Han dynasty classical studies is introduced by the three standard histories.[499] In the case of the *Odes*, they are *Lu Shi*

[498] Qin Hui 秦暉 2024: 6–12 highlights the significance of standard histories in studying early Chinese history and the value of excavated texts.
[499] For the notion of *jia* 家, readers may consult chapter one of this thesis.

魯詩, *Qi Shi* 齊詩, *Han Shi* 韓詩, and *Mao Shi* 毛詩. The record of lines developed from the structure of the "Arrayed Traditions of Classicists" chapter in the *Shiji*, to an explicit usage of terminology "*X* (stands for the name of a line) *Shi*" in the counterpart chapter in *Hanshu*, to using such terminologies to label classicists in the counterpart chapter in *Houhanshu*. The fact is, besides these records of lines of affiliation of masters and students, we can hardly find any reliable evidence drawing the complete picture of each line, not even of the received *Mao Shi*. In other words, the notion of lines of affiliation relies almost solely on the standard histories, and what they demonstrated was contextual information but not contentual information.

Overall, the historical records provide contextual information about the lines of affiliation, but do not offer details about the extent of differences both between and within these lines. Thus, when it comes to scattered and excavated texts that lack contextual information, we face difficulties in allocating them according to the methodological framework provided by the standard histories.

2.1. Boundaries between lines of affiliation

The debate over whether various interpretations of the *Odes* had a consistent recension continues, but evidence suggests that the origins of these interpretations can be traced back to a time before Sima Qian's 司馬遷 era, during which the three main lines of *Odes* interpretations were clearly distinguished. In the "Arrayed Traditions of Classicists" chapter in the *Shiji*, Sima noted:

> 韓生推《詩》之意而為內外傳數萬言，其語頗與齊魯閒殊，然其歸

一也。[500]

Scholar Han expanded the meaning of the *Odes* and composed the inner and outer commentaries in tens of thousands of words. The saying was quite different from that of Qi and Lu, but their final destination is one and the same.[501]

Inferring from the comment, Jin Dejian 金德建 (1909–1996) provides a plausible explanation:

> 司馬遷當時既然能夠把齊、魯、韓這三家的講法做了對照並加以評斷，那麼，在司馬遷時候應當也有《齊詩》這樣一派的詩說存在，否則拿甚麼來比較對照，也無從評斷它們的孰優孰劣了。[502]
>
> Since Sima Qian was able to compare and judge the three lines of Qi, Lu, and Han, there should have been a line of *Odes* interpretations such as *Qi Shi* at the time of Sima Qian, otherwise, there would have been nothing to compare and no way to judge the merits and demerits of the three lines against each other.

Although there is limited evidence supporting the stability of the *Odes* texts and explanations of each line, it is evident that Sima Qian and the standard histories widely accepted the division and classification of *Odes* classicists into a few major lines.[503] Whether there were variations in texts and interpretations within a line of affiliation or not, the standard historical records of the lines consistently adhere to the classification of the four major lines.[504]

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[500] *Shiji* 121.3124.

[501] Nienhauser 2016: 291–92 provides an alternative translation.

[502] Jin Dejian 金德建 1963: 42.

[503] On the topic of *Shiji* textual sources, especially how the topic is presented in Ban Biao and Ban Gu's words, readers will find it useful to consult Durrant 2015.

[504] Chan Pak-ka Parker 陳柏嘉 (Chen Bojia) 2016: 8–13. I would like to address the disagreements expressed by Ekström 2024: 407–8 n. 8 regarding some of my views published in Chan Pak-ka Parker 2016, which form the foundational framework of the upper part of this thesis. I fully concur with Ekström that my earlier expression (and thus its meaning) was overly categorical and relativising. It was never my intention to dismiss the notable consistency found in the classics and later their various interpretative lines of affiliation. The central argument I wish to present (also in this thesis) is that consistency is neither a necessity nor a prerequisite in the context of master–student relationships. This commonly held, albeit unexamined, assumption can often lead scholars to interpret the records of classical scholars through the lens of knowledge transmission, resulting in conflicting interpretations of the information. Furthermore, in the domain of early China studies, the constraints imposed by the scarcity of available evidence—and more significantly, the profound

Although there is little ground to tell the content of knowledge transmission among masters–students from the standard histories, such a notion and therefore relying on contentual information is one of the cornerstones of the study of the developmental history of the classical interpretation of *Odes* from the Song dynasty until quite some scholars in the present time.

From the previous chapters, we have investigated the case of Chu Shaosun 褚少孫. It can be observed that in the standard historical records of Han, classicists were arranged into lines of affiliation not according to whether their classical knowledge fit into a line or their master's classical scholarship, but mostly the master–student affiliations. The significance of Chu's case is that it is abundant in contextual information but with counter-support by contentual information on putting him in the *Lu Shi* line of affiliation. Chu's case reveals that in the developmental history of lines of affiliation of interpretations of *Odes*, the recorded master–student affiliations (contextual information), among all the key evidence, might have been the utmost (if not the only) important factor in assigning the line of affiliation of a classicist. Other factors, especially contentual information, are not considered in the process of determining the line affiliation of classicists. Applying the same logic to the study of *Odes* texts, I propose we should trace the source of authority of the text,

temporal distance of two millennia—necessitate a high degree of caution when formulating claims. This caution is essential, particularly when considering the implications of assertive conclusions. Concerning relativism, I consider Ekström's observation to be both significant and inspiring. Asserting that there are no boundaries between lines of affiliation is equally unproductive (and incorrect) when it comes to researching the early history of Chinese classical interpretation. The truth likely lies somewhere in between. My purpose in highlighting the absence of firm boundaries is to liberate us from interpreting Han historical records of classicists as straightforward documents of distinct and exclusive knowledge transmission. I hope this thesis will serve as a clearer reflection of my true (or improved) intentions. On a personal note, for the first time, I am honoured and delighted to have seen my work discussed in detail by a scholar from whom I learned so much.

i.e., who should be responsible for texts, in order to categorize its line of affiliation.

Although I focus on standard (i.e. transmitted) histories, I do not underestimate or ignore the new insights that excavated artefacts can provide. My methodology here is based on the nature of historical records of lines of affiliation, at least how it is presented. The insights provided by excavated texts warrant careful consideration in the reexamination of transmitted records. Consequently, the current chapter and the subsequent one will focus on the valuable perspectives that excavated texts can offer.[505]

2.2. Contextual information: Source of authority

When it comes to "source of authority", however, this is an analytic term that I developed myself instead of deriving from any classical Chinese terms.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, one definition of "authority" is the "Power to influence action, opinion, or belief, or a party possessing it."[506]

Coming with the "source", "source of authority" does not necessarily mean the one who actually wrote or compiled the texts, but the one(s) who is/are accountable for the line affiliation of the texts. Although in many cases, the author or writer of the texts is also the source of authority of the text. When it comes to the cases in which

[505] Scholars have long recognized the value of excavated materials in early China studies. For recent reflections, readers may find it helpful to refer to Kern 2019: esp. 72–74, Kern 2020, and Goldin 2020. Additionally, for insights into reading and interpreting transmitted records on Han classicists, the following works offer valuable perspectives: Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003; Tsuruma Kazuyuki 鶴間和幸 2004: 295; and van Ess 2015b.
[506] "Oxford English Dictionary".

the compiler of a text or manuscript is unknown, the primary author is thus missed or uncertain. The source of authority—not necessarily the author or the one who takes responsibility for producing the text or manuscript—then becomes the only source that grants the line affiliation authority.

How was the source of authority used in determining the line affiliation of classicists? Regarding the records of the standard histories of Han classicists, a number of classicists were assigned to different lines of affiliation. The records are the result of the attribution of sources of authority. Taking Chu Shaosun's case demonstrated in previous chapters for example, when he was ratified as a pupil of *Lu Shi* Academician, his own embellished (*runse* 潤色)[507] version and explanation of the *Odes* was officially ratified and established as a *Lu Shi* recension. Such ratification and attribution has very little to do with Chu's *Odes* knowledge aligned with the conventional *Lu Shi* tradition, but has very much to do with his master–student affiliation. Therefore, it can be observed that in determining the line affiliation of a classicist, such authorization is not mainly based on contentual information but only one contextual information: the source of authority—in Chu's case, the fact that he was an *Odes* student of a *Lu Shi* master Wang Shi 王式,[508] despite his exceedingly brief learning experience under Wang and his own *Odes* explanation which moved away from the traditional *Lu Shi*.

To further explain and apply it to other unclassified texts, the source of authority does not merely denote the individual(s) who wrote the text, but also encompasses

[507] *Hanshu* 漢書 88.3610.
[508] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

the social and cultural constructs associated with the notion of an author. In this context, the author's reputation, expertise, and credibility contribute to determining the line affiliation of the text.

It is important to emphasize that while this chapter places the source of authority as the pivotal factor in determining the line of affiliation, it does not discount the differences (and similarities) in content within and between lines of affiliation. The key point to highlight is that, based on all the information available to us, it is extremely challenging to come to a consensus on the contentual differences and similarities among lines. Therefore, relying on contentual information provides little help in classifying the line affiliations of scattered and excavated *Odes*-related texts.

2.3. Contentual information: How useful/useless is it in determining line affiliations?

Scholars have raised concerns about relying on unprovenanced manuscripts to research the history of early China. They are aware of the issue of lacking contextual information,[509] which is of the utmost importance when it comes to classifying scattered or excavated texts into lines of affiliation of classics. When studying the lines of affiliation in the *Odes* during the Han dynasty, unprovenanced manuscripts offer little help due to their lack of contextual information. This is because the method used by standard historical records on grouping classicists under different lines of affiliation relies on contextual information.

[509] Goldin 2013: 155–56; Kern 2015c: 178–79; Foster 2017: 170–71 and 232; Kern 2019: 47–48; Smith and Poli 2021: 519–20; and Meyer 2024: 37.

Contentual information, such as textual and interpretational variants, is not sufficient in classifying the line affiliation. In one of his articles concerning the early transmission of the *Odes*, Martin Kern has pointed out that relaying textual variants to determine the differences between different lines of affiliation of *Odes* interpretations is "educated guesses, not hard evidence",[510] and the variants between or even within a line are of large numbers.[511] Instead, it is more appropriate to rely on contextual information, especially authorship and source of authority, to determine lines of affiliation. Therefore, unprovenanced excavated texts are not very useful in researching the developmental history of lines of affiliation of interpretations of classics.

On standard historical records about master–student relationships, contextual information can be seen to be used in classifying classicists' line affiliation. Thus, the method of classifying scattered or excavated texts relying solely on contentual information is hardly not to form self-sufficient theories—theories that are derived through logical inferences from texts rather than being reliant on historical records. As stated above, it is important to understand that lines of affiliation of classics have always been a product of historical records, and without this information, it becomes difficult to grasp even basic concepts, such as what a line of affiliation is and the relationship between classicists within/across the lines. Any method of

[510] Kern 2005d: 156: "It is difficult to decide to which extent the fragmentary data from the *san jia* [三家] recensions are comparable to those from the manuscripts. In attributing a particular quotation to one of the three recensions, the Qing scholars in many cases were offering but educated guesses, not hard evidence. As we are not always sure that a given variant indeed reflects a distinct Lu, Qi, or Han reading, we also cannot claim that our fragmentary evidence comprises all cases of textual difference in these versions."

[511] Kern 2007b: 783: "The very large number of textual variants in *Odes* quotations by which each of the excavated manuscript texts differ from the received *Mao Odes*, from one another, and from the identified fragments of the Han dynasty *sanjia* [三家] versions".

classification constructed beside (or beyond) standard histories is highly doubtful.

In the history of collecting and classifying scattered and excavated *Odes* texts, scholars are forced to rely primarily on contentual information due to the natural constraints of the evidence. Since many scattered and excavated texts lack contextual information, focusing on contentual information is not entirely a methodological, academic, or intentional choice, but rather the only way to proceed. Nonetheless, such methodological choice is still a defective way out—a method that has only slim support from the received historical records. Indeed, such a constraint, albeit making the choice of method pardonable, in no way justifies the methodological fallacy: when observing the *Odes* texts and interpretations (contentual information), their alleged differences between and within lines are not something that can be distinguished clearly through the transmitted information. Under such circumstances, any discussion based on the imaginative "transmitted tradition" of each line is inevitably a methodological experiment instead of empirical research[512]—even if it is directly dealing with the original, unaltered texts like the Haihun *Odes*. In other words, the (re)construction of the lines of affiliation (even *Mao Shi*) based on contentual information is in its essence a result of an application of theories, whether or not the theoretical framework is explicitly or subtly spelt out or weighed. This kind of study is deductive methodological research wrapped by inductive reasoning with empirical evidence at best. "It reinforces the

[512] Martin Kern opines that the works of collection and categorization of scattered *Odes* interpretations into interpretative lines, like Wang Xianqian's 王先謙 *Shi sanjia yi ji shu* 詩三家義集疏, are all "on occasion seem to contain arbitrary and circular judgments" (Kern 2007a: 133 n. 11). Another iconic but often overlooked work of this type is *Sanjia shi yishuo kao* 三家詩遺說考 by Chen Shouqi 陳壽祺 (1771–1834) and Chen Qiaocong 陳喬樅 (1809–1869).

theory. It doesn't give us proof."[513] In the study of this topic, whether we accept the theoretical framework is one thing; realizing that the reconstruction is theory-based instead of evidence-based is another.

Relying on contentual information outside of historical records is an unreliable approach that disregards well-established sources of information. A self-sufficient theory develops by assuming that: (1) texts and interpretations within a single line are consistent; (2) Han classicists passed on their teachers' (or masters') scholastic traditions; and (3) the Han court required Academicians to master consistent classical studies. By utilizing this framework, drawing a textual relationship net, and comparing all *Odes*-related material, one can determine the line affiliation of the latter. There are several obvious flaws with this methodology, including questions about the nature of line affiliations, the internal consistency of *Odes* recension and interpretation, and the similarities and differences between lines.[514] Ultimately, this kind of approach follows problematic models of classifying texts into line affiliation, then these texts formulate the base on testing other *Odes* texts. In other words, any theories based solely on contentual information should be considered circular reasoning.

2.4. Marquess of Haihun *Odes*: Why does it matter?

[513] Willimon 2014: 27:25.

[514] For a theoretical explanation and methodological reflection on assembling and categorizing *Odes*-related materials into lines of affiliation, it is worth consulting the following works: Ho Goang-ru 賀廣如 (He Guangru) 2003a and 2003b (also 2020); Yeh Kuo-liang 葉國良 (Ye Guoliang) 2005b; Liu Lizhi 劉立志 2007; Li Lin 李霖 2010 (also 2019); Xu Jianwei 徐建委 2011b; Fang Ruili 房瑞麗 2018b, Mi Zhen 米臻 2018a; Honey 2021: 136–39; Cheung Kam-siu 張錦少 (Zhang Jinshao) 2022: 214–85, and Ma Xin 馬昕 2022a: esp. 974–1024 and 2022b.

Now we have a rather different case: the excavated Marquess of Haihun *Odes* which is abundant in both contentual and contextual information.[515] This is because the Marquess of Haihun manuscripts were fortunate enough to escape from being stolen and were eventually obtained through a government-led, archaeologically controlled excavation.[516] As the largest corpus of its kind dating to the Han dynasty ever unearthed and given its clear background information, Haihun *Odes* stands out among other scattered or excavated texts.[517] In the study of the lines, theoretically, Haihun *Odes* should be able to overshadow other evidence in any sense. However, is this narrative entirely correct?

From the investigation above, we can see that regarding the line of affiliation of the

[515] For basic information on the excavated Haihun manuscripts, readers may consult: Yang 2019: 82–84; Guan Li 管理, Hu Sheng 胡勝, and Yang Bo 楊博 2020a and 2020b; Xu Changqing 徐長青 2023: 218–42; and Ding and Zhao 2024: 127–29.

[516] Although there were attempts of grave robbery, one even dated early as the Five Dynasties period, scholars believe they all largely failed and left the vast majority of artefacts, including all manuscripts, untouched. The untouched artefacts were long buried underwater, the main reason that they were fleeing from stolen and kept in a relatively stable condition. The water probably came from an earthquake and subsequent flood of the Poyang Lake 鄱陽湖. See Jiangxi sheng bowuguan 江西省博物館 2018: 27. However, a robbery attempt found in 2011 might have caused the microclimate of the grave connected with the outer world, which might have caused damage to the artefacts. Regarding how the waterlogged condition (Xu Changqing 2023: 288) has caused damage (and protection) to the physical nature of the manuscripts, readers will find it useful to consult Jiangxi sheng bowuguan 2018: 27 and Guan Li, Hu Sheng, and Yang Bo 2020a: 43–46.

[517] As one of the archaeologists taking care of the bamboo manuscripts, Guan Li 管理 stated in a video interview that the bamboo manuscripts "most of them are still in good condition" (CCTV+ 2016: 0:35–0:51). The video provides images of the bamboo slips kept in laboratory and demonstrates some initial treatments. Ren Geng 任賡 and Hu Xiaolu 胡小鹿 2020 is a television episode produced by the official China Central Television (CCTV) dedicated to the treatment of Haihun bamboo strips. I have come across quite some videos on the excavation of the Haihun tomb and found that this is by far the most fascinating video to those interested in Haihun manuscripts (and bamboo strips in general). Ren Geng and Hu Xiaolu 2020: 10:06–24:08 provides videos of peeling off the strips, washing mud without wiping out the ink, infrared spectroscopy scanning, oxidation-reduction, and restoring distorted strips. Another television series by CCTV offers a first-hand archaeological excavation and thus the first glance at excavated artefacts. For the bamboo strips see Xu Linlin 徐琳琳 2016a: 10:20–11:02 and wooden slips 11:03–12:06. I see all the video productions above as visual supplements to the archaeological report of unearthing Haihun manuscripts (Guan Li, Hu Sheng, and Yang Bo 2020a). See also the following: Li Tongyun 李彤雲 2016b: 3:30–4:46 is a video of the first glance at excavated artefacts and laboratory treatment; Jiangxi sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 江西省文物考古研究所 and Shoudu bowuguan 首都博物館 2016: 184–85 has close-up pictures; and Guan Li 2016 which is non-academic prose with pictures of her experience of treating bamboo strips in a laboratory.

Odes, contextual information is at the crux, as it is almost the only evidence demonstrated by the standard historical records, that is, evidence-based. Compared with other unclassified texts and manuscripts, the most significant feature of the Haihun *Odes* lies in its abundant contextual information coming with contentual information. This is because the tomb occupant Marquess of Haihun held a high position and had access to Classic masters and officials with knowledge of Classics, all recorded in historical records. Moreover, the records of his *Odes*-related masters or officials also clearly indicate their line affiliations. This contextual information is crucial in classifying the Haihun *Odes* into a line of affiliation. As long as it is possible to research the line affiliations of the Haihun *Odes*, the contentual information it contains will thus be reliable in the study of the developmental history of lines of affiliation of *Odes* interpretations. Based on the above conditions, such features make the excavated Haihun *Odes* one of the most, if not the most, valuable resources for now in the study of line affiliations.

The fact that Haihun *Odes* is rich in both contentual and contextual information enables us to try classifying it in lines through any perspective and methodology. This chapter, however, is not aiming at giving a definitive answer on putting the Haihun *Odes* in any line, but more to showcase what should we do on classifying the line affiliations of scattered and excavated *Odes* texts if we base ourselves on the standard histories. After all, if we admit that standard histories are the birthplace and cradle of the concept of line of affiliation, what might they do if Haihun *Odes* was seen by them? How would they classify its line affiliations? The main purpose of this chapter is like a famous quote: the journey is the thing. Similar to the investigation of the line affiliation of Chu Shaosun, that of Haihun *Odes* also

investigates the logic behind the recording of the line of affiliation in standard historical records.

3. How was the Haihun *Odes* categorized

As stated above, the Marquess of Haihun *Odes* is rich in both contentual and contextual information. Several modern scholars have published articles discussing the line affiliation of the Haihun *Odes* based on the selections of the information. Although most, if not all, of them, stated nearly nothing about their methodological choice, it is not difficult to summarize their logical deductions and findings into the categories. Instead of classifying the modern scholars according to the position they take, that is, which line of affiliation they opine Haihun *Odes* should belong to, this thesis would arrange their point of view by what kind of information they are based on. The table below will showcase the information types used in line affiliation research for the Marquess of Haihun *Odes* and the claims based on the information.

Before laying out the whole table, it is necessary to explain the legends beforehand.

The column “lines of affiliation” indicates that the modern scholar in question regards the information on Haihun *Odes* as similar to, different from, or relationship uncertain with the four major lines (Lu, Qi, Han, and Mao). These are indicated by tick (✓), cross (✗), and question mark (?), respectively.

Dotted instead of solid lines are utilized to demarcate distinct views within the same category of information. This practice aims to facilitate visual navigation for the

reader by clearly observing which scholars hold similar methodological views—even though the information they relied on and the conclusion might be vastly different.

In the "modern scholar" column, I use abbreviated name initials of authors to indicate which scholar(s) it represents. In all cases, it points to one article. The number with brackets following the abbreviated names of the scholars (e.g. ZFH (2)) indicates the numbering of my summary for their points, which are all included in Appendix 4. The numbering roughly follows the order of the points presented in the articles.

In Appendix 4, I grouped the modern scholars according to their point of view: Which line of affiliation do they think the Haihun *Odes* belongs to? In the same group, they are arranged chronologically by the articles they published. To try my best to avoid misunderstanding, many of them are with direct quotations.

Here is the full list of the modern scholars and their abbreviated name initials included in the table below and Appendix 4, the order is the same in Appendix 4:

ZFH: Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚

YH: Yu Hao 于浩

YWL: Yu Wanli 虞萬里

LPP: Lam Pung-pan 林芃彬 (Lin Pengbin)

RXL: Ran Xueli 冉雪立

WZW: Wu Zhenwei 武振偉

C&W: Cao Jianguo 曹建國 and Wei Bofang 魏博芳

ZF: Zhang Feng 張峰

Table 6-1: Information scholars used for studying line affiliation of the Marquess of Haihun *Odes*

Information		**Lines of affiliation**				**Modern Scholar**
		Lu	**Qi**	**Han**	**Mao**	
Contentual	Character and allograph	×				ZFH (2)
		✓				C&W (3)
		?	?	?	?	ZF (3)
	Interpretation	✓				YH (2)
				✓		C&W (6)
		?	?	?	?	ZF (2)
				✓	✓	ZF (3)
		✓				LPP (3)
	Theme	✓			✓	ZFH (1)
				✓		C&W (5)
				✓		ZF (3)
		✓				LPP (3)
	Structure	✓			×[518]	ZFH (3)
		×			×	YH (1)
		✓				YWL
		✓			×	RXL
		?				C&W (3)

[518] I find Zhu Fenghan's argument a bit obscure. The entry here could be "× (mainly ✓)". Please refer to Appendix 4 for more details.

Information		Lines of affiliation				Modern Scholar
		Lu	Qi	Han	Mao	
		✓	?	✓		ZF (1)
		×			✓	ZF (3)
Contextual	Authorship	✓				YH (3)
		?				C&W (1)
			✓	✓		C&W (4)
	Source of authority	?	?			WZW (1)
				✓		WZW (2)
		✓				YH (3)
		×				C&W (2)
				✓		C&W (7)
				✓		ZF (4)
			?			LPP (1)
				×		LPP (2)
	Purpose			✓		ZF (4)

After careful consideration of the evidence and the perspectives explored by the scholars included above, it is presently still impractical to determine the line affiliation of Marquess of Haihun *Odes*. Despite the limited number of articles that tackle this matter, the assessment presented in the table shows that the majority of pertinent research avenues have already been attempted. After all, almost all of the different aspects of evidence in the comprehensive category of contentual and contextual information are explored and assessed.

Besides the works collected above, there are other perspectives on the line affiliation of Haihun *Odes*. Instead of presenting a conclusive study, some articles carefully avoided an assertion of line affiliation but came up with a workaround.[519] As Haihun *Odes* exhibits notable differences from the received *Mao Shi*, some scholars simply consider Haihun *Odes* as a relic of a version of the collective concept of "three major lines of affiliation of *Odes*" (*san jia Shi* 三家《詩》).[520] This type of conclusion is not uncommon in research on the developmental history of Han dynasty *Odes* interpretations. Making such a safe conclusion is not without a reason: Once again, the natural constraints of the evidence. All we have in hand is *Mao Shi* (and *Han Shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳). Once any text, be that scattered or excavated, is certainly different from the received *Mao Shi* after comparison on their contentual information, one of the safest ways to categorize them is to claim that they belong to the three major lines without specifying which one. This is the method of exclusion.

However, the method of exclusion is based on a series of beliefs: (1) the *textus receptus* (received text) of *Mao Shi* is intact; (2) there is only one *Mao Shi*, all types of texts and explanations that should be regarded as *Mao Shi* have already been included in the received version; and (3) the other three major lines are somewhat similar and share relatively little similarities textually and/or explanatorily with the received *Mao Shi*. Taking Wang Xianqian's 王先謙 (1842–1917) comprehensive work of collecting and categorizing texts and explanations of lines of affiliation of

[519] On the contrary, some scholars take previous scholars' conclusions directly as the basis for their research. For example, Ma Nan 馬楠 2024: 49–52 and 54–55 and 2025: 83 and 88–90.
[520] Zhang Jiuqing 張玖青 2021.

Odes (*Shi sanjia yi ji shu* 詩三家義集疏 (Collection of Commentaries of the Three Interpretative Lines of Affiliation of the *Odes*))[521] as an example, he often took the absence of non-*Mao* explanations as proof of claims like "the three exegetical lineages have no different interpretations [from *Mao Shi*]" (*san jia wu yi yi* 三家無異義) and "explanations from the three exegetical lineages are likely to be the same [as *Mao Shi*]" (*san jia shuo dang tong* 三家說當同).[522] Worth noting that "the three exegetical lineages have no different interpretations" is different from "the interpretations of the three lineages are unknown" (*san jia yi wei wen* 三家義未聞), another more correct phrase that Wang used to indicate the absence of non-*Mao* explanations. Jiang Han 江瀚 (1857–1935) already criticised Wang for claiming "no different interpretations" when coming to the cases of "interpretations unknown".[523] In total, over one-third of the pieces of odes (105 out of the total 305 pieces) attached with the label "the three lines have no different interpretations" in Wang's work,[524] while only 14 pieces of odes "the interpretations of the three lines are unknown",[525] even though these two labels are talking about the same cases.

Returning to the study of Haihun *Odes*, some scholars are also taking a more conservative approach. For instance, Xia Yunan 夏虞南 uses the Haihun *Odes* for comparison purposes with other transmitted and excavated texts, without addressing

[521] *Shi sanjia yi ji shu* 詩三家義集疏.
[522] See Chang Cheng-wei 張政偉 (Zhang Zhengwei) 2003 and Ho Goang-ru 賀廣如 (He Guangru) 2003b: 113–15.
[523] Zhongguo kexueyuan tushuguan 中國科學院圖書館 1993: 439. See also Li Shibiao 李士彪 2011: 98–99.
[524] Chang Cheng-wei 2003: 17–18.
[525] Chang Cheng-wei 2003: 18.

the problem of line affiliation.[526] Similarly, in Zhang Feng's 張峰 article, which is mentioned in the table above, he briefly mentioned Wang Huaping 王化平 disagrees with the practice of hastily determining line affiliation of excavated *Odes* texts.[527]

Furthermore, Yu Hao's 于浩 and Yu Wanli's 虞萬里 cases are worth mentioning, as he concluded in one article (listed above)[528] that Haihun *Odes* belonged to *Lu Shi*, but in a subsequent article published two years later—also about Haihun *Odes*—he did not touch on the issue of line affiliation.[529] Instead, he only compared Haihun *Odes* with the prefaces (*xu* 序) and *zhuan* 傳 of *Lu Shi*, *Han Shi*, and *Mao Shi*, and discovered many similarities between Haihun *Odes* and *Han Shi*. On the way that Yu treated Haihun *Odes*, the conclusion of his latter article seemed to be the opposite of the above-listed article: Haihun *Odes* is closer to *Han Shi*. In this article, however, he made no claims about the line affiliation of Haihun *Odes*.[530]

In the case of Yu Wanli, his perspective was quite similar to that of Yu Hao. Like Yu Hao, Yu Wanli asserted in one of his articles (also listed above)[531] that the Haihun *Odes* belonged to *Lu Shi*. However, in a separate article published two years later, he remarked, "now that leaving its *Odes* line affiliation unexamined" (*jin zhi*

[526] Xia Yunan 夏虞南 2021.
[527] Zhang Feng 張峰 2022: 80.
[528] Yu Hao 于浩 2021.
[529] Yu Hao 2023.
[530] I had the opportunity to meet Yu Hao in person at an academic conference, where we briefly discussed the relevant articles, both verbally and through Weixin 微信. Yu clarified his position in his later article, expressing that he still believes the Haihin *Odes* is affiliated with the *Lu Shi* line (personal communication, November 2024).
[531] Yu Wanli 虞萬里 2022.

qi Shi pai wulun 今置其詩派勿論).[532] Furthermore, Yu Wanli distinguished the Haihun *Odes* as an independent category, suggesting that the chapter and verse (*zhangju* 章句) of the Haihun *Odes* "might tentatively be called 'Haihun *Odes* Chapter and Verse'" (*bufang guqie cheng wei Haihun Shi zhangju* 不妨姑且稱為「海昏《詩》章句」).[533]

Overall, despite the seemingly abundant information regarding the categorization of Haihun *Odes* into line affiliations, both scholars ultimately consider the existing data insufficient to reach a confident judgment.

Again, it seems like we have hit a roadblock. Despite the extensive research conducted by scholars mentioned earlier, they have still not been able to classify with common confidence the line affiliation of the Haihun *Odes*. In other words, it seems that in classifying the line affiliation of the *Odes* texts, the solution is not simply a competition on the scope of coverage of information. After all, The Haihun *Odes* have already given us the most comprehensive Han dynasty *Odes* texts with relatively complete records of line affiliations. If this is still not enough to provide a complete and convincing answer to the classification of classical lines of affiliation in the Han dynasty, what kind of texts would be more reliable for studying the developmental history of classical interpretations during that time? By common sense, the wider and more comprehensive coverage of information leads to a more accurate result, but in Hanhun *Odes*'s case, and many other *Odes* texts' case, different kinds of information lead to different—and mostly contradicting—results.

[532] Yu Wanli 2024: 36.
[533] Yu Wanli 2024: 38–39.

It seems that we should change the question we are asking: The problem lies not in how wide our information coverage is, but in which type(s) of information is more important than the others.

To try to present my answer, we can look to the case of Chu Shaosun 褚少孫 for guidance. It has been discovered in Chapter 4 of this thesis that Chu, a recorded *Lu Shi* Academician, interprets the *Odes* differently than the interpretations from other *Lu Shi* classicists. Nevertheless, contextual information, especially his master–student lineage (source of authority), has enabled him to be placed in the *Lu Shi* line. This line affiliation evidence is crucial in researching the developmental history of the lines of *Odes* interpretations during the Han dynasty. Therefore, instead of drawing information arbitrarily from contentual and/or contextual information on Haihun *Odes*, a thorough investigation of contextual information: source of authority on Haihun *Odes* might shed some light on this topic.

Before diving into the investigation, it is worth noting that we could hardly conclude that there was internal consistency existed in the line of affiliation of *Odes* interpretation in the Han dynasty.

4. Internal inconsistency within lines: the case of *Mao Shi*

Throughout previous discussions, we have delved into the Han historical records and uncovered that classicists often hold varying interpretations of the *Odes* even though they were recorded learned from their masters or the associated lineages. The *textus receptus* (received text) of the *Odes*, attributed to *Mao Shi*, is the only

text among the *Odes* Classic that bears the name of a Han dynasty line of affiliation, leading many to believe that it is the sole preserved *Odes* interpretative line. However, doubts remain about its completeness. It is important to note that this is not to discredit the current *Mao Shi*, but rather to raise the question: if *Mao Shi* and other lineages are not consistent, can the received *Mao Shi* truly represent "the" idealised *Mao Shi*?

Zheng Xuan's (127–200) 鄭玄 commentary on the *Mao Shi* (*Mao Shi Zheng jian* 毛詩鄭箋) has been considered the only surviving intact Han dynasty interpretation of the line of affiliation of the *Odes*. However, there are often discrepancies between Zheng's interpretation and that of *Mao Shi gu xun zhuan* 毛詩故訓傳 (*Mao Shi's Old Elucidation and Commentary*),[534] which is usually abbreviated as *Mao zhuan* 毛傳. The differences between Zheng and Mao are never a mystery. In the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 (*Annotated General Bibliography of the Complete Library of Four Repositories*), the differences between Zheng and Mao were well-noted in the annotated bibliography of Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 (574–648) *Mao Shi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (*The Correct Meaning of the Mao Tradition of the Odes*):

> 自鄭《箋》既行，齊、魯、韓三家遂廢。然《箋》與《傳》義亦時有異同。魏王肅作《毛詩註》、《毛詩義駁》、《毛詩奏事》、《毛詩問難》諸書，以申毛難鄭。[535]
> As soon as Zheng's *Jian* circulated, the three exegetical lineages, namely Qi, Lu, and Han, were abandoned. However, the meanings of *Jian* and *[Mao]*

[534] *Hanshu* 30.1708. Readers will find it useful to consult Chen Guoqing 陳國慶 1983: 38 and Zhang Shunhui 張舜徽 1990: 39–40 for further information. Wang Chengyu 王誠御 2018 discusses the layers of the book title.
[535] Wei Xiaohu 魏小虎 2012: 15.450–51.

> *Zhuan* are sometimes different. Wang Shu from the Wei composed various books like *Annotations to Mao Shi*, *Rebuttal of the Meaning of Mao Shi*, *Proposal of Matters on Mao Shi*, and *Queries and Arguments on Mao Shi* to clarify Mao and argue against Zheng.

Albeit the works of Wang Shu 王肅 (195–256) were all lost, *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*'s comment reveals clearly that discrepancies between Zheng and Mao are not occasionally but numerously observed.[536] Moreover, Sun Yu 孫毓 (Western Jin 西晉 dynasty), who was active a few decades later than Wang Shu, has a work *Mao Shi yitong ping* 毛詩異同評 (*Evaluating Differences and Similarities of Mao Shi*) which provides an analysis of the distinctions and commonalities among Mao, Zheng, and Wang, and offers an assessment of their interpretations of the *Odes*. Although Sun Yu's work is also lost, Kong Yingda's *Mao Shi zhengyi* preserved nearly 90 entries in quotations.[537] It is worth noting that *Tiyao* also mentioned works (albeit also all lost) that "clarify Zheng and argue against Wang" (*shen Zheng nan Wang* 申鄭難王).[538] These cited works point to one logical and undeniable fact: there are incompatible differences between Zheng and Mao, thus supporting one and criticizing the other is something possible. *Tiyao* therefore concluded the situation until Kong Yingda's time:

> 袒分左右，垂數百年。至唐貞觀十六年，命孔穎達等因鄭《箋》為《正義》，乃論歸一定，無復岐塗。[539]
> Siding with one side or the other, this had been handed down for a few hundred

[536] In the "*Odes* Catrgory" (*Shi lei* 詩類) of the *Tiyao*, however, *Mao zhuan* and *Zheng jian* are treated equally as one same interpretation. See Wei Xiaohu 2012: 15.447.
[537] Zhao Jing 趙婧 and Liu Yunhao 劉運好 2010: 8. Zhao and Liu's article provides a detailed summary of Sun Yu's work on the *Odes*. Jeffrey K. Riegel opines that Sun's work "systematically set forth the differences between Zheng and Mao". See Riegel 1997: 148 n. 19. Besides, Lü Youren 呂友仁 2019: 284–87 collected examples of Kong misunderstanding Zheng's explaining or disputing Mao.
[538] Wei Xiaohu 2012: 15.451.
[539] Wei Xiaohu 2012: 15.451.

> years. Until the sixteenth year of Zhengguan in the Tang dynasty, [the Emperor] commanded Kong Yingda and his peers to compile the *[Mao Shi] Zhengyi* according to *Zheng jian*, then the debates settled down in one focus and no longer went astray.

The differences between Zheng Xuan and *Mao zhuan* are well-noted by modern scholars as well. Jeffrey K. Riegel pointed out that "it is difficult to imagine a more Janus-faced pair than the two commentaries [Mao and Zheng]".[540] Riegel also provided a clear example illustrating the significant disparity between Zheng's interpretation of the *Odes* and *Mao zhuan*'s. Zheng himself acknowledged this difference.[541] In his scholarly work focused on the examination of the Mao line of affiliation, Martin Svensson Ekström articulates, "Even Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (d. 200)—often held to be Mao's most faithful follower—deviates considerably from his predecessor."[542] Wen Shing-fu's 文幸福 book[543] and Li Linfang's 李林芳 doctoral thesis[544] delve into these differences in detail and provide explanations. In fact, there are at least 660 discrepancies found, with over 180 of them affecting the meaning of the odes—more than half of the transmitted 300 odes.[545] In another article, Li notes that these interpretation differences can be attributed to *Mao zhuan* inheriting a different generation of *Mao Shi* interpretations, which included internal interpretative conflicts, while Zheng's commentary was largely his own judgement.[546] Not to mention the fact that Zheng has a clear record of learning *Han*

[540] Riegel 1997: 148 n. 19.
[541] Riegel 1997: 170 n. 75.
[542] Ekström 2024: 5. Thanks to Oliver Hargrave for bringing my attention to this work (personal communication, March 2025).
[543] Wen Shing-fu 文幸福 (Wen Xingfu) 1989.
[544] Li Linfang 李林芳 2018.
[545] Yuan Xingpei 袁行霈, Xu Jianwei 徐建委, and Cheng Sudong 程蘇東 2018: 8–9.
[546] Li Linfang 2021b: 68–71. See also Zhu Minche 祝敏徹 and Shang Chunsheng 尚春生 1983 and Zhang Fengyi 張峰屹 and Zhang Like 張立克 2016.

Shi at an early age[547] and said himself he is not entirely following Mao's meanings when doing the *Odes* commentary.[548] Therefore, the differences between Zheng's annotations and Mao's commentaries are not uncommon and observable.[549]

More importantly, there are even discrepancies between *Mao zhuan* and the Preface of *Mao Shi* (*Mao Shi Xu* 毛詩序),[550] with at least 44 pieces of odes being interpreted differently between them.[551] In addition to differing interpretations, *Mao zhuan* also relied on a distinct version of the *Odes* texts compared to Zheng Xuan[552] or even the *Mao Shi*.[553] Scholars have revealed that *Mao Shi*, along with its accompanying explanations, incorporates interpretations from various generations and individuals.[554] In the book by Yabu Toshihiro 藪敏裕 devoted to the examination of *Mao Shi*, he gathered and contrasted all pre-Han and Han interpretations (including unearthed texts) of the work "*guan ju*" 關雎 and determined that even the Preface and *Mao zhuan* provide contrasting explanations, making it challenging to classify them in the same group.[555] Even for the structural organization of the pieces that some scholars rely on determining the line

[547] *Houhanshu* 後漢書 35.1207.
[548] Pi Xirui 皮錫瑞 2015: 555. Tse Wai-kit Wicky 謝偉傑 briefly pointed out that Zheng integrated different schools' classical interpretations. See Tse 2018: 193. See also Li Shiping 李世萍 2010: 129–43. While concentrating on the *Rites* 禮 classics, Luo Jianwei 羅健蔚 2017: 131–68 elaborated on Zheng's complex relationships with various lines of affiliation of the *Odes*, including the challenges of distinguishing between these lines.
[549] Kong Deling 孔德凌 2021: 187–239 and Xin Zhihui 辛智慧 2022 provide comparisons and explanations for exemplary differences between Zheng's annotations and Mao's commentaries. Kusuyama Haruki 楠山春樹 1984: 209–10 gives evidence showing Mao and Zheng's difference through their attitude towards apocryphal (*chen wei* 讖緯) texts. Kusuyama's article has a Chinese translation: Kusuyama Haruki 2006.
[550] Yuan Xingpei, Xu Jianwei, and Cheng Sudong 2018: 8.
[551] Zhang Yanying 張燕嬰 2003.
[552] Zhao Pei 趙培 2018 and Li Linfang 2021a.
[553] Yuan Xingpei, Xu Jianwei, and Cheng Sudong 2018: 11.
[554] Liu Yuqing 劉毓慶 2017: 521 and Yang Penghua 楊鵬樺 and Wang Chen 王晨 2019.
[555] Yabu Toshihiro 藪敏裕 2020: 211–30 and 235–48.

differentiation as showcased above about the Haihun *Odes*, the Preface and *Mao zhuan* share different arrangements.[556]

It can be observed that within the *Mao Shi* line of affiliation, which is considered to be intact, there exist conflicting layers or traditions in the Preface, *Mao zhuan*, and Zheng Xuan's commentary.[557] Zhu Xi 朱熹 of the Southern Song Dynasty already pointed out that,

> 《詩》自齊、魯、韓氏之說不傳，而天下之學者盡宗毛氏。毛氏之學傳者亦眾，而王述之類今皆不存，則推衍毛說者，又獨鄭氏之《箋》而已。[558]
> Since the explanations of *Odes* of the Qi, Lu, and Han lines have not been transmitted, all learners of the world venerate Mao. Mao's scholarship was also transmitted by many, and the narrative of Wang [Su]'s[559] 王肅 sort is not extant today, so the only one who promoted and spread Mao's explanation was Zheng's commentary.

It can be seen that many classicists learnt, transmitted, and added their explanations to *Mao Shi*. One of the many transmitters was Wang Su 王肅 and among them, only Zheng Xuan's explanation survived intact.[560]

Although the *Odes* we have today bear the name "*Mao Shi*", it is clear that from any perspective, this is not *the* only *Mao Shi* that ever existed in history. It is far too

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[556] Xu Jianwei 徐建委 2017c and Yuan Xingpei, Xu Jianwei, and Cheng Sudong 2018: 11.
[557] Chang Sen 常森 2003 and Xu Jianwei 2020 and 2024: 355–57.
[558] *Lüshi jiashu du shi ji* 呂氏家塾讀詩記 1 (序).
[559] "王述" can also refer to a person's name. However, given that Wang Su is Zheng Xuan's most notable rival, the reference to Wang Su makes perfect sense here. Additionally, I see a parallel between "毛氏之學" (Mao's scholarship) and "王述" (Wang's narrative).
[560] Given all the facts presented above, it is not surprising to see scholars tried to make sense to the fact that the received text of *Mao Shi* consists of different—and incompatible—parts. Che Hsing-chien 車行健 (Che Xingjian) 2007: 6–8 spends a section trying to prove that Preface, *Mao zhuan*, Zheng commentary, and Genealogy (*pu* 譜) are coherent (*lianguan* 連貫) and consistent (*yizhi* 一致).

optimistic to believe there is one line of affiliation of *Odes* interpretation in Han dynasty transmitted intact. The internal variants between classicists of the *Mao Shi* seemed to be as abundant as other lines. Looking at the received *Odes*, there is no "the" *Mao Shi*, all we have is "a" *Mao Shi*.[561] Putting such a case in this chapter's investigation, the source of authority of the received *Mao Shi* is surely *Mao Shi*—a tautological statement—but even a standard text that has a clear line affiliation like this is not capable of being a touchstone for *Mao Shi* or any line.

5. Textual variants and Xiping stone stele Classics

During the late Eastern Han era, which coincided with Zheng Xuan compilating his version of the *Mao Shi*, there could be seen numerous textual variations of the *Odes* in circulation. The engraving of the Xiping stone stele Classics 熹平石經 (175–183),[562] which occurred towards the end of the Eastern Han period, was in response to the contemporary debates on textual variants within the Classics. While textual variants were abundant and the imperial court kept official writings, classicists were tempted to bribe officials to make their own texts official by tampering with the official versions. According to the records, not only did they try to make their own texts officially recognised, but to replace the official versions.

[561] In his keynote speech at a conference, Martin Kern expressed a similar view. Focusing on the variations between *Odes* manuscripts, Kern pointed out *Odes* has the following features: "unstable in writing, and unstable in meaning", "every manuscript depended on vocalization and interpretation", "every written text was localized and unique, based on its teaching", "the *Mao Shi* represents one interpretation based on vocalization and later writing. For reading the manuscripts, the *Mao Shi* is a tool, not a standard". See Kern 2024.

[562] For basic information about Xiping stone stele Classics, see de Crespigny 2007: 30 and 1256; Nagata Hidemasa 永田英正 2018: 464; and Honey 2021: 297–303. Cheng Yuanmin 程元敏 2018: 437–89 provides detailed information about the stele, from its purpose to the versions it is based on.

Investigating the excavated exposition (*biao* 表) of the stele, at that time "when putting chapters and word into detailed examination, profuse differences among different *jia*" (*zhang yan kao fu, fenfen jia shu* 章言考覆，紛紛家殊) and "crafty officials behave openly and covertly, surrendering to human influence" (*huali yi renshi xiang yin yang* 猾吏以人事相陰陽). On the excavated postface, "following the cause, the effect is the emergence of schemes which are no way to forestall and stop" (*yin yuan sheng jian, wu yi fang jue* 因緣生姦，無以防絕).[563] These records are in accord with *Houhanshu* which recorded the reasons for the engraving of the Xiping stele:

> 〔李〕巡以為諸博士試甲乙科，爭弟高下，更相告言，至有行賂定蘭臺漆書經字，以合其私文者，乃白帝，與諸儒共刻五經文於石，於是詔蔡邕等正其文字。自後五經一定，爭者用息。[564]
> [Li] Xun had concerns about the Academicians who took exams A and B competing on the grade were accusing each other. Even more, some people bribe [the officials] to set the characters and allographs of *Lantai* classics written in lacquer to conform to their private texts. [Li] therefore suggests the Emperor to engrave the texts of the Five Classics on stones together with various classicists. [The Emperor] thus commands classicists like Cai Yong to rectify character and allograph discrepancies. Since then, the Five Classics are settled and controversies thus put to rest.[565]

Textual variants in classics are prevalent, regardless of the line of affiliation. In fact, classicists often attempt to make their private texts (*si wen* 私文) official and even bribe to make their texts included in the imperial library version. It can be seen that private texts are not literally "private" since they are circulated and may even replace officially recognised recension.

[563] Zhao Tiehan 趙鐵寒 1955: 13. See also Cheng Yuanmin 2018: 438–39. For the basic information regarding the excavated postface, please refer to Ren Shaoqi 任哨奇 2024.
[564] *Houhanshu* 78.2533. It is worth noting that a similar record can be found in *Houhanshu* 79a.2547.
[565] Honey 2021: 299 translates the last few sentences and another *Houhanshu* part that I have not quoted.

Regarding the line affiliation of Xiping stone stele *Odes*, it possess *Odes* texts (contentual information) and a relatively clear record of belonging to *Lu Shi* line affiliation (contextual information).[566] Examining the history of the establishment of the Xiping stone stele *Odes*, it becomes clear that the stele is not so much the only standard version of *Lu Shi*, but rather one of the (many) *Lu Shi* recensions recognized by the imperial court. Ultimately, the engraving of the Xiping *Odes* serves as proof of the countless versions of the *Odes* (and *Lu Shi*) that have circulated over time.

Figure 6-1.1: A remnant of Xiping 熹平 stone stele *Changes*. Photographed at the Shanghai Museum East on 22 November 2024

[566] *Suishu* 隋書 32.946. Zhang Hualin 張華林 2020: 320–22 provides a very brief summary of selected studies of Xiping *Lu Shi*. See also Cheng Yuanmin 2018: 457 and Schaab-Hanke 2022: 240–41.

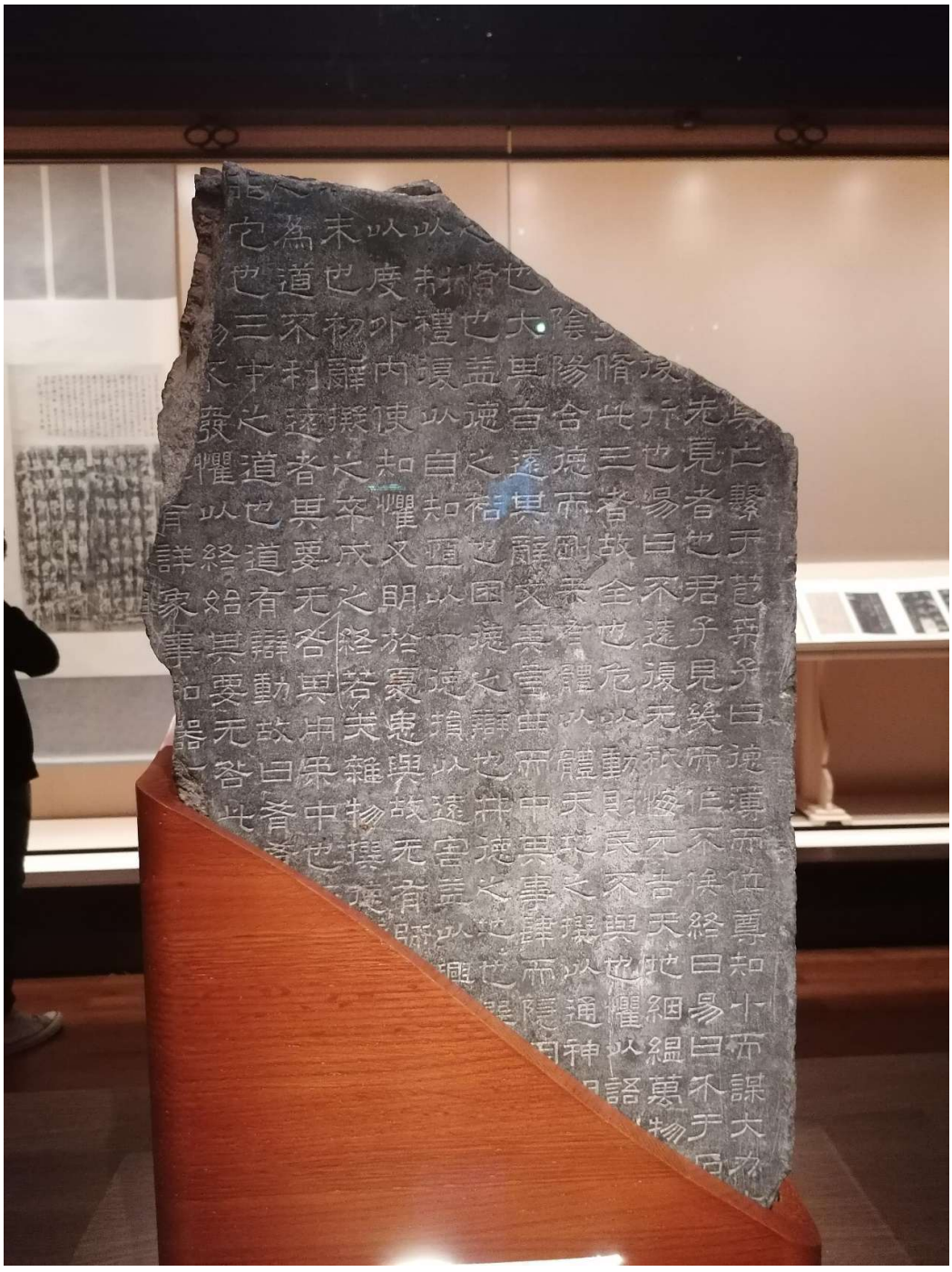
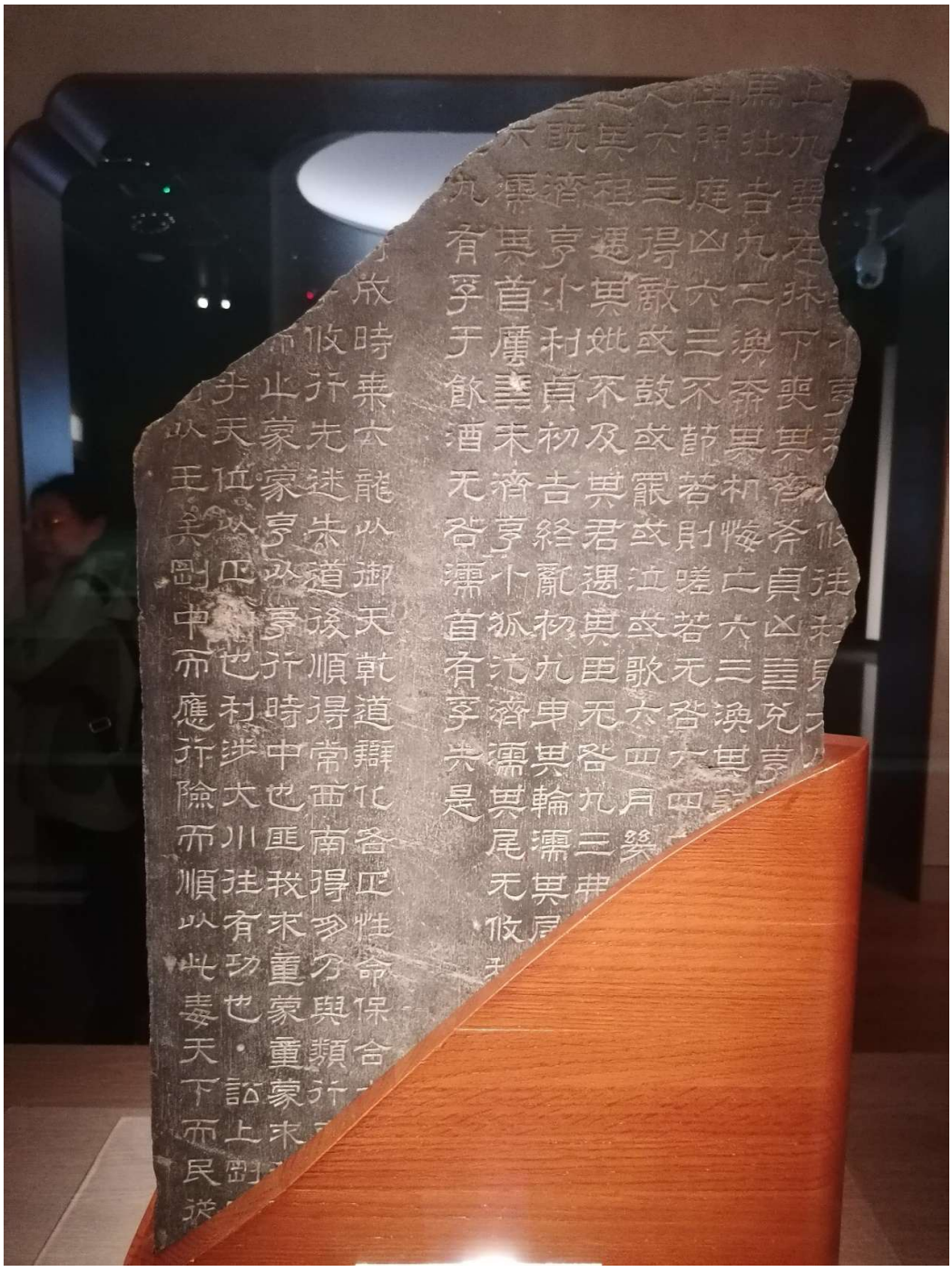


Figure 6-1.2: The other side of the remnant



6. Conclusion

In the study of the developmental history of *Odes* interpretations in the Han dynasty, the three standard histories are almost everything we got. It provides the

records of the lines of affiliation, the division of the four lines, and some other records related to lines so that one can glimpse how the Han classicists portray the lines and what is in their minds when considering who belongs to which and the transmission of classical knowledge. For now, the methodological framework for classifying—if one does it—scattered and excavated *Odes* texts should be based on them, instead of contentual information.

Our understanding of the three lost major lines of affiliation of *Odes* is limited to fragmented texts and records. When studying the line of affiliation of the texts, scholars based their judgement on vastly different methodological frameworks, some of which were not explicitly expressed and explained. Therefore, the text itself is the constant factor, while different methodological perspectives come up with vastly different and often contradicting conclusions. The less we understand the methodological frameworks laid behind, the less likely we can conduct meaningful research on the developmental history of lines of affiliation of classical interpretations in the Han dynasty.

Given the fact that there is little confirmation of internal consistency within a line for *Odes* characters, allographs, and interpretation, we must approach our understanding of these texts with caution. When coming to the study of the developmental history of classical interpretations in the Han dynasty, we should rely on historical records (contextual information) instead of classical texts and interpretations (contentual information). Besides the historical records, there is only a little other reliable evidence available to shed light on the essence like the characters and allographs of the texts and their interpretations. Without the

framework (and limitations) provided by the three standard histories, it is simply impossible for us to make any meaningful judgements about the line affiliations of *Odes* 2000 years ago.

In the analysis of Haihun *Odes*' line affiliation classification, scholars employ both contentual and contextual information. However, despite a thorough exploration of information and perspectives, a definitive conclusion remains elusive. One potential solution is to revisit the method of what and how is portrayed through the records of master–student affiliations, as the lines of affiliation are the product of standard historical records of the affiliations from beginning to end.

It is also worth noting that this thesis does not suggest that Han dynasty lines of affiliation had nothing to do with academic or scholarly exchange. However, there is little concrete evidence to demonstrate how the transmission of knowledge within a line operates and if any, how much of it and what content was transmitted. Moreover, even if we assume that the Han master–student association was purely nominal without any academic exchange,[567] we cannot refute the possibility, or the fact, that the student subjectively imitated or objectively learned from the teacher.[568]

In summary, this chapter argues that we should revert back to the principles outlined in standard historical records when it comes to understanding the affiliations between different lines of studies. Specifically, we should recognize that master–student relationships (contextual information) were the most significant factor in

[567] Cheng Sudong 程蘇東 2018: 151–53.
[568] Thanks to Chang Su-ching 張素卿 (Zhang Suqing) for providing the perspective in a dialogue in a conference (personal communication, November 2018).

defining these affiliations, rather than the academic essence of the classical knowledge itself (contentual information). Additionally, being selected as an Academician was based on one's knowledge of the classics, rather than any particular line of studies. The qualification for appointment as a representative of a given line of affiliation was based on (nominal) mentorship, rather than academically continuing the lineage of classical scholarship.

Chapter Seven: Source of Authority of Line Affiliation of Excavated Marquess of Haihun 海昏侯 *Odes*

1. Introduction

In the last chapter, this thesis has explored the two key types of evidence support research for the developmental history of lines of affiliation of interpretations of classics. The first is contentual information, which pertains to the content found within the texts themselves, such as the choice of character, allograph, interpretation, theme, and structure. The second is contextual information, which encompasses peripheral or background details, such as the authorship, source of authority, writer, audience, purpose, excavated object, and environment. These two types of information are all-inclusive since any evidence related to the lines of affiliation of classical interpretations falls into either category.

While contentual information deals with the texts directly, it relies on two key assumptions when it comes to the issue of line affiliations: (1) That the texts being compared are definitively affiliated with a specific line, and (2) That there is consistency in the texts and interpretations within that line. The Haihun 海昏 *Odes* 詩 case allows scholars to fulfil the first assumption by comparing it to the Xiping *Odes*, which is confirmed to be a *Lu Shi* 魯詩 recension. However, as a much later text, the Xiping 熹平 *Odes* naturally contains many variants to the Haihun *Odes*.

Even if we conjecture both are *Lu Shi* recensions and within the *Lu Shi* there were somewhat unifying elements transmitted, there is a time span of over two centuries between the death of the Marquess of Haihun (in 59 BC)[569] and the finish of the engraving of the Xiping stone stele in 183 AD, thus their respective *terminus ante quem*. This might be the reason why they shared similar structural organizations but with lots of textual (contentual) variants. Even if both Haihun *Odes* and Xiping *Odes* are confirmed to be *Lu Shi* manuscripts, the contentual comparison between these two manuscripts suggests a high degree of inconsistency in their texts and structure.

As demonstrated in Chapter 6 of this thesis, contentual information comparison can only retrospectively *expose* one of the recensions of a line but is incapable of providing reasons to *explain* why it belongs to that line. Taking Chu Shaosun's case for example, when it comes to an evaluation of his line affiliation, contentual information is much less useful than it seems. Textual and interpretational variants within lines of affiliation were a norm. Under such circumstances, what is the point of taking contentual information from Chu as a touchstone, and vice versa? A comparison of Haihun *Odes* and other texts contentually is methodologically contradicting the records of the standard histories.

In order to explore this issue further, in the following, I will examine a key contextual element that has been somewhat overlooked: Who hold(s) the source of authority of the Haihun *Odes* when it comes to the subject of line affiliation? Standard histories have provided us their logic of classifying classicists into lines:

[569] *Hanshu* 漢書 15b.493 and 63.2769–70.

According to their master–student affiliation. If we try to follow the method/logic of the standard histories on classifying a classicist or a text, what should we do? What the results can be?

2. Contextual information: Source of authority

This section delves into the history of various classical officials who worked in the Kingdom of Changyi 昌邑. While the duration of their service remains uncertain, it is noted that Liu He 劉賀 held the position of Prince of Changyi for a period of approximately 12 years before his coronation.[570] His enthronement and dethronement happened at around 18 or 19 years old (74 BC).[571]

2.1. Wang Shi 王式

It is highly reasonable to link Wang Shi[572] 王式 to the Haihun *Odes*. After all, he is the sole individual explicitly identified as "a teacher of the Prince of Changyi" (*[Wang] Shi wei Changyiwang shi*〔王〕式為昌邑王師).[573] On the matter of line affiliations, Wang's background clearly indicates that he is a *Lu Shi* classicist.[574]

During the dethronement, "all of the Prince of Changyi's officials were imprisoned and sentenced to execution" (*Changyi qun chen jie xi ayu zhu* 昌邑羣臣皆下獄

[570] *Hanshu* 14.420 and 63.2764 and Xin Deyong 辛德勇 2016: 126.
[571] *Hanshu* 63.2767 and Xin Deyong 2016: 126.
[572] Loewe 2000: 551 provides a biography.
[573] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[574] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

誅),[575] with a few exceptions. Two of them were Wang Ji 王吉 and Gong Sui 龔遂, who were spared due to their efforts to admonish the Prince. However, Wang Shi was accused of failing to report the case to the throne and not guiding the Prince's behaviour, resulting in his incrimination.[576] Records indicate that over 200 officials were executed.[577]

When Wang was in jail and facing execution, the official in charge brought Wang to account and asked "How is it you lack a written admonishment?" (*shi heyi wu jian shu* 師何以亡諫書). The reply from Wang is entirely *Odes*-related:

> 臣以《詩》三百五篇朝夕授王，至於忠臣孝子之篇，未嘗不為王反復誦之也；至於危亡失道之君，未嘗不流涕為王深陳之也。臣以三百五篇諫，是以亡諫書。[578]
> His official instructs the Prince days and nights by the 305 pieces of *Odes*. Reaching the pieces on dedicated ministers and filial sons, I never failed to recite them back and forth for the Prince. Reaching[579] the rulers who had been in peril of perishment and had lost the Way, I never failed to shed tears, explaining it profoundly for the Prince. His official admonishes by the 305 pieces, thus lack of written admonishment.[580]

It can be observed that the Prince of Changyi "had received an education in the *Odes* but this had apparently not changed his character",[581] but the reply quoted above successfully persuaded the official to acquit Wang Shi from execution.

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[575] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[576] *Hanshu* 72.3062 and 88.3610.
[577] *Hanshu* 89.3638.
[578] *Hanshu* 88.3610. When submitting an admonition to the emperor as an official, there were cases in which a knowledgeable official acted as a teacher, while the emperor was the student. Sarah A. Queen has analyzed such relationship between Emperor Wu and Dong Zhongshu, which is a period closely related to Liu He and Wang Shi. See Queen 2013. An example of citing the *Odes* to deliver an admonition can be found on page 200.
[579] Elstein 2006: 235 adds "the pieces on" here which makes good sense, but I see "至於忠臣孝子之篇" and "至於危亡失道之君" parallel.
[580] Elstein 2006: 235 provides an alternative translation.
[581] Van Ess 2022: 19.

In the previous chapters and the above, all *Odes*-related historical records pertaining to Wang Shi have been explored, including Chu Shaosun's case. Upon examining these records, it seems justifiable to conclude Wang Shi was the source of authority behind the Haihun *Odes*. Such designation is supported by the following: (1) Wang Shi's prominent association with the *Odes* was highlighted; (2) His esteemed role as the Prince's teacher; (3) His personal avowal of dedication to teaching the *Odes*; (4) His extensive experience instructing the *Odes*; and (5) His establishment of several *Lu Shi* Academicians including himself.

However, it is worth investigating other officials who also served in the Kingdom of Changyi and were well-versed in the *Odes*. Whether Wang was the source of authority behind the Haihun *Odes* will become clearer by comparison.

2.2. Wang Ji 王吉

It is worth noting that Wang Shi 王式 is not the sole official of the Prince of Changyi who possesses a deep understanding of the *Odes*. Wang Ji 王吉[582] and Gong Sui 龔遂, both of whom have been spared from execution for their repeated admonishment to the Prince, are also well-versed in the *Odes*. Unlike Wang Shi, who has no recorded official title within the Kingdom of Changyi aside from his role as the Prince's teacher, Wang Ji once held the esteemed position of Superintendent of the Capital (*zhongwei* 中尉).[583]

[582] Loewe 2000: 527–28 provides a biography.
[583] *Hanshu* 88.3614.

Wang Ji's mastery of classical knowledge was phenomenal. Historical records describe him as "studious and well-versed in classics when young" (*shao hao xue ming jing* 少好學明經),[584] and *Hanshu* mentions twice that he "understands completely the Five Classics" (*tong wujing* 通五經).[585] In fact, Wang's biography in the *Hanshu* notes that:

> 初，吉兼通五經，能為《騶氏春秋》，以《詩》、《論語》教授，好梁丘賀說《易》，令子駿受焉。[586]
> In the beginning, [Wang] Ji completely understands all of the Five Classics. He can do *Master Zou's Spring and Autumn Annals* and teach by the *Odes* and the *Analects*. He likes the explanation of the *Changes* by Liangqiu He and sends his son [Wang] Jun to learn from him.

This indicates that Wang was a well-rounded classicist who had extensively studied a range of different texts.

2.2.1. Wang Ji and the *Odes* 詩

When examining Wang's relationship with the *Odes*, there is limited information available. However, it is known that he had a firm connection to the *Han Shi*. Wang received teachings from Cai Yi 蔡誼 with Yi Zigong 食子公 and later taught Zhangsun Shun 長孫順. According to the "Traditions of Classicists" chapter (*Rulin zhuan* 儒林傳) in the *Hanshu*, it states all of them had established their own branches of *Han Shi* studies: "From this point onwards, there existed for *Han Shi*

[584] *Hanshu* 72.3058.
[585] *Hanshu* 72.3066 and 88.3600–3601.
[586] *Hanshu* 72.3066.

the branches of Wang, Yi, and Zhangsun studies" (*you shi Han Shi you Wang Yi Zhangsun zhi xue* 由是《韓詩》有王、食、長孫之學).[587]

In addition to his direct lineage, there is evidence of Wang's connection to the *Odes*. Wang has recorded to quote and explain the *Odes*. There were at least four occasions:

(1)

During his tenure as Superintendent of the Capital in the Kingdom of Changyi, he admonished the Prince on his "fondness of roaming and hunting" (*wang hao you lie* 王好遊獵). Wang began by quoting four verses from the *Odes* (from "*Fei feng*" 匪風 in *Guifeng* 檜風), followed by word-by-word explanations (*shuo* 說) of each verse.[588] Yang Shuda 楊樹達 (1885–1956) opines the explanation is the work *Han Explanations* (*Han shuo* 韓說) recorded in the "Treatise on Classics and Other Writings" chapter (*Yiwen zhi* 藝文志) of *Hanshu*.[589]

(2)

After quoting the *Odes* with explanations, Wang then went on to quote and explain another section of the *Odes* (from "*Gan tang*" 甘棠 in *Shaonan* 召南) to illustrate a point of history for the Prince.[590] Despite the Prince's disregard for the advice, he expressed respect and admiration (*jing li* 敬禮) for Wang's loyalty by bestowing

[587] *Hanshu* 88.3614.
[588] *Hanshu* 72.3058.
[589] Yang Shuda 楊樹達 2006: 560. See also *Hanshu* 30.1708.
[590] *Hanshu* 72.3058.

him with an honorific.[591] Wang was also highly regarded by the people of Changyi for his frequent admonitions to support the Prince (*guo zhong muo bu jingzhong yan* 國中莫不敬重焉), even though he did not directly rule them (*bu zhi min* 不治民).[592]

(3)

After the rise and fall of the Prince of Changyi, Wang Ji is appointed other official titles. On one of his admonitions to the Emperor Xuan 宣帝, Wang once again places a direct quote from the *Odes* (from "*Wen Wang*" 文王 in *Daya* 大雅) to illustrate his suggestion.[593]

(4)

In the biography of Wang Ji, Ban Gu quoted some of his non-dated sayings (*yan* 言). One of which Wang explained the reason for the compilation (*suo wei zuo* 所為作) of a piece of *Odes*. (from "*Fa tan*" 伐檀 in *Weifeng* 魏風).[594]

2.2.2. Wang Ji and the *Analects* 論語 (and the *Classic of Filial Piety* 孝經)

Wang Ji's mastery of classics can be supported by historical records. Besides having his own branch of *Han Shi* studies, Wang Ji also had a deep understanding of the Qi version of the *Analects* 齊論語.

[591] *Hanshu* 72.3061.
[592] *Hanshu* 72.3061.
[593] *Hanshu* 72.3063.
[594] *Hanshu* 72.3065.

According to Cao Jianguo 曹建國 and Wei Bofang 魏博芳, a set of *Qi Analects* was discovered in the tomb of the Marquess of Haihun.[595] Xin Deyong 辛德勇 and 彭明瀚 both laid out evidence to support the claim that Haihun *Analects* is a *Qi Analects* manuscript.[596] However, the lineage of the Haihun *Analects* is not definitively known,[597] just like the Haihun *Odes*. Chen Kanli 陳侃理 reviewed the evidence, such as allographs on the different lineages of the *Analects,* and compared them with different excavated *Analects* texts from the Western Han period. His conclusion was that "at that time, the circulation of the *Analects* was far more complex than could be summarized by the three parallel lines of affiliation" (*dangshi Lunyu de liuchuan zhuangkuang, yuan bushi san Lun bing xing keyi gaikuo de* 當時《論語》的流傳狀況，遠不是三《論》並行可以概括的)[598] therefore, categorizing Haihun *Analects* into any line of affiliation, in which their differences became comparatively stable not before late Western Han, would be erroneous.[599] Xu Jianwei's 徐建委 research on the transmission of the *Analects*-related texts in pre-Han and Han periods yielded a slightly different conclusion. According to Xu, the Qi and Lu versions of the *Analects* did not stabilize until Liu Xiang's 劉向 compilation. Liu combined different types of related texts into the

[595] Cao Jianguo 曹建國 and Wei Bofang 魏博芳 2021: 74–75.
[596] Xin Deyong 2019a and Peng Minghan 彭明瀚 2020: 77–88.
[597] Readers will find it useful to consult Csikszentmihalyi 2022: 342–44 for a summary and discussion of related studies. See also Watanabe Yoshihiro 渡邊義浩 2021 and Peng Minghan 2022: 186–97. Besides, Wang Gang 王剛 2019. Li Rui 李銳 2016 and Watanabe Yoshihiro 2021: 69–97 discuss from different angles the line affiliation of another excavated *Analects*, which was also unearthed from a royal tomb. The tomb occupant was Liu Xiu 劉脩, Prince of Zhongshan 中山王, who died 4 years after Liu He's death.
[598] Chen Kanli 陳侃理 2020: 166.
[599] Chen Kanli 2020. For a revised version of the article, please refer to Chen Kanli 2024: 363–90.

versions eventually recorded in the "Treatise on Arts and Literatures" chapter (*Yiwen zhi* 藝文志) of *Hanshu*.[600]

According to *Hanshu*, "When the Han dynasty was thriving, there were explanations [of the *Analects*] from Qi and Lu" (*Han xing, you Qi Lu zhi shuo* 漢興，有齊、魯之說).[601] Additionally, there were five people who transmitted the *Qi Analects* (*chuan Qilun zhe* 傳《齊論》者)[602] and among them, "only Wang Yang [aka Wang Ji][603] established a branch of studies named after himself" (*wei Wang Yang ming* 唯王陽名家).[604] It is evident that Wang Ji has a strong association with the *Qi Analects*.

In addition to referencing the *Odes*, Wang Ji included a quote from the *Analects* 論語 (from "Yang Huo" chapter 陽貨) in his counsel to the Prince prior to his journey to Chang'an 長安 for his coronation.[605] The quotation of the *Analects* was blended into Wang's advice, while in the transmitted *Analects* it is recorded as part of Confucius's words (*zi yue* 子曰).[606] Notably, when advising Emperor Xuan 宣帝, he cited a passage and clearly indicated it was from Confucius (*Kongzi yue* 孔子曰),

[600] Xu Jianwei 徐建委 2017c.
[601] *Hanshu* 30.1717.
[602] *Hanshu* 30.1717.
[603] According to Yan Shigu 顏師古, Wang Ji's courtesy name is Ziyang 子陽, therefore is addressed Wang Yang. See *Hanshu* 30.1717. Readers may also consult Xin Deyong 2019a: 180 for explanations.
[604] *Hanshu* 30.1717.
[605] *Hanshu* 72.3061.
[606] *Lunyu zhushu* 論語注疏 17.274.

albeit from the *Classic of Family Filial Piety*[607] (*Xiaojing* 孝經) instead of the *Analects*.[608]

Regarding Wang Ji's connection to the *Analects*, there is an additional detail to consider: his student Zhang Yu 張禹. Wang served as one of Zhang's instructors in the *Analects*, alongside another teacher Scholar Yong of Jiaodong 膠東庸生 who also transmitted *Qi Analects*.[609] Zhang's mastery of the text was such that he was later appointed as an Academician, tasked with instructing the crown prince in the ways of the *Analects* due to his exceptional skill and dedication.[610]

Despite Zhang's close ties to *Qi Analects* by being instructed by two *Qi Analects* masters and no other records of him learning the *Analects* from another person, it is worth noting that Zhang is recorded as one of the most influential classicists of Lu version of the *Analects* 魯論語. In fact, there even exists a recension of *Lu Analects with Marquess of Anchang Explanation* (*Lu Anchanghou shuo* 魯安昌侯說)[611] and the Marquess of Anchang referred to Zhang Yu.[612] Although there was no evidence in all transmitted Han texts to explain or at least indicate how Zhang was categorized to *Lu Analects* while taught by two, also have their line affiliation clearly recorded, *Qi Analects* classicists, *Hanshu* clearly credits Zhang as a *Lu Analects* classicist.[613] No more teachers on *Analects* for Zhang are recorded.

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[607] Rosemont and Ames 2009: 1 renders *xiao* 孝 as "family reverence".
[608] *Hanshu* 72.3063. Yan Shigu's commentary also noted it was Confucius's word from the *Xiaojing*. The quoted part is from *Xiaojing zhushu* 孝經注疏 6.50.
[609] *Hanshu* 81.3347 and 30.1717.
[610] *Hanshu* 81.3347–48.
[611] *Hanshu* 30.1716.
[612] *Hanshu* 81.3348.
[613] *Hanshu* 30.1717.

According to his biography in *Hanshu*, Zhang combined both of his *Analects* teachers' (one of which was Wang Ji) explanations to create his own esteemed and valued (*zungui* 尊貴) recension.[614] "Learners [of the *Analects*] thus mostly follow Zhang's, other lines gradually being eclipsed" (*you shi xuezhe duo cong Zhangshi, yu jia jin wei* 由是學者多從張氏，餘家寖微).[615] His recension was so esteemed and accepted that even the *Analects* transmitted nowadays based on his recension.[616]

The historical records do not give an explanation of how, why, or when Zhang moved from *Qi Analects* to *Lu Analects*. Instead, *Hanshu* clearly recorded that regarding his learning of the *Changes* under Shi Chou 施讎 and *Analects* Wang Ji 王吉 and Scholar Yong 庸生, Zhang "completely mastered both, having disciples and followers, and promoted as commandery Man of Learning" (*ji jie ming xi, you tu zhong, ju wei jun wenxue* 既皆明習，有徒衆，舉為郡文學).[617] Moreover, on an occasion when the Emperor asked Xiao Wanzhi 蕭望之 to evaluate Zhang for he was recommended collectively by classicists, in the interview, "[Zhang] Yu responded the broad meaning of the *Changes* and the *Analects*. [Xiao] Wangzhi approved it and proposed that Yu is well-versed in classical studies, has a master's method, and can be put on probation for official positions" (*Yu dui Yi ji Lunyu dayi, Wangzhi shan yan, zou Yu jingxue jingxi, you shifa, ke shi shi* 禹對《易》及《論語》大義，望之善焉，奏禹經學精習，有師法，可試事).[618] A clear record

[614] *Hanshu* 81.3352.
[615] *Hanshu* 81.3352.
[616] See Chen Kanli 2020: 158–59 for a more detailed discussion. Readers will find it useful to consult Zhang 2018: 93–174 and Cheng Yuanmin 程元敏 2018: 476–87 for the transmission of different recensions of the *Analects*. Besides, Liu Xiang 劉向 offered a simple way to distinguish different *Analects* recensions (*Lunyu yishu* 論語義疏 11 (序)).
[617] *Hanshu* 81.3347.
[618] *Hanshu* 81.3347. Worth mentioning that in the biography of Kuang Heng 匡衡, a nearly identical

talking Zhang "*you shifa*" 有師法. Given the investigation above, it seems unlikely that the interpretation here points to Zhang transmitting his teacher's method (*Qi Analects*), but establishing his own method (*Lu Analects*). Thus, "having a master's method" (*you shifa* 有師法)[619] here means Zhang himself became a teacher—an interpretation that accords with the above-quoted record: Zhang "have disciples and followers" (*you tu zhong* 有徒眾).[620]

Besides the *Analects*, the case of the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經) is also worth mentioning here. In the analysis above, Wang Ji cited a passage from the *Classic of Filial Piety*, although he has no records showing his connection with the *Classic of Filial Piety*. His student Zhang Yu, however, was recorded to establish his own explanations (*Anchanghou shuo* 安昌侯說).[621] There were only two entries for Zhang Yu (both in Anchanghou) in the "Treatise on Classics and Other Writings" chapter (*Yiwen zhi* 藝文志) of *Hanshu*, which neatly correspondence with his classical teacher Wang Ji's biography as they both have strong connections with *Analects* and *Classic of Filial Piety*, even though they were in two different lines of affiliation in the *Analects*.

Other than his student Zhang Yu, Wang Ji's son Wang Jun 王駿 also has his own recension of *Lu Analects* recorded in the "Treatise on Classics and Other Writings" chapter.[622] I have no idea why and how classicists moved away from their teacher's

record with very similar wording appeared again (*Hanshu* 81.3332). Please refer to an investigation in Chapter 3 of this thesis.
[619] *Hanshu* 81.3347.
[620] *Hanshu* 81.3347.
[621] *Hanshu* 30.1718.
[622] *Hanshu* 30.1716.

line affiliation, but here we can see that despite Wang Ji's strong association with the *Qi Analects* to an extant that "only Wang Yang [aka Wang Ji] established a branch of studies named after himself" (*wei Wang Yang ming* 唯王陽名家),[623] his student and his son *both* moved away from *Qi Analects* and established their own explanations of the *Lu Analects*. Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗 (1842–1906) tried explaining:

> 按：史傳但言王陽名家，不及王駿，蓋傳其父學。然王陽傳《齊論》，而其子乃為《魯說》，則又別自名學，與其父異，猶劉向治《穀梁〔春秋〕》，子歆治《左氏〔春秋〕》也。[624]
> N.B. Historical records only say Wang Yang [aka Wang Ji] established a branch of studies named after himself, without mentioning Wang Jun. This is probably because [Wang Jun] transmitted his father's scholarship. However, Wang Yang transmitted *Qi Analects* but his son in fact does *Lu Analects*, then it is [Wang Jun] established his own branch of studies different from his father's. Similar to Liu Xiang paying attention to *Guliang [chunqiu]* and [his] son [Liu] Xin *Mister Zuo's [chunqiu]*.

Although it too does not offer a reason, it fits the observation in chapter three of this thesis and this section: classical students in the Han dynasty were not required to follow their teacher's or ancestor's line affiliation.

Overall, Wang Ji's case is significant in two ways: (1) Similar to the cases of the *Lu Shi* the branch of Mr Wei studies (*Lu Shi Wei shi xue* 魯詩韋氏學) and Xue Guangde 薛廣德 family which are analysed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, classicists were not bound to a line of affiliation that is same as their teacher's. (2) While Wang Ji himself is undoubtedly a *Han Shi* 韓詩 and *Qi Analects* 齊論語 classicist, the historical records do not seem to support the idea that he had enough influential

[623] *Hanshu* 30.1717.
[624] Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗 2011a: 121.

power to determine which recension of the *Odes* was selected to be buried in the tomb of the Marquess of Haihun, as least not as influential as Wang Shi 王式.

Although Wang Ji was well-versed in different classics, he did not hold a position or duty of teaching the classics, let alone the *Odes*, to the Prince of Changyi. Compared with Wang Ji, Wang Shi seemed to be much more influential in terms of the *Odes* classic in the Kingdom of Changyi. Moreover, Wang Ji even had no influential power to his student Zhang Yu and son Wang Jun to contribute to *Qi Analects*, both had established their own explanations on *Lu Analects*. It seems unlikely Wang Ji would be suddenly influential enough to Liu He.

2.3. Gong Sui 龔遂

Besides Wang Shi 王式 and Wang Ji 王吉, Gong Sui 龔遂[625] also served the Prince of Changyi with profound knowledge of the *Odes*.

There was no historical record directly showing Gong Sui's relationship with the *Odes*, but it can be inferred through indirect angles. Gong was an upright official in the Kingdom of Changyi, known for his profound knowledge of the classics. He often "quoted the meanings of classics" (*yin jingyi* 引經義) to admonish the Prince and demand goodness from ministers.[626] In fact, it was his thorough understanding of the classics that enabled him to become an official in the first place. (*yi ming jing wei guan* 以明經為官).[627]

[625] Loewe 2000: 120–21 provides a biography.
[626] *Hanshu* 89.3637.
[627] *Hanshu* 89.3637. Regarding getting an official position through *ming jing* 明經, readers may consult Nishikawa Toshifumi 西川利文 1996.

On a verbal admonition, Gong made reference to the *Odes* as a means of emphasizing the importance of classical knowledge to good governance. For instance, he suggested that the Prince to be more engaging in the Classics:

> 臣請選郎通經術有行義者與王起居，坐則誦《詩》《書》，立則習禮容。[628]
> Your subject prays [Your Highness] to select gentlemen who thoroughly understand the knowledge of classics and have proper conduct to accompany Your Highness in your daily life, reciting the *Odes* and the *Documents* when sitting and practising rites and countenance when standing.

On another occasion, before his enthronement, the Prince witnessed an ominous omen and sought Gong's counsel. Gong responded:

> 大王誦《詩》三百五篇，人事浹，王道備，王之所行中《詩》一篇何等也？[629]
> Your Exalted Highness recites the 305 pieces of the *Odes*, and possesses a comprehensive team of officials and a thorough idea of good governance. At what level does Your Highness's move align with any single piece of the *Odes*?

It is worth noting that in the above passage, sentences "*renshi jia, wangdao bei*" 人事浹，王道備 have an identical correspondence in *Shuoyuan* 說苑 (in "Utmost Impartiality" chapter (*Zhigong* 至公))[630] which in the context of talking about

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[628] *Hanshu* 89.3638.
[629] *Hanshu* 63.2766. Yan Shigu's commentary: "This is to say that Your Highness's behaviour was entirely not in accordance with the standards and measures. Your Highness, please ask yourself which text of the *Odes* is fitting [with such a situation]" (*yan wang suo xing, jie buhe fadu. wang zi wei dang yu he Shi zhi wen ye* 言王所行，皆不合法度。王自謂當於何《詩》之文也). I find Yan's commentary different from what *Hanshu* said. "當於何《詩》之文" (fitting with which texts of the *Odes*) is different from "中" (aligning with) "《詩》一篇" (a piece of *Odes*) "何等" (what degree). I thus disregarded Yan's commentary when translating the texts quoted.
[630] *Shuoyuan jizheng* 說苑集證 14.887. Eric P. Henry translated the whole *Shuoyuan* 說苑 in English. He translated "人事浹，王道備" as "thoroughly conversant with human affairs, knew the kingly way in its entirety" (*Garden of Eloquence: Shuoyuan* 說苑 14.835).

Confucius's compilation to the *Springs and Autumns*, another one of the Five Classics that also has a close tie with Confucius.

Another closest correspondence found in *Shiji* with the sequence of the sentences converted: "*wangdao bei, renshi jia*" 王道備，人事浹.[631] The passage in *Shiji*, similar to *Shuoyuan*, also referred to Confucius's compilation of the *Springs and Autumns* instead of the *Odes*.

Besides the converted sentences in *Shiji*, the closest phrase with slight textual variants: "*rendao jia, wangdao bei*" 人道浹，王道備 appears four times among all pre-Han and Han texts and thrice in *Lunheng* 論衡, twice in the "Rectifying Explanations" chapter (*Zhengshuo* 正說) and once in the "Making Replies" chapter (*Duizuo* 對作)[632]. The last instance can be found in He Xiu's 何休 (129–182) commentary to the *Gongyang Chunqiu* 公羊春秋.[633]

Another variant, by adding a conjunction, is: "*rendao jia er wangdao bei*" 人道浹而王道備. It appears only once in *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 (in the "Jade Cup" chapter (*Yubei* 玉杯)).[634]

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[631] *Shiji* 史記 14.509. It is the same in the revised version *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局 *Shiji*. See *Shiji* (2013) 14.648.

[632] *Lunheng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋 28.1130, 28.1132, and 29.1177. See also *Lunheng jiaozhu* 論衡校注 28.549 (twice) and 29.568 and *Lunheng jiaojian* 論衡校箋 28.879 (twice) and 29.910. Ma Zonghuo 馬宗霍 2010 did not comment on the quoted sentences. *Lunheng* has a complete English translation by Alfred Forke (1867–1944). For the corresponding parts, see *Lun-Hêng: Philosophical Essays of Wang Ch'ung* 論衡 v.1 451, 452, and 83.

[633] *Chunqiu Gongyangzhuan zhushu* 春秋公羊傳注疏 28.718.

[634] *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 1.22. Sarah Queen and John Major translated the whole *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 in English. They translated "人道浹而王道備" as "[the *Spring and Autumn*] comprehensively encompasses the Human Way and perfectly delineates the Kingly Way" (*Luxuriant Gems of the Spring and Autumn* 春秋繁露 1.83).

It is particularly noteworthy that these variants, like the ones in *Shuoyuan* and *Shiji*, all talked about the *Chunqiu*. In other words, considering all similar phrases, these six cases that are identical/similar to Gong Sui's replies shared two significant common factors: (1) There is no pre-Han record of using the term, all Han records (with Gong's reply included); and (2) All pointing to the *Chunqiu* (except Gong's reply). Although it points to another Classic that is also often attached to Confucius's name, Gong Sui's reply, which points to the *Odes*, is the only odd one out.

Worth noting in Huang Hui's 黃暉 annotation to one of *Lunheng*'s similar phrases, he pointed out that,

> 《春秋繁露・玉杯》篇、《史記・太史公自序》、《說苑・至公》篇亦有此說。[635]
> [Besides the passages here in *Lunheng*,] the "Jade Cup" chapter in *Chunqiu fanlu*, the "Self-Postface of the Grand Historian" chapter in *Shiji*, and the "Utmost Impartiality" chapter in the *Shuoyuan* also have this statement.

Huang's annotation included almost all the above-quoted cases—except Gong Sui's reply. It is highly unlikely that Huang carelessly omitted *Hanshu* as he already quoted all similar passages but not far-fetched ones; for example, in *Liji* 禮記 and other works, there were cases of only "*wangdao bei*" 王道備. The fact that Huang ruled out Gong Sui's reply means he sees it as an outsider to the group. From the above investigation, the only feature splitting Gong's reply from the group is it referred to the *Odes* instead of, like all other cases, the *Chunqiu*.

[635] *Lunheng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋 28.1130.

There is one more instance showing Gong Sui's knowledge of the *Odes* and using it to guide the Prince to the moral path. When Liu He was shortly sitting on his Emperor throne, he saw a foreboding sign and consulted Gong once again. Gong replied with a rhetorical question: "Is it not told by Your Highness's *Odes*?" (*bixia zhi Shi bu yun hu* 陛下之《詩》不云乎),[636] and then proceeded to quote verses from the *Odes* (from "*Qing ying*" 青蠅 in *Xiaoya* 小雅) and explain their relationship to the omen and the current situation.[637]

Overall, the passages quoted above do not seem to reveal Gong Sui's line affiliation in the *Odes* but rather emphasize his strong belief in and support for the importance of classics in good governance.

Furthermore, Gong Sui seems to hold a position of great importance as one of the closest officials, or may even be the closest one, to the Prince of Changyi. He is the only one who has been commanded (*shi* 使) by the Prince to be his ride-aide (*cansheng* 參乘).[638] In fact, there are multiple instances where the Prince seeks help from Gong and they engage in direct dialogues. The interaction between Liu He and Gong Sui has been documented in three different chapters of *Hanshu*: (1) The "Treatise on Wuxing" chapter (*Wuxing zhi* 五行志);[639] (2) The "Traditions of Five

[636] *Hanshu* 63.2766.
[637] *Hanshu* 63.2766.
[638] *Hanshu* 63.2765.
[639] *Hanshu* 27.

Sons of Emperor Wu" chapter (Wu wuzi zhuan 武五子傳);[640] and (3) The "Traditions of Reasonable Officials" (*Xun li zhuan* 循吏傳).[641]

2.4. Other classics-related officials

Regarding all officials who served in the Kingdom of Changyi that can be observed in the related records, those related to the *Odes* have been explored above. Among all transmitted Han texts, there are no other officials under Liu He recorded to be knowledgeable in classical studies.[642]

It may be worth investigating one more official, Xiahou Shichang 夏侯始昌, who served as a Senior Tutor (*taifu* 太傅) of Liu He's father, Liu Bo 劉髆. Emperor Wu 武帝 appointed Xiahou due to Liu He's birth:

> 時昌邑王以少子愛，上為選師，始昌為太傅。[643]
> In those days, the Prince of Changyi [note: here it means Liu Bo 劉髆] was favoured [by the emperor] owing to his young son. The emperor held a teacher selection [for Liu Bo], and [Xiahou] Shichang was appointed as a Senior Tutor.

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[640] *Hanshu* 63.
[641] *Hanshu* 89. *Hanshu* provides no explanation for the term "循吏", whereas *Shiji* describes them as "奉職循理" (*Shiji* 119.3099) and "奉法循理之吏" (*Shiji* 130.3317). In both instances, the term conveys the idea of "following reason". Yen Hung-chung 閻鴻中 explores the significance of the term as created by and presented in *Shiji* (Yen Hung-chung 閻鴻中 (Yan Hongzhong). 2016: 23). For translations of the term found in *Shiji*, both Joshua A. Fogel (Miyazaki 2025: 153) and William H. Nienhauser (Nienhauser 2025: 324) translate "循吏" as "reasonable officials". Given the imitative nature of *Hanshu* in relation to *Shiji*—including the "循吏傳"—it seems fitting to adopt the terminology used in *Shiji*.
[642] These two articles explored all officials who served in the Kingdom of Changyi: Zou Shuijie 鄒水杰 2016 and Wen Leping 溫樂平 and Ye Qiuju 葉秋菊 2017.
[643] *Hanshu* 75.3154.

Like Wang Ji 王吉, Xiahou Shichang is also described in *Hanshu* as "understanding completely the Five Classics" (*tong wujing* 通五經), in total thrice in three different chapters.[644] He "teaches by *Qi Shi* and the *Documents*" (*yi Qi Shi Shangshu jiaoshou* 以《齊詩》、《尚書》教授).[645] Regarding his *Odes* line affiliation, he is recorded as the most prominent student of 轅固, the founder of *Qi Shi*:

> 諸齊以《詩》顯貴，皆固之弟子也。昌邑太傅夏侯始昌最明，自有傳。[646]
> Those Qi people who celebrated and esteemed in the *Odes* are all [Yuan] Gu's disciples. Xiahou Shichang, Senior Tutor of Changyi, is the brightest and has his own traditions.[647]

According to Wang Feng 王鳳 (Wang Mang's 王莽 father's elder brother), Tutors are classical educators whose primary role is to teach.[648] Based on this, we can confidently assume that if Xiahou Shichang taught the *Odes*, then it would have been *Qi Shi*.

However, although it should be possible to assume that *Qi Shi* was taught to Liu Bo, there is little evidence to suggest that *Qi Shi* was taught to his son, Liu He. This lack of evidence is due in part to Liu Bo's passing when Liu He was just five years old.[649] Moreover, a report by Zhang Cang 張敞 to Emperor Zhao 昭帝 mentions Senior Tutor Bao (*taifu Bao* 太傅豹) with some other seniors under Liu Bo unapprovingly kept (*shan liu* 擅留) ten singers and dancers in the palace after Liu

[644] *Hanshu* 27b.a.1353, 75.3154, and 88.3613.
[645] *Hanshu* 75.3154.
[646] *Hanshu* 88.3612.
[647] Elstein 2006: 239 provides an alternative translation. Regarding *zi you zhuan* 自有傳 please refer to a discussion in Chapter 5 of this thesis.
[648] *Hanshu* 80.3325.
[649] *Hanshu* 6.211, 14.420, and 63.2764.

Bo's death instead of sending them home as Han law suggests. Liu He, as the new Prince of Changyi, did not abide by the laws but suggested keeping them.[650] This record suggests that Xiahou was either no longer a Senior Tutor or was not at the highest position among Senior Tutors when Liu Bo died and Liu He inherited the title.

Even if Xiahou maintained some influence in the new princedom, there is no record of him teaching Liu He. Instead, Wang Shi is the only recorded tutor of the *Odes* for Liu He. Additionally, Chapter 3 of this thesis has shown that even though classical scholarship is often transmitted within families, there is hardly any evidence to support the transmission of a certain *Odes* line between Xiahou, Liu Bo, and Liu He, or the version of the *Odes* buried in the tomb of Liu He.

Please refer to Appendix 5 for collections of all the quotations and explanations of the *Odes* from the officials under the Kingdom of Changyi. All of them were addressed directly to Liu He in oral or written form.

3. Your Highness's *Odes* 陛下之《詩》

At present, there is still no definitive conclusion on the line affiliation of the Haihun *Odes*. After analysing the classicists mentioned earlier, it can be said that Wang Shi 王式 seems to demonstrate the strongest connection between the Haihun *Odes* thus its line of affiliation. Moreover, Wang Shi was the only recorded classicist engaged

[650] *Hanshu* 63.2768.

in direct tutelage to the Prince of Changyi about the *Odes*. Wang Ji 王吉 is also proficient in the *Odes* but might have no influential power on the Haihun *Odes*, although he is possible to be influential to the Haihun *Analects*. Additionally, Gong Sui 龔遂, who served as a close attendant to the Prince, often cited the *Odes* as a means of advising and correcting him.

Let's revisit the two Gong Sui's rhetorical questions to the Prince:

> 大王誦《詩》三百五篇，人事浹，王道備，王之所行中《詩》一篇何等也？[651]
> Your Exalted Highness recites the 305 pieces of the *Odes*, and possesses a comprehensive team of officials and a thorough idea of good governance. At what level does Your Highness's move align with any single piece of the *Odes*?
>
> 陛下之《詩》不云乎？[652]
> Is it not told by Your Highness's *Odes*?

The above rhetorical questions are possible to be interpreted from two opposite and essentially contradicting perspectives:

(1) As a teacher of the Prince, Gong may ask his student to reflect on how well he is learning and practicing the *Odes*. The teacher has already taught numerous pieces of odes to the student, explained their moral values, and even given him a copy of the *Odes*.

[651] *Hanshu* 63.2766.
[652] *Hanshu* 63.2766.

(2) As a humble official, Gong may ask his master to reflect on how well he is learning and practicing the *Odes*. The teacher has already taught numerous pieces of odes to the student, explained their moral values, and even given him a copy of the *Odes*.

It is clear that, despite the same information, one can draw vastly different conclusions from these interpretations. Entangling interpretations of the texts in this case is rather useless or even misleading. Further investigations from different perspectives with different evidence are inevitable.

However, logical inferences can be made based on the text. Based on the phrase "Your Highness's *Odes*", it seems that Liu He had his own copy of the *Odes*. The question is, is this a copy given by his *Odes* teacher or produced by Liu himself?

Moreover, even if Liu held an *Odes* recension from his teacher, there is no evidence at all—probably we will never find one—inferring if this is the one he kept for his whole life and eventually took to the tomb, nor any evidence showing a similar version to the one that was excavated.

Therefore, two questions need to be answered for Gong's rhetorical questions: (1) Who holds the responsibility for the *Odes* that Gong Sui referred to? (2) Is the version Gong Sui referred to the same as the one being buried?

Before the two sections that will investigate the above inferences one by one, there is one notion that worth discussing: 305 pieces of the *Odes*.

3.1. 305 pieces of the *Odes*

Regarding the above-quoted Gong Sui's first rhetorical question which mentioned the 305 pieces of the *Odes*, Zhou Shouchang 周壽昌 (1814–1884) suggests this referred to Wang Shi's contribution and even Wang Ji also agrees with the *Lu Shi* explanation:

> 「三百五篇」是《魯詩》篇數。《詩》〈正義〉曰「三家（三）〔不〕[653]見〈詩序〉，不知六篇亡失，謂其唯有三百五篇。」〈王式傳〉「臣以《詩》三百五篇朝夕授王。」式「事魯許生、免中徐公」，傳《魯詩》，「為昌邑王師」，則王誦者必《魯詩》也。龔遂為此言，疑亦傳《魯詩》之學。至中尉王吉，學《韓詩》，而所引《韓詩》說亦與《魯詩》同義，殆就王所學而導之也。[654]
> The "three hundred and five pieces" is the number of pieces in the *Lu Shi*. The *Correct Meaning of the Odes* said, "The three lines did not see the "Preface to the Odes" and do not know six pieces have been lost, saying there were only three hundred and five pieces." The "Traditions of Wang Shi", "Your subject taught three hundred and five pieces of the *Odes* days and nights to the Prince. [Wang] Shi, who "served Scholar Xu of Lu and Master Xu of Mianzhong", transmitted *Lu Shi*, "been the teacher of the Prince of Chanyi, so that the [type of *Odes*] the Prince must have recited was *Lu Shi*. Gung Sui made this statement, and it is suspected that he also transmitted the studies of *Lu Shi*. For [the case of] Wang Ji, Superintendent of the Capital, who studied *Han Shi*, and the *Han Shi* explanations quoted by him were also synonymous with *Lu Shi*, he was probably according to what the Prince had learned to guide him.

Shen Qinhan 沈欽韓 (1775–1831) has the same opinion that when people talked about 305 pieces of *Odes*, they were not referring to *Mao Shi*. In his comment on Ban Gu's "Treatise on Arts and Literatures" chapter (*Yiwen zhi* 藝文志) of *Hanshu*, Shen quoted the same passage in *Mao Shi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 by Kong Yingda 孔穎

[653] "三" here makes no sense and my correction is based on *Mao Shi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 9 (詩譜序).
[654] *Hanshu zhu jiaobu* 漢書注校補 41.16a (729).

達 as Zhou quoted and opines Ban has not seen *Mao Shi* as he used "*sanbai wu pian*" 三百五篇 to address the *Odes* (*ru ci zhi ze Ban shi yi weijian Mao Shi zhuan zhe ye* 如此〈志〉，則班氏亦未見〈毛詩傳〉者也).[655] Besides scholars on the study of *Hanshu*, Kusuyama Haruki 楠山春樹 (1922–2011) also opines that talking about the *Odes* having 305 or 311 pieces shows the difference between *Mao Shi* and other lines of affiliation.[656]

Here is the text in *Mao Shi zhengyi* that the above-quoted scholars based their argument on:

> 《樂緯・動聲儀》、《詩緯・含神務》、《尚書・璿璣鈐》皆云「三百五篇」者，漢世毛學不行，三家不見〈詩序〉，不知六篇亡失，謂其唯有三百五篇。讖緯皆漢世所作，故言「三百五」耳。[657]
> [The reason why] *Dong sheng yi* of *Yue wei*, *Han shen wu* of *Shi wei*, and *Xuanji qian* of *Shangshu* all said "three hundred and five pieces" is because Mao's scholarship did not circulate in Han era. The three lines of affiliation did not see the "*Odes*' Preface" and they did not know that six pieces had been lost, so they said that there only had three hundred and five pieces. *Chen* [and] *wei* were both written in Han era, so [they] said "three hundred and five".

To verify the theory of 305 or 311 pieces, I tried checking the apocryphal (*chen wei* 讖緯)[658] texts quoted. Unfortunately, they only survived in collecting the fragments (*ji yi* 輯佚). In the commonly accepted apocryphal texts compilation by Yasui Kōzan 安居香山 and Nakamura Shōhachi 中村璋八,[659] all the quoted apocryphal

[655] *Hanshu shuzheng* 漢書疏證 24.28a (653).
[656] Kusuyama Haruki 楠山春樹 1984: 207–8.
[657] *Mao Shi zhengyi* 9–10 (詩譜序).
[658] For more information about *chen* 讖 and *wei* 緯 in Han dynasty, readers will find it useful to consult Xu Xingwu 徐興無 2003: 1–21 and Zhao 2019: 209–15.
[659] Zhang Xueqian 張學謙 2022 and Zhang Jiuqing 張玖青 2023 both state that the compilation is by far the most prominent one, albeit listing different types of deficiency.

texts are based exactly on the above-quoted Kong Yingda's text.[660] Putting the discussions and sources together, we can see that the above discussion is a closed, that is, circulating system. In other words, we can only rely on Kong Yingda's commentary on grasping the theory of the *Odes* having 305 or 311 pieces shows the difference between lines.

Verifying them in transmitted texts might be able to provide us with some new insight. Among all pre-Han and Han texts, using "*sanbai pian*" 三百篇 (noted not "*Shi sanbai*" 詩三百) to refer to the *Odes* got two instances,[661] while "*sanbai wu pian*" 三百五篇 six.[662]

Here are the two instances of using "*sanbai pian*" 三百篇:

1. The "Self-Postface of the Grand Historian" chapter (*Taishigong zixu* 太史公自序) of *Shiji*:

> 《詩》三百篇，大抵賢聖發憤之所為作也。[663]
> The great bulk of 300 pieces of the *Odes* have been compiled because worthies and sages gave vent to their exasperations.[664]

2. The "Five Classics" chapter (*wu jing* 五經) of *Baihutong* 白虎通:

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[660] For the apocryphal texts cited, see Yasui Kōzan 安居香山 and Nakamura Shōhachi 中村璋八 1971: 3.91; 3.29; and 2.61.
[661] Two cases are ruled out. One from *Hanshu* 漢書 62.2735, which copies *Shiji* 史記 130.3300, and the other one in *Lunheng* 論衡 (*Lunheng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋 28.1129). An explanation of *Lunheng*'s case comes later.
[662] I ruled out instances from *Hanji* 漢紀 16.287 (twice) as it copies *Hanshu* 88.3610 (twice). The significance of instances will be discussed later.
[663] *Shiji* 130.3300.
[664] My translation based on van Ess 2019: 330.

> 孔子未定《五經》如何？〔……〕設法謗之言，並作《書》三千篇，作《詩》三百篇，而歌謠怨誹也。[665]
> Before Confucius fixed the Five Classics, what happened? […] Established the words of model and defame and composed 3000 pieces of the *Documents*. Composed 300 pieces of the *Odes*, which contains songs and ballads of resentment and disparagement.[666]

Here are the six instances of using "*sanbai wu pian*" 三百五篇:

1. The "Hereditary House of Confucius" chapter (*Konzi shijia* 孔子世家) of *Shiji*:

> 古者《詩》三千餘篇，及至孔子，去其重〔……〕。三百五篇孔子皆弦歌之〔……〕。[667]
> In ancient times there were 3000-something pieces of the *Odes*. When reaching up to Confucius, the duplicates were discarded […]. Confucius sang accompanied by stringed instruments all 305 pieces.

2. The "Treatise on Arts and Literatures" chapter (*Yiwen zhi* 藝文志) of *Hanshu*:

> 孔子純取周詩，上采殷，下取魯，凡三百五篇，遭秦而全者，以其諷誦，不獨在竹帛故也。[668]
> Confucius took purely the odes of the Zhou, from collecting [those from] the Yin to taking [those from] the Lu, altogether 305 pieces. [It] suffered from [the disaster of] the Qin but was preserved intact because it was recited and chanted from memory and was not merely on bamboo and silk.[669]

3. The "Traditions of Liu Bo" chapter (*Liu Bo zhuan* 劉髆傳) of *Hanshu*:

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[665] *Baihutong shuzheng* 白虎通疏證 9.444. Chen Li 陳立, who compiled the *Baihutong shuzheng*, quoted Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 (1717–1796) and supplemented his own annotation.
[666] Tjan Tjoe-som 曾珠森 provides an alternative translation. See *Po Hu T'ung: The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall* 白虎通 39.606–7.
[667] *Shiji* 47.1936.
[668] *Hanshu* 30.1708.
[669] For an alternative translation, please consult Kern 2018: 40.

大王誦《詩》三百五篇，人事浹，王道備，王之所行中《詩》一篇何等也？[670]
Your Exalted Highness recites the 305 pieces of the *Odes*, and possesses a comprehensive team of officials and a thorough idea of good governance. At what level does Your Highness's move align with any single piece of the *Odes*?

4. The "Traditions of Classicists" chapter (*Rulin zhuan* 儒林傳) of *Hanshu*:

臣以《詩》三百五篇朝夕授王[671]
Your subject instructed the prince day and night with the 305 pieces of the *Odes*

5. The "Traditions of Classicists" chapter of *Hanshu*:

臣以三百五篇諫
Your subject admonished by the 305 pieces

6. The "Rectify Explanations" chapter (*Zheng shuo* 正說) of *Lunheng* 論衡:

《詩經》舊時亦數千篇，孔子刪去復重，正而存三百篇，猶〔《書》〕二十九篇也。謂二十九篇有法，是謂三百五篇復有法也。[672]
Shijing in old times also had several thousand pieces. Confucius expunged the duplicates, rectified and retained 300 pieces, like the 29 pieces [of the *Documents*]. To say 29 pieces had a model is to say the 305 pieces also had a model.[673]

[670] *Hanshu* 63.2766.
[671] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[672] *Lunheng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋 28.1129. See also *Lunheng jiaozhu* 論衡校注 28.549.
[673] Alfred Forke provided an alternative translation. See *Lun-Hêng: Philosophical Essays of Wang Ch'ung* 論衡 v.1 451.

For *Lunheng*'s case, it mentioned both "*sanbai pian*" and "*sanbai wu pian*", but the context suggests it uses "*sanbai wu pian*" to refer to the *Odes*, so I put the *Lunheng* case in the camp of "*sanbai wu pian*". Moreover, Yang Baozhong's 楊寶忠 *Lunheng jiaojian* 論衡校箋 provides a compelling analysis:

> 「三百篇」當為「三百五篇」。此文以《詩經》所餘篇數與《書經》所餘篇數作比，不得舉其成數言三百篇也。漢時《詩經》實存三百五篇。「百」下脫「五」字，下文「謂二十九篇有法，是謂三百五篇復有法也」即承此而言，正作「三百五篇」，其證也。又：「猶二十九篇」之上，似當重出「三百五篇」四字，蓋涉重文而脫。[674]
>
> "*Sanbai pian*" should be [written as] "*sanbai wu pian*". The text took the remaining number of pieces of the *Shijing* and that of the *Shujing* for comparison. It cannot state the rounding number of 300 pieces. In Han times the *Shijing* actually remained 305 pieces. Following the [character] "*bai*" there loss of the character "*wu*". The text that follows, "*wei er shi jiu pian you fa, shi wei sanbai wu pian fu you fa ye*", succeeds this text, it is exactly "*sanbai wu pian*". It is the evidence. Also: Preceding "*you er shi jiu pian*", it seems to be right to repeat these four characters: "*Sanbai wu pian*". Its loss was probably due to repeating texts.

In comparison, the instances are quite limited in relation to the volume of texts transmitted and the fundamental status of the *Odes* in classical studies during the pre-Han period and Han dynasty.

Nevertheless, there are some noteworthy observations.

Firstly, among all instances of the use of "*sanbai wu pian*", four out of six cases are found in *Hanshu*. This indicates a rather concentrated usage of the terminology.

[674] *Lunheng jiaojian* 論衡校箋 28.886 n. 15.

Secondly, in the four *Hanshu* cases, Gong Sui's usage (instance #3) aligns well with the two usages of Wang Shi (instances #4 and #5).

Thirdly, when we narrow down the statistics to "*Shi sanbai wu pian*" 《詩》三百五篇, it is evident that among all pre-Han and Han texts, only Gong Sui and Wang Shi had such instances.

Fourthly, instances in Xun Yue's 荀悅 (148–209) *Hanji* 漢紀 (Annals of Han) that I ruled out in the count provide a more coherent and parallel record.[675] Let us first revisit part of Wang Shi's extenuate recorded in the *Hanshu*:

> 臣以《詩》三百五篇朝夕授王〔……〕。臣以三百五篇諫〔……〕。[676]
> His official instructs the Prince days and nights by the 305 pieces of *Odes* […]. His official admonishes by the 305 pieces […].

Here is the correspondence part in *Hanji*:

> 臣以三百五篇《詩》授王〔……〕。臣以三百五篇《詩》諫王〔……〕。[677]
> His official instructs the Prince by the 305 pieces of *Odes* […]. His official admonishes the Prince by the 305 pieces of *Odes* […].

It is clear that *Hanji* shows a coherent and parallel use of the terminology "*sanbai wu pian Shi*" 三百五篇《詩》. It is also worth noting that *Hanji* made the whole sentences quoted above parallel, especially compared with its source information.

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[675] For basic information on *Hanji* including its credibility as historical records, and its relationship with *Shiji* and *Hanshu*, readers may consult Leung Tak-wah 梁德華 (Liang Dehua) 2011.
[676] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[677] *Hanji* 漢紀 16.287.

Although there is no further evidence showing Xun Yue referred to other records on slightly amending *Hanshu*'s record,[678] it is at least clear that Xun deemed it appropriate to intentionally put Wang Shi's words in parallel with a phrase that was generally attributed to the three major lines of affiliation in Han.

In conclusion, the strong correlation between Gong Sui's and Wang Shi's usage of terminology addressing the *Odes* suggests the possibility of Gong's reference to Wang's *Odes* that were given and taught to Liu He, the Prince of Changyi.

There is an additional piece of information that complements the above observations. In the excavated Haihun *Odes*, there is a bamboo slip with the words "詩三百五扁" (*shi sanbai wu bian*).[679] In the context, this signifies the count of the odes. Considering this, together with the earlier observations, I interpret this record as a direct correspondence to Gong Sui's and Wang Shi's references to the *Odes* possessed by Liu He.

3.2. Liu He's attitude towards the *Odes*

As we can observe in historical records, Liu He was not willing to listen to repeated admonitions with *Odes* and other classics cited from different officials, teachings from his *Odes* teacher, remonstrations from his highly and widely respected official, or several advisory talks with his closest officials. In this section, I will further

[678] Zhang Lie 張烈, a modern compiler of Xun Yue's *Hanji* published by Zhonghua shuju, stated, instead of being a total copycat, Xun Yue corrected and supplemented *Hanshu*. See *Hanji* 3 (點校說明).
[679] Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚 2020a: 82–83. Page 83 contains pictures of the slip with characters.

investigate various historical records of Liu He being an obstinate Prince, thus why it is highly unlikely that "Your Highness's *Odes*" referred to a copy of the *Odes* that was produced by Liu He himself. Rather, the copy in question was from Liu He's *Odes* teacher.

Some speculate that the excavated Haihun *Odes* could have been a version created by Liu himself,[680] but this seems unlikely. One of *Hanshu*'s commentators Su Lin 蘇林 noted "Your Highness's *Odes*" that "it is to say the *Odes* that read by His Highness" (*you yan bixia suo du zhi Shi ye* 猶言陛下所讀之《詩》也).[681] A clear judgement on stating the *Odes* is something that Liu He read instead of a product by him. Moreover, evidence suggests that Liu was not a fan of the *Odes* or any classics, as indicated by Gong's rhetorical question and Liu's life story of behaving against the teaching of the *Odes*.

The rhetorical questions quoted above were Liu's consultations to Gong Sui for ominous omens. In both cases, Gong mentioned about the *Odes* and advised the Prince to introspect. However, Liu "never changed his qualities" (*zhong bu gai jie* 終不改節)[682] and "not make use of his [Gong Sui's] words" (*bu yong qi yan* 不用其言).[683] Moreover, on one of Wang Ji's admonitions illustrated above, it was for the Prince's "acts and doings are intemperate" (*dong zuo wang jie* 動作亡節).[684] Wang started by quoting verses from the *Odes*, followed by word-by-word explanations of

[680] Zhang Feng 張峰 2022: 80.
[681] *Hanshu* 63.2766.
[682] *Hanshu* 63.2766.
[683] *Hanshu* 63.2766.
[684] *Hanshu* 72.3058.

each verse.[685] He then went on to quote and explain another section of the *Odes* to illustrate a point of history for the Prince.[686] Afterwards, Wang explicitly pointed out that "the Prince is not fond of books and knowledge but enjoys indulgence and roaming" (*Dawang bu hao shu shu er le yi you* 大王不好書術而樂逸游).[687] The result of the admonition, however, was the Prince "once again indulgent unperturbedly" (*fu fangzong ziruo* 復放從自若).[688] In Xun Yue's *Hanji*, Wang Ji's admonition cited above talked about "classics and knowledge" (*jing shu* 經術) instead of "books and knowledge" (*shu shu* 書術).[689]

One of Liu He's former officials, Zhang Chang 張敞, was appointed by Emperor Xuan 宣帝 to keep a close eye on the dethroned Liu He. Zhang did not disappoint his Emperor and provided detailed observations of his former master.[690] In one of his proposals,[691] Zhang reported incidents he observed in 67 BC, when Liu was 26 or 27 years old and around 8 years after the dethronement. Zhang described Liu's appearance, movement, clothing, accessorization, speech, and behaviour, and concluded:

> 察故王衣服言語跪起，清狂不惠。[692]
> Scrutinizing the former King's clothing, speech, kneeling, and standing, [he is] simpleton, madcap, and unwise.

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[685] *Hanshu* 72.3058.
[686] *Hanshu* 72.3058.
[687] *Hanshu* 72.3059.
[688] *Hanshu* 72.3061.
[689] *Hanji* 16.287.
[690] For the timeline and narrative of Emperor Xuan 宣帝 sending Zhang Chang 張敞, see Xin Deyong 辛德勇 2016: 189–96.
[691] Chen Jun 陳君 2020: 74–75 opines, without providing support, Zhang Chang's record "came from the original document of the Han court" (*chuzi Han chao gongting de yuanshi dang'an* 出自漢朝宮廷的原始檔案). I suppose Chen based his claim on Zhang's listing proposal (*tiao zou* 條奏) was quoted by *Hanshu* (*Hanshu* 63.2767).
[692] *Hanshu* 63.2768.

On the terminology *qingkuang* 清狂, Su Lin 蘇林[693] who was born at the very end of Eastern Han and active at the Three Kingdoms period commentated *Hanshu* saying, "*qingkuang* is what nowadays call idiot" (*qingkuang, rujin baici ye* 清狂，如今白癡也).[694] Judging from his contemporaries, Su's comment can be supported by Du Yu 杜預 who commentated the *Zuo's Commentary on the Springs and Autumns* (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan* 春秋左傳) and lived during 223–285, the late Three Kingdoms period and early Jin 晉 dynasty. Du said, "*bu hui* probably is what we call idiot" (bu hui, 不慧，蓋世所謂白癡).[695] Zhou Shouchang 周壽昌 (1814–1884) opines Su Lin's commentary based on Du Yu's.[696] Furthermore, *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字 by Xu Shen's 許慎 (58?–147?) *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 in the Eastern Han also provides linkages between *bu hui* 不慧 and *ci* 癡: "*Ci* is unwise" (*ci: bu hui ye* 癡：不慧也);[697] "*wai* is unwise and unastute" (*wai: ci, bu congming ye* 顙：癡，不聰明也).[698] Moreover, investigating all transmitted pre-Han and Han texts, there is only one example of *qingkuang* (the one in question) but seventeen examples of a synonym *cikuang* 痴狂/癡狂.[699] It is rather clear that *qingkuang*, *ci*, and *bu hui* are synonyms and closely related to foolishness.

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[693] Here are some earliest resources about Su Lin: *Sanguozhi* 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms) 21.620 (Pei Songzhi's 裴松之 (372–451) commentary) and 25.717–18; Pei's commentary in 13.420 cited *Wei lüe* 魏略 which regarded Su as one of the seven "exemplar classicists" (*ru zong* 儒宗). Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1927) collected records about Su Lin (Li Chaoyuan 李朝遠 and Wo Xinghua 沃興華 2009: 102–3).

[694] *Hanshu* 63.2768. Worth noting that from *Hanshu* and Su Lin's annotation, "惠" and "慧" were used interchangeably.

[695] *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 28.920. Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849) noted that "惠" and "慧" were interchangeable. See *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 28.920.

[696] *Hanshu zhu jiaobu* 漢書注校補 41.17a (729).

[697] *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 7b.241.

[698] *Shuowen jiezi* 9a.284.

[699] One example in *Huainanzi* 淮南子; two in *Jiaoshi Yi lin* 焦氏易林; five in *Lunheng* 論衡; and

According to *Hanshu*, "Emperor Xuan thus knows [Liu] He is not to be afraid of" (*shang you ci zhi He buzu ji* 上由此知賀不足忌).[700] Xin Deyong 辛德勇 agreed Liu's behaviour is abnormal and foolish.[701] Xin investigates the biography of Liu and concludes even Liu is surrounded by some well-versed classicists, he has not changed at all in his behaviour.[702]

Furthermore, there is currently no evidence to suggest that Liu He placed any significant value on the *Odes* or other classical works in his burial. Scholars have attempted to explore the correlation between the form and placement of interred manuscripts and their respective classification and content.[703] According to an archaeological report, the Haihun bamboo slips were kept in five lacquered cases stored in the western storage of the outer coffin. Two more lacquered cases were placed next to them which contained official documents like imperial memoirs and edicts.[704] Among the bamboo slips, several Confucian classics were found,

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nine in *Taipingjing* 太平經. It is worth noting that all nine examples in *Taipingjing* are from the same piece of work among 126 surviving pieces.

[700] *Hanshu* 63.2768. It might be worth noting that Song dynasty classicists expressed different views on this record. Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) agreed that Liu He was really an idiot (Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊 and Shu Dagang 舒大剛 2021: 117.2778), while Liu Zihui 劉子翬 (1101–1147) opined it was Liu's strategy on saving his life by faking to be an idiot (Yang Guoxue 楊國學 2012: 4.39). Song Chao 宋超 2016 investigates Zhang Chang's report and opines Liu was not idiotic, it was Zhang's trying to grant Liu some protection. Wang Gang 王剛 2016: 332–33 opines it was Liu's self-protection strategy by acting idiotic.

[701] Xin Deyong 辛德勇 2016: 126–28 and Xin Deyong 2019b: 37–38.

[702] Xin Deyong 2019a.

[703] Yang Bo 楊博 2017 and 2019: 45. However, Enno Giele observed, "Although many tomb texts pertain to the status of the tomb occupant, it is not always easy to distinguish between manuscripts placed in the tomb to show how learned the occupant was (regardless of whether he expressed an interest in these texts during his lifetime) and texts entombed because of the tomb occupant's genuine (perhaps professional) interest." See Giele 2010: 125.

[704] Guan Li 管理, Hu Sheng 胡勝, and Yang Bo 楊博 2020a: 43–44 and 2020b: 60 and Xu Changqing 徐長青 2023: 224–27. However, Yang Jun 楊軍, one of the archaeologists who engaged in the front-line excavation of the Haihun tomb, claimed in a television production that they were stored in three lacquered cases and one of the cases stored around 1000 bamboo slips. See Cui Di 崔狄 2021: 1:02:28–1:03:07. I am inclined to rely on the paper reports especially the one in Xu

including *Odes*, *Record of Rites*, *Changes*, *Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Analects*, and *Classic of Filial Piety*, together with other works about invoking, ceremonies, governing, literature, gaming, divination, and techniques.[705] It is rather obvious that Confucian classics consist of a large number of funerary objects. However, from the position and closeness of the bamboo slips to the tomb occupant, there seems to be no evidence showing the bamboo slips classics were particularly more important than any other grave goods.[706] The *Odes* was treated no differently from all other written works. Although archaeologists opine in 318 (or 319, the second year of Jianwu 建武 in Eastern Jin 東晉) there happened a magnitude 5.5 earthquake and a subsequent waterflood which might have affected the original position of the objects,[707] from the illustrations of the tomb, it seems that it mainly caused the tomb

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Changqing's edited work, as it provided compelling archaeological details. Moreover, the academic credibility of the television production might be in doubt. In the video 1:10:36–1:11:20, the speaker erroneously stated the *Xiaojing* 孝經 text that Liu He quoted on his dethronement (*Hanshu* 68.2946) was written on the excavated *Kongzi yijing* 孔子衣鏡 and went on explaining into details how it echoed with the transmitted text, which he also mistakenly attributed to *Shiji*. I regard the attribution as a slip of the tongue, but the connection between excavated and transmitted texts is misleading. For the texts on the *Kongzi yijing*, readers may refer to Wang Yile 王意樂 and Wu Zhenhua 吳振華 2020; Csikszentmihalyi 2022 provides an English translation of the texts and a comparison to transmitted records; Guo 2019 discusses the nature and function of the object.

[705] Guan Li, Hu Sheng, and Yang Bo 2020b.

[706] Zhang Li 張力 2019: 37:30–37:36.

[707] According to a report by the National Earthquake Data Center, China, the earthquake in Nanchang 南昌 caused "water spewing and mountain collapsing" (*yongshui chu, shan beng* 湧水出，山崩) (Guojia dizhenju zhenhai fangyusi 國家地震局震害防禦司 1995: 8–9, the illustration on page 9 shows the affected area). Among all the information I have been through, the Centre's report is the only one dated the earthquake in 319 while all others dated it in 318. I think they are based on different records (please refer to the records and explanation below). Guan Li, Hu Sheng, and Yang Bo 2020a: 45 opines the earthquake caused the grave to be buried under the water of Poyang Lake 鄱陽湖 and the grave collapsed. However, Li Tongyun 李彤雲 2016a: 9:02–9:42 suggests the earthquake caused the tomb to collapse while the water flood should be dated in Southern dynasties. I tried checking the *Nanchang fu zhi* 南昌府志 engraved in 12th year of Tongzhi 同治 (1873), Qing dynasty, here are all the records related to earthquakes (the following information does not encompass the numerous instances of severe rain and flooding): *Nanchang fu zhi* 南昌府志 65.1b, 65.2a (I believe this entry is everyone based on. The dating of 318 on the upper part and 319 lower), 65.2a, 65.15b, 65.16b, 65.20b, 65.22a, 65.23a, 65.23b, 65.23b, 65.28b, 65.28b, 65.30b, 65.33a, and 65.34b. I included all records for reference even though some might have happened geographically far from the tomb of Haihun. Nevertheless, given the various records of earthquakes, I am not confident in concluding the 318/319 one was the one that caused the collapse of the tomb. None of the works I have been through discusses even a little bit about why that record was picked, so the following is only my inference. I suppose scholars base their argument on an oil lamp found in the tomb dated the Five Dynasties period which marks a failed grave robbery attempt. The attempt was

and objects including the coffins to collapse but not significantly shifting.[708] An excavation report also confirms that the objects in the inner and outer coffins are largely unshifted.[709]

Moreover, in the investigation of Haihun *Analects*, scholars opine the copy unearthed might be a product of Liu He's *Analects* teacher or a copy that produced by the teacher before teaching Liu.[710] Such opinion echoes my investigation in this section: As a classical teacher, the classicist in question is responsible for the copy that is in his student's hands.

Overall, "Your Highness's *Odes*" is very unlikely to be a recension produced by Liu He himself, but more likely given by others, more likely his *Odes* teacher.

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blocked by water so it marked the *terminus ante quem* of the flooding. It is worth noting that Xiao Huazhong 肖華忠, Zhang Min 張敏, and Ma Yingqin 馬英欽 2016: 369–70 suggests earthquake is rather a long shot for burying Haihun County, the natural extension of the Poyang Lake should be the reason. Peng Minghan 彭明瀚 2022: 5 states Haihun county as an administrative region was abolished in 425 (南朝宋元嘉二年). It was due to the natural extension of the Poyang Lake, and Southern dynasties were the time when Haihun was no longer suitable for habitation. Overall, given there were lots of unknown factors including how badly the tomb collapsed during each earthquake, (many) records of flooding, and continuous variation in the water level of Poyang Lake (for example, Jiangxi chenbao 江西晨報 2015: 19 opines the lake spread from Sui dynasty through Ming dynasty thus buried the tomb and old Haihun town), I believe the natural disasters caused the tomb to collapse and flood but we might hardly be sure which one(s) is the culprit.

[708] Aerial photographs and labelled illustrations showing the position of different storages and the location of the lacquered cases kept (at the "文書檔案庫") can be found in Jiangxi sheng bowuguan 江西省博物館 2018: 21 and 23. For a larger size with a high-resolution aerial photograph of the tomb, please consult Jiangxi sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 江西省文物考古研究所 and Shoudu bowuguan 首都博物館 2016: 32–33. See also Yang Jun 楊軍 and Xu Changqing 徐長青 2020: 11–12. Zhang Li 張力 2019: 22:12–23:10 points out that the main coffin located at the northeastern corner of the tomb is not in line with other excavated Han tombs, which, in general, places the coffin at the centre. The reason for such a special structure might be due to the tomb imitating the house where Liu He lived or the position of the objects being shuffled by the said natural disasters. Li Tongyun 李彤雲 2016a: 4:06–7:03 provides an animated explanation of the whole structure of the tomb. In the video, archaeologist Yang Jun opines the structure of the tomb imitates the place where Liu He lived. Xin Lixiang 信立祥 2020: 35 in line with this opinion. For information on tomb structures of Western Han *zhuhouwang* 諸侯王, please consult Liu Zunzhi 劉尊志 2012: 83–169.

[709] Li Cunxin 李存信 2020: 4.

[710] Yang Jun 楊軍, Wang Chuning 王楚寧, and Xu Changqing 徐長青 2016: 74. See also Xu Changqing 徐長青 2023: 269–70.

3.3. Liu He's attitude towards other classics

In regard to his conduct, Liu He once seemed to exhibit a notable familiarity with the classics. During his abrupt dethronement, he hastily invoked a passage from the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經) in an attempt to defend his misconduct.[711]

However, this response merely highlighted the significant value placed on the cultivation of filial piety among the nobility of the Western Han,[712] rather than suggesting Liu's genuine commitment to the study of *Filial Piety* or any other classical texts.[713] It is also important to note that most Han emperors included the character *xiao* 孝 (filial piety) in their temple names. Coincidentally, Tian Yannian 田延年, who was consulted by Huo Guang in the latter's efforts to dethrone Liu He, confirmed that "the traditional posthumous title of Han is consistently *xiao*" (*Han zhi chuan shi chang wei xiao* 漢之傳謚常為孝).[714]

Thus, Liu He's singular and abrupt quotation of a classic does not substantiate a positive attitude toward classical scholarship, nor does it indicate any genuine desire for a new copy of the *Odes*.

[711] *Hanshu* 68.2946.
[712] de Crespigny 2017: 87. See also Sun Xiao 孫筱 1990.
[713] Fragments of the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經) and explanations were found in Haihunhou's tomb. He Jin 何晉 2020 introduced these texts with an explanation on the importance of *Xiao* in Han dynasty.
[714] *Hanshu* 68.2938.

Moreover, in the investigation of Haihun *Analects*, scholars opine the copy unearthed might be a product of Liu He's *Analects* teacher or a copy that produced by the teacher before teaching Liu.[715] Such opinion echoes my investigation in this section: As a classical teacher, the classicist in question is responsible for the copy that is in his student's hands.

3.4. Liu He's attitude towards vintage items

In light of the study above, it seems that "Your Highness's *Odes*" referred to an *Odes* copy that was not produced by Liu He but by his *Odes* teacher. However, as also briefly investigated above, we have exactly no evidence proving the similarities or differences between what Gong Sui called "Your Highness's *Odes*" and the one we have in our hands—the excavated Haihun *Odes*. In this section, I would like to explore one more perspective: Even though we believe that the *Odes* was given by Liu He's teacher, how possible can this version go all the way to his tomb?

While Liu He may not hold the classics in high personal regard, he values maintaining old relationships with people. When Liu He ascended to the throne, he brought old officials from the Kingdom of Changyi to Chang'an. Liu referred to them with intimacy as "my old congregated officials and attendant officials" (*wo gu qun chen cong guan* 我故羣臣從官)[716] when Huo Guang 霍光 ordered the arrestment.

[715] Yang Jun 楊軍, Wang Chuning 王楚寧, and Xu Changqing 徐長青 2016: 74. See also Xu Changqing 徐長青 2023: 269–70.
[716] *Hanshu* 68.2939.

Later, according to a proposal from Huo Guang co-signed with other officials, there were "200 something of Changyi's attendant officials, stablemen, stewards, and official slaves" (*Changyi congguan, zou, zai, guannu erbai yu ren* 昌邑從官、騶、宰、官奴二百餘人)[717] not only accompanying Liu to Chang'an, but "brought in" (*yinei* 引內) by officials and even "constantly stroll and entertain with [the Prince] in living areas which are forbidden to access and private area which are behind inner doors" (*chang yu jujin tanei aoxi* 常與居禁闥內敖戲).[718] In Xun Yue's 荀悅 *Hanj* 漢紀, the number of officials involved was 300[719] and the execution count of officials was "300-something people" (*sanbai yu ren* 三百餘人).[720] Chen Suzhen 陳蘇鎮, in his book dedicated to the Han–Wei palace, confirmed with support that these officials took care of Liu He's daily life.[721] That means they were some of the most intimate officials to Liu He.

The rest of the proposal recorded quite some other inappropriate acts Liu He did with junior officials and janitors who were brought from Changyi. Besides junior officials and janitors, the proposal also recorded Liu He "brought in Changyi musicians" (*yinnei Changyi yueren* 引內昌邑樂人)[722] and "when he was alone at night, Liu He set up a warm room with rites of Jiubin to receive and meet his brother-in-law who was Noble of the Interior of Changyi" (*duye she Jiubin wenshi, yanjian zifu Changyi guannei hou* 獨夜設九賓溫室，延見姊夫昌邑關內侯).[723]

[717] *Hanshu* 68.2940.
[718] *Hanshu* 68.2940. My own punctuation.
[719] *Hanji* 漢紀 16.286.
[720] *Hanji* 16.287.
[721] Chen Suzhen 陳蘇鎮 2022: 52–53.
[722] *Hanshu* 68.2940.
[723] *Hanshu* 68.2944.

The proposal accorded with other records in other parts of *Hanshu*. For example, *Hanshu* noted in Gong Sui' 龔遂 section in the "Traditions of Reasonable Officials" chapter (*Xunli zhuan* 循吏傳) that "when [Liu] He the Prince of Changyi enthroned, officials and dependents were all summoned and entered [Chang'an]" (*Changyi wang He sili, guan shu jie zheng ru* 昌邑王賀嗣立，官屬皆徵入).[724]

Given such circumstances, Gong Sui admonished Liu He, saying, "If [Your Highness] cannot bear to part with the old folks from Changyi, relying and making use of their vilification and flattery, it will certainly cause misfortune and affliction" (*ru bu ren Changyi guren, xin yong chan yu, bi you xiong jiu* 如不忍昌邑故人，信用讒諛，必有凶咎).[725] Yan Shigu's annotation is worth mentioning: "*buren* means cannot distant from" (*buren wei buneng shuyuan ye* 不忍謂不能疏遠也).[726] Zhu Yixin 朱一新 (1846–1894) offers a further explanation of the meaning of *ren* 忍:

〈晉語〉「以忍去過」注：「忍以義斷也。」顏注義未備。[727]

[724] *Hanshu* 89.3638.
[725] *Hanshu* 63.2766.
[726] *Hanshu* 63.2766.
[727] The citation in question, attributed to Wang Xianqian's 王先謙 *Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注 63.4410 n. 15, does not appear to be located within the various sections of *Zhu Yixin quanji* 朱一新全集 (Zhu Yixin 朱一新 2017) that I have examined. Specifically, despite checking the *Hanshu guanjian* 漢書管見 and *Wuxietang da wen* 無邪堂答問, which contains at least 13 articles directly related to *Hanshu*, as well as Zhu Yixin's last notes collection, *Yiwu Zhu shi lun xue yizha* 義烏朱氏論學遺札 (Zhu Yixin 1989), the referenced quotation by Wang Xianqian remains elusive. After suspecting that Wang may have misattributed the name, I conducted a more comprehensive investigation into other *Hanshu* commentaries, including *Hanshu shuzheng* 漢書疏證, *Hanshu bianyi* 漢書辨疑, and *Hanshu zhu jiaobu* 漢書注校補. However, this additional inquiry did not yield the expected result. The portion discussing the Prince of Changyi (昌邑哀王髆), found in Zhu Yixin 2017: 975, provides three entries into Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentaries and Su Lin's 蘇林, both collated from the *wuying dian* 武英殿 version. This shows Zhu saw Yan's commentaries and commented on them. Notably, Wang Xianqian's note regarding Zhu Yixin's compilation of *Hanshu guanjian* 漢書管見 suggests that the work was not yet completed at the time of reference (*zhu Hanshu guanjian, canding shi shu shangwei cheng* 著《漢書管見》，參訂時，書尚未成) (*Hanshu buzhu* 1 (同時參訂姓氏)).

> An annotation [by Wei Zhao 韋昭 (201–273)] for "*yi ren qu guo*" in the "*Jin yu*" chapter [in *Guoyu* 國語]: "Being ruthless to cut off because of propriety." Yan [Shigu]'s commentary is imperfect on the meaning.

No matter which interpretation we follow, these pieces of evidence show that Liu He was not good at getting rid of the old officials and the attached old relationships even if they could bring him risk. Scholars concur that Liu He's practice of cronyism posed a significant threat to Huo Guang. Consequently, Emperor Xuan was chosen due to his limited entourage, which was perceived as an advantageous quality.[728]

Another official Zhang Chang 張敞 also admonished, "Ministers and counsellors of state are yet to be praised but petty carriage officials are already promoted. The mistake is a big one" (*guo fu dachen wei bao, er Changyi xian nian xian qian, ci guo zhi da zhe ye* 國輔大臣未褒，而昌邑小輦先遷，此過之大者也).[729] While

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The final version I reviewed may differ from the one mentioned by Wang, but I doubt that Zhu omitted the quoted entry in his final version of *Hanshu guanjian*. In the section discussing the Prince of Changyi's record in *Hanshu*, Zhu had already made two comments on Yan's commentaries, out of three entries in total for the Prince of Changyi's record. Furthermore, the comment by Zhu quoted and preserved in Wang's work mainly pertains to using Wei Zhao's 韋昭 commentary to provide additional support instead of presenting an argument, which is unlikely to have led Zhu to remove the entry from his final version. Therefore, I am unable to confirm Wang's quotation. It is worth noting that Zhu's main point relies heavily on Wei Zhao's commentary, which also proved challenging to locate. Even Xu Yuangao's 徐元誥 (1876–1955) *Guoyu jijie* 國語集解 did not contain the anticipated commentary, despite indications in the "Foreword" (前言) by modern compilers which states it should have included "韋〈解〉全文" (*Guoyu jijie* 國語集解 6 (前言)). Ultimately, confirmation of the quoted annotation from Wei Zhao was obtained through Wu Zengqi's 吳曾祺 (1852–1929) *Guoyu Wei jie buzheng* 國語韋解補正 (*Guoyu Wei jie buzheng* 國語韋解補正 v.2 12.43). Notably, none of the *Guoyu*-related works collected by 黃奭 (1809–1853), namely *Zheng Zhong Guoyu jiegu* 鄭眾國語解詁, *Jia Kui Guoyu zhu* 賈逵國語注, *Tang Gu Guoyu zhu* 唐固國語注, *Wang Su Guoyu zhangju* 王肅國語章句, *Kong Chao Guoyu zhu* 孔晁國語注, and *Yu Fan Guoyu zhu* 虞翻國語注, commented on *Guoyu*'s sentence or Wei Zhao's elusive commentary. The absence of the referenced materials raises questions about the accuracy and accessibility of the cited sources, warranting further investigation to verify the quotation. Based on the available information, I am currently unable to substantiate any claims. However, it is my belief that the absence of cited commentary by Wei Zhao may be correlated with the absence of cited commentary by Zhu Yixin.

[728] *Dayun shanfang wengao* 大雲山房文稿 2.37a and Lü Simian 呂思勉 2005: 136.

[729] *Hanshu* 76.3216.

Liu He's decision to bring his own officials with him to Chang'an may have had political motivations—not trying to cope with the officials already in Chang'an left by the former Emperor and well-known by Huo Guang[730]—it is clear that he values his longstanding relationships.

In conclusion, this section aims to establish a connection between Liu He's appreciation for his longtime relationships and his fondness for vintage items. Based on the investigations outlined in the previous sections, one might consider Liu was given a copy of the *Odes* produced by his teacher, specifically the one referred to by Gong Sui as "Your Highness's *Odes*". Could this be the very copy that was ultimately interred with him, thus resulting in the discovery of the Haihun *Odes* that we now possess? This section intends to provide an affirmative response. It is clear that Liu He places significant value on his enduring relationships, making it plausible to conclude that he also cherishes vintage artefacts, such as the original version of the *Odes* passed down from his classical teacher.

3.5. The prospect of Liu He acquiring a new edition of the *Odes* texts

Despite Liu He's lack of intention to acquire a new or revised copy of the *Odes*, other than the one he received from his teacher at a young age, his circumstances following his dethronement prevented him from doing so.

[730] Liu Pak-yuen 廖伯源 (Liao Boyuan) 2017: 66–94 and 199–204. The following works also investigate the power conflicts between Liu He and Huo Guang: Yoshinami Takashi 好並隆司 2004: 213–36; Song Chao 宋超 2006; Qin Tiezhu 秦鐵柱 2017 (later included in Qin Tiezhu 2018: 76–96); Zou Shuijie 鄒水杰 2017; Xin Deyong 辛德勇 2019c; and Lin Tsung-shun 林聰舜 (Lin Congshun) 2020. Readers may find it useful to consult Xin Deyong's book dedicated to the history of Liu He. See Xin Deyong 2016: esp. 75–147. Wu Fanglang 吳方浪 2019 and Shi Jian 石璾 2024: 129–30 investigate the records about Liu He has not finished the whole ritual procedure to get the full legitimacy to be an emperor.

Zhang Chang's 張敞 proposal highlighted how exceedingly difficult it was for Liu He to obtain new physical texts of the *Odes*. After his dethronement, Liu He became a source of concern for Emperor Xuan. In response, the emperor appointed Zhang Chang to keep watch over him.[731] Furthermore, he specifically ordered Zhang to keep this surveillance a secret (*wu xia suo ci shu* 毋下所賜書).[732]

The proposal from Zhang to Xuan confirmed that Liu He had long been placed under house arrest:

> 故昌邑王居故宮，奴婢在中者百八十三人，閉大門，開小門，廉吏一人為領錢物市買，朝內食物，它不得出入。督盜一人別主徼循，察往來者，以王家錢取卒，迾宮清中備盜賊。臣敞數遣丞吏行察。[733]
> The former King of Changyi resides in the old palace, with 183 slaves and officials inside. Large gates remain shut while smaller doors open. A discerning clerk[734] is tasked with collecting money and supplies and conducts purchasing activities. Only food is collected once a morning, other things are not permitted to pass in and out. A Superintendent of Subduing Bandits[735] separately oversees the patrolling, inspecting, and monitoring of comers and goers. The King's funds are allocated to hire servicemen to impede traffic around the palace, to clear the people inside, and to take precautions against bandits and thieves. Your subject, [Zhang] Chang, has dispatched Assistant Officials several times to patrol and investigate.

Within this heavily monitored environment, Liu He's personal freedom was severely restricted. There were stringent controls on the flow of goods and people, inspections of anyone passing through the gates, regulations on stayers, and constant patrolling. Consequently, the likelihood of seeking instruction in the *Odes* from

[731] *Hanshu* 63.2767 and 76.3216.
[732] *Hanshu* 63.2767.
[733] *Hanshu* 63.2767.
[734] Here I follow Chen Zhi's 陳直 (1901–1980) judgement (Chen Zhi 陳直 2008: 328).
[735] Here I follow the translation of *dudaozei* 督盜賊 by Shu-hui Wu. See Fan 2023: 289, 539, and 542.

another master or obtaining a new or revised copy of *Odes* texts was greatly diminished.

3.6. Liu He's *Odes* or Haihunhou's *Odes*?

Taking into account the various points discussed, such as the specific terminology "305 pieces of the *Odes*", Liu He's lack of intent to create a (new) copy of the *Odes*, his attitude towards preserving vintage items, and the significant objective constraints he faced in engaging with new *Odes* teachers and texts, it seems more plausible that "Your Highness's *Odes*" refers to a recension from Liu He's *Odes* teacher rather than Liu himself.

However, while we can be relatively certain about the recension of the *Odes* that Liu He possessed, there is no evidence to confirm whether this particular version accompanied him in burial, specifically the excavated Haihun *Odes*.

Burial goods (*mingqi* 明器) were commonly found in Han dynasty tombs.[736] Even though scholars often treat manuscripts and other objects separately when discussing burial goods,[737] it is important to recognize that Haihun manuscripts may have been produced specifically for burial purposes.

[736] For basic information on manuscripts discovered in Han tombs, see Li Rusen 李如森 2003: 182–89. Venture 2021 offers essential details on those unearthed between 2008 and 2018, including the Haihun manuscripts.

[737] For instance, both Lin 2012 and Xu 2017 report on burial goods discovered in Han dynasty tombs, featuring numerous illustrations but omitting mentions of manuscripts. While each work largely concentrates on separate tombs that do not contain manuscripts, they nonetheless discuss other Han artefacts. Conversely, Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚 2020a provides the most comprehensive and sole analysis to date of the Haihun manuscripts, focusing exclusively on them.

In his keynote speech at a conference, Martin Kern examined the sociology of the texts and explored the significance of the length of excavated bamboo slips from the pre-Han and Western Han periods, noting that these slips were quite long, making the entire manuscript cumbersome for handheld reading. Moreover, the buried manuscripts were elegantly written and crafted, suggesting they were likely not intended for daily reading but instead for ceremonial use or display. One possible function of these texts might have been to adorn a wall for instructional purposes. Kern concluded that the classical texts found in pre-Han tombs were formatted for communal rather than individual reading.[738]

Although Kern's analysis is relevant and applicable to pre-Han texts, the situation is somewhat different in the Qin and Western Han periods. At the same conference, and presented later on the same day, Song Yafei 宋亞飛 delivered a paper that summarized all excavated texts related to the *Shi* (*Odes*) from the pre-Han and Han dynasties, comparing them to other excavated classics. Currently, only two collections of *Odes* from the Western Han have been found: the Fuyang 阜陽 *Odes* and the Haihun *Odes*. The upper length of slips from the Fuyang *Odes* is estimated to be between 22 to 26 centimetres, while the Haihun *Odes* are likely similar in size.[739] Citing statistical data, Song concluded that the manuscripts of Western Han *Odes* conform to the material format of the Qin manuscripts, indicating that these slip lengths are significantly shorter compared to those from the Warring States

[738] Kern 2024 states in the conclusion PowerPoint slide, "Their material format suited communal, not individual, reading methods."

[739] Song Yafei 宋亞飛 2024: 265. Song notes that the state of the intact slips from the Haihun *Odes* remains uncertain, as indicated by the phrase "the length of intact slips is unknown" (*wanzheng jian chang weizhi* 完整簡長未知) (265). However, the article offers two crucial pieces of information that support my estimation: (1) the longest slip from the Fuyang *Odes* measures 22 centimetres and contains 24 characters, and (2) an intact slip from the Haihun *Odes* holds between 20 to 25 characters.

period, which range from 33 to 52 centimetres.[740] Song determined that the prevailing length of known bamboo manuscripts from the Warring States period was 45 centimetres.[741] In other words, the length of the bamboo slips from the excavated Western Han *Odes* is approximately half the length of the slips from the Warring States period.

Besides, I suspected that a change in length may occur during the treatment process involved in the excavation, restoration, and preservation of bamboo slips,[742] which could potentially alter the dimensions of the slips. Fang Beisong's 方北松 article explores various dehydration methods for bamboo slips that were initially soaked in water. Fang provides comprehensive figures and illustrations depicting the size of bamboo slips during the Qin dynasty and the Three Kingdoms period, respectively, before and after the application of a selected dehydration method.[743]

The following table is largely based on his findings:

Table 7-1: Length differences of bamboo slips originally soaked in water after dehydration

Dynasty	**Length (centimetres)**		**Difference**
	Before dehydration	**After dehydration**	
Qin	14.7	14.6	−0.1

[740] Song Yafei 2024: 265–67.
[741] Song Yafei 2024: 266. See also Jia Lianxiang 賈連翔 2015: 117–20.
[742] In relation to the dehydration and preservation of bamboo slips that have been waterlogged, a comprehensive analysis was provided by Zhao Guifang 趙桂芳 2012. See also Jia Lianxiang 2015: 249–55.
[743] Fang Beisong 方北松 2012: 335–36.

Dynasty	Length (centimetres)		Difference
	Before dehydration	After dehydration	
	24.6	24.5	−0.1
	15.9	15.8	−0.1
	25.4	25.2	−0.2
	14.6	14.6	±0
Three Kingdoms	23.6	23.3	−0.3
	23.7	23.3	−0.4
	23.7	23.2	−0.5
	23.5	22.8	−0.7
	23.7	23.3	−0.4
	23.5	23.1	−0.4

Although the study involved only five slips from the Qin dynasty and six slips from the Three Kingdoms period, this sampling encompasses the entire Han dynasty. Consequently, I consider the results to be representative. The data presented indicate that the length differences before and after dehydration are relatively insignificant, with the maximum variation among the Qin dynasty slips being no greater than 0.2 centimetres.

In addition to the statistical evidence illustrating the minimal differences in bamboo length pre- and post-dehydration, my initial concerns appear to have been unfounded. There exists a substantial historical framework surrounding the study of the dimensions of excavated bamboo slips, supported by meticulous statistical analysis. Therefore, any minor alterations in size resulting from excavation and

treatment should not significantly impact the broader research findings. Notably, scholars have compiled size data for excavated pre-Han and Han bamboo slips detailed to the scale of one decimal place centimetres.[744]

In examining the evolution of bamboo slips from the pre-Han to the Han period, scholars have endeavoured to elucidate the underlying reasons for their reduction in size. Referring to a prior study without providing additional evidence,[745] Song asserted that "the trend of shortening the slip length after the Warring States was primarily driven by the need for easier reading" (*zhezhong Zhanguo zhi hou jian chang suoduan de qushi zhuyao shi weile yuedu fangbian xuyao* 這種戰國之後簡長縮短的趨勢主要是為了閱讀方便需要).[746] While I anticipate the emergence of additional substantive evidence to substantiate this assertion, the claim appears to be logical. Notably, the length of the bamboo slips used in the Western Han *Odes* corresponds with the measurements typically associated with Han dynasty letters (*chidu* 尺牘) and, interestingly, modern standard books.

While I believe that the aforementioned works suggest the possibility that the buried Haihun *Odes* was the one possessed, utilized, and read by Liu He, there is no conclusive evidence to establish whether the excavated Haihun *Odes* were *indeed* used by Liu He and his *Odes* teacher.[747] At this point, I think it is unlikely that we will find definitive proof—we might never be able to find any—to either support or

[744] See Geng Xiangxin 耿相新 2011: 12–21 and Jia Lianxiang 2015: 103–22.
[745] Song Yafei references Lin Yun's 林澐 article indirectly, without using direct quotations. Lin Yun 林澐 1994: 43 explains that the reduction in slip length from the Warring States period to the Han dynasty was due to the easing of writing and reading practices.
[746] Song Yafei 2024: 266.
[747] This claim is one of the most common grounds shared among the articles this thesis summarized in Chapter 6.

refute such an assumption, despite the considerable circumstantial evidence presented in this article, as well as potential evidence that may emerge in the future. Confirming this assumption may not be necessary when discussing the issue of line affiliation. The master–student affiliation—specifically, the source of authority—serves as the key factor in classifying classicists and their interpretations within the context of line affiliation.

4. Source of authority of the Haihun *Odes*: Liu He's *Odes* teacher

The core question remains: Among all the officials in the Kingdom of Changyi, only Wang Shi 王式, Wang Ji 王吉, and Gong Sui 龔遂 have a closer relationship with the classics, especially the *Odes*. Who was the source of authority holder of the Haihun *Odes*?

The tie-breaker might be the records about the massive arrest and execution. The records can be found in four places in *Hanshu*: 68.2939, 72.3062, 88.3610, and 89.3638. Among the records, the latter three records are particularly similar with minor variants.[748] These are the common grounds shared by all three records: (1) The officials of the Prince of Changyi are incriminated of failing to guide the Prine to the proper way; (2) Only Wang Ji (at the moment Superintendent of the Capital (*zhongwei* 中尉)) and Gong Sui (at the moment Superintendent of the Palace (*langzhongling* 郎中令)) initially absolved from execution; (3) The reason of Wang

[748] Wang Yizhi 王益之 from the Southern Song dynasty compared all the related records, including the much later *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, and concluded that the exact time of the imprisonment of officials of Changyi should follow the *Hanshu* 68.2939. See *Xihan nianji* 西漢年紀 18.380. Luckily, the exact time of imprisonment has nothing to do with my argument.

and Gong's acquittal is due to their numerous admonishment (*shu jian* 數諫). Observing the common grounds, it can be seen that Wang Ji and Gong Sui were treated differently among all other officials of the Prince of Changyi (or of the 27 days Emperor Fei 廢帝).[749] In the whole *Hanshu*, there were in total six officials who had records of submitting admonitions to the Prince of Changyi.[750] Strikingly, in the above-quoted records about the massive arrest and execution, only Wang Ji's and Gong Sui's names were mentioned in the acquittal. In other words, Wang Ji and Gong Sui seemed to share more common natures than with other officials like Wang Shi.

Overall, when we put together all the above evidence, it is evident from the analysis of classicists in this section that, in terms of mastering and teaching the *Odes*, only Wang Shi, Wang Ji, and Gong Sui stand out among all officials under Liu He. In other words, these three officials are the most likely source of authority holders of the Haihun *Odes*. The following is the evidence showing how Wang Shi is different from Wang Ji and Gong Sui in terms of classical studies:

(1) Unlike Wang Ji and Gong Sui, who are superintendents with job duties that have little to do with classical education, Wang Shi is officially Liu He's classical teacher and teaches him the *Odes*. *Zhongwei* 中尉 is recorded to be taking care of security[751] and *langzhongling* 郎中令 guarding.[752]

[749] Worth noting that as Liu He was dethroned so no official posthumous name. See Xin Deyong 2016: 308.
[750] Liu Pak-yuen 廖伯源 (Liao Boyuan) 2017: 77.
[751] *Hanshu* 19.741 and 86.3485. See also Zou Shuijie 鄒水杰 2016: 523–24 and Wen Leping 溫樂平 and Ye Qiuju 葉秋菊 2017: 166. However, there are also records emphasizing the duty of assisting the king. See *Hanshu* 47.2218 and *Han guan liu zhong* 漢官六種 48.
[752] *Houhanshu* 後漢書 28.3629. See also Zou Shuijie 2016: 524–26 and Wen Leping and Ye Qiuju

(2) Although all of the three are knowledgeable in classics, there is no record of Wang Ji and Gong Sui being direct teachers to Liu He for any classics or to other people for the *Odes*. In contrast, Wang Shi is the only classicist recorded as Liu's and other classicists' *Odes* teacher. During his early years, Emperor Xuan 宣帝, the successor of Liu He, was documented to "have received instruction in the *Odes*, *Analects*, and *Classic of Filial Piety* from master(s)" (*shi shou Shi, Lunyu, Xiaojing* 師受《詩》、《論語》、《孝經》).[753] *Hanshu* specifically recorded he "received the teaching of *Odes* from Fu Zhongweng of Donghai" (*shou Shi yu Donghai Fu Zhongweng* 受《詩》於東海溥中翁).[754] It was much more likely that both Liu He and Emperor Xuan had masters who were known for their achievements in classical knowledge.

(3) In terms of classical studies, Wang Ji and Gong Sui shared much more similarities. They are both recorded to be "well-versed in classics" (*ming jing* 明經)[755] even before they hold any official appointment. On top of that, they are both able to quote or explain the *Odes* in their admonitions. Wang Shi, however, has been recorded to have only a connection vast majorly with the *Odes* classic (and with some connection to the *Record of Rites* (*liji* 禮記)).[756]

2017: 166–67. Readers may find it useful to consult a discussion from Michael Loewe dedicated to "The Gentleman (*lang* 郎)." (Loewe 2004: 131–32). According to Loewe, "the *lang* were responsible for guarding the gates and doors of the palace and providing the emperor with a mounted and armed escort" (131).

[753] *Hanshu* 8.238 and 68.2947.

[754] *Hanshu* 8.237.

[755] Wang Ji 王吉: *Hanshu* 72.3058; Gong Sui 龔遂: *Hanshu* 89.3637.

[756] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

(4) While Gong Sui urged Liu He to recite and return to the *Odes*,[757] Wang Shi "recite them back and forth for the Prince" (*wei wang fanfu song zhi* 為王反復誦之).[758] This indicates the following possibilities: (1) Liu has his own recension of the *Odes* and it was probably given by his *Odes* teacher; (2) Wang Shi might have an *Odes* copy given to Liu; and (3) Gong might or might not have his own recension and no indicators if it is given to Liu. As Han Academicians were established with their own "chapter and verse" (*zhangju* 章句),[759] it is much more likely that Wang Shi, as a *Lu Shi* Academician, got his own *Odes* recension instead of Gong Sui, who had never been an Academician.

(5) Given the intimacy between Liu He and Gong Sui, Gong's familiarity with the *Odes*, and Liu He's mentioning of Wang Ji, a *Han Shi* 韓詩 classicist, by praising his loyalty and frequent admonition (*zhongwei shen zhong, shu fu wu guo* 中尉甚忠，數輔吾過),[760] it makes a lot of sense to believe Gong and Wang Ji should have been the most influential people in *Odes* learning for Liu He. However, Wang Shi's defence by claiming to be Liu's long-term *Odes* teacher was not rebutted but easily accepted. It is reasonable to conclude that contemporary officials commonly know that only Wang Shi was Liu He's *Odes* teacher. "Your Highness's *Odes*" by Gong was not Gong positioning himself to be responsible for Liu's classical knowledge

[757] *Hanshu* 63.2766.
[758] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[759] Regarding Han "chapter and verse" and its relationship with the lines of affiliation, readers may consult: Dai Junren 戴君仁 1974a: 99 and 102; Lin Ching-chang 林慶彰 (Lin Qingzhang) 1991: 256 agrees with Dai; Chang Pao-san 張寶三 (Zhang Baosan) 2001; Yan Zheng 嚴正 2003: 14–15; Gao Jiyi 郜積意 2005: 57–58; Guo Yongji 郭永吉 2006; Bian Jiazhen 邊家珍 2010; Ding Jin 丁進 2011: 38–39; Li Zhenhong 李振宏 2013: 61–62; Qian Mu 錢穆 2015: 223; and Yang Qinghua 楊青華 and Yang Quan 楊權 2017: 141. See also Fan Bocheng 樊波成 2019. Notably, Yu Wanli 虞萬里 2024 conducts an inquiry into the emergence of the concept and structure of *zhangju* as observed in excavated *Odes* manuscripts.
[760] *Hanshu* 72.3061.

but refers to an *Odes* recension that belongs to Liu, which might have been given by his *Odes* teacher.

(6) Wang Ji and Gong Sui have held various positions in the Han court throughout their life and before and after the dethronement, while Wang Shi has always been a teacher of the *Odes* throughout his life.

(7) Besides only Wang Ji's and Gong Sui's names were mentioned in their exclusive acquittal from the Liu He incident among all officials, both of their recorded admonitions were related to asking the Prince to pay more attention to the classics. It makes them stand out with a classics-related common ground among the only six officials recorded in *Hanshu* who submitted admonitions,[761] but different from Wang Shi. Wang Shi has no historical records of the content of his teaching.

To supplement the above points about Wang Shi as a classicist different from Wang Ji and Gong Sui, the following points are about how Wang Shi and Wang Ji and Gong Sui were different in ways other than classical knowledge:

(1) Both Wang Ji and Gong Sui earned their death acquittal through their numerous admonishments to Liu He in different formats, written and verbal, which were pre-accepted by the official in charge when prosecuting Liu's officials. However, Wang Shi needed to (re)interpret the purpose of teaching *Odes* in order to submit his own extenuation.[762]

[761] Liu Pak-yuen 廖伯源 (Liao Boyuan) 2017: 77–78.
[762] Liu Pak-yuen 2017: 77, n. 3 even accused that Wang Shi's explanation was "probably a subterfuge to beg for life" (*gai qiusheng zhi dunci* 蓋求生之遁詞).

(2) Both before and after the Liu He incident, Wang Shi has no records of his official rank in the Han court, unlike Wang Ji and Gong Sui, who are both superintendents at present and were later promoted to higher ranks after Liu's dethronement. One record particularly worth noting: "[Huo Guang] submitted proposals listing officials who admonished the Prince of Changyi all to be promoted beyond one grade" (*[Huo Guang] tiao zou qunchen jian Changyiwang zhe jue chaoqian*〔霍光〕條奏羣臣諫昌邑王者皆超遷).[763] Wang Ji and Gong (and some other officials) fit the proposal while Wang Shi does not.

(3) While Wang Ji and Gong Sui have their own independent biographies (*zhuan* 傳)[764] in *Hanshu*, Wang Shi has only one record which was associating with others.

Regarding all the points explored, only Wang Shi stands out. Wang is the only *Odes* teacher of Liu and passes on a *Lu Shi* recension of the *Odes* to him—and according to investigations in previous chapters, this recension could still be different from any other *Lu Shi* recensions. Therefore, when we investigate its relationship with other remaining *Lu Shi* texts and interpretations, like the Xiping 熹平 *Odes*, a contentual comparison might not be a helpful way of investigating the lines of affiliation.

[763] *Hanshu* 71.3042.
[764] In the whole *Hanshu*, "having his own traditions" (*zi you zhuan* 自有傳) is used 30 times and it can indicate the person in question is prominent. Please refer to Chapter 5 of this thesis for discussions.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

1. Two Wang Shi's *Lu Shi* students

The upper section of this thesis examines the line affiliation and interpretation of the *Odes* of Chu Shaosun 褚少孫, while the lower section focuses on the line affiliation of the *Odes* from the tomb of Marquess of Haihun, which are intricately linked to Liu He 劉賀, the occupant of the tomb from which it was discovered. Analyzing their teaching and learning experiences offers valuable insights into the developmental history and nature of line affiliation in the interpretation of classical texts during the Han dynasty China.

These two cases are notably comparable across various dimensions. They share a significant commonality in being classical students:

(1) Both individuals share a vital common factor: they were recorded to be instructed by Wang Shi 王式, a classicist of the *Lu Shi*, specifically on the study of the *Odes* 詩, one of the Five Classics.

(2) It is particularly noteworthy that both cases include documented dialogues or statements regarding their teaching content, whereas almost all similar cases consist only of straightforward records or mere implications of master–student relationships.

(3) Upon revisiting Chu Shaosun's biographical timeline, Timoteus Pokora suggested that Chu came to serve Wang Shi while Wang was still in Changyi 昌邑.[765] This indicates that Wang may have taught both Liu He and Chu Shaosun within a considerably close timeframe.

The cases of two students of the *Odes*, both of whom studied under the same *Lu Shi* master, provide insight into the nature of line affiliation ascribed in the Han dynasty. The following aspects highlight significant contrasts between the two cases:

(1) Amount of *Odes* instruction. Wang Shi's teaching approach varied significantly between the two students. When he taught Chu Shaosun, he limited his instruction to "a few pieces" (*shu pian* 數篇)[766] and refused to repeat (*fu* 復) what he had previously covered.[767] In contrast, Wang professed that he "instructs the Prince [i.e. Liu He] days and nights by the 305 pieces of *Odes*' (*yi Shi sanbaiwu pian zhaoxi shou wang* 以《詩》三百五篇朝夕授王).[768] For some pieces, Wang even "recite them back and forth for the Prince" (*wei wang fanfu song zhi* 為王反覆誦之).[769] The reasons behind Wang's differing approaches to his students of the *Odes* remain obscure and may never be fully understood; however, given Liu He's elevated status, such differences seem somewhat reasonable.

[765] Pokora: 1981: 411 and 427.
[766] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[767] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[768] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[769] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

(2) Mastery of classical studies. Chu achieved his initial officialdom due to his "thorough understanding of classical arts" (*tong jing shu* 通經術).[770] He excelled in the examination of Pupils of Academicians, surprsing (*jing* 驚)[771] the Academicians at the imperial court with his performance. On the other hand, Liu He demonstrated a perceived inadequacy in his classical learning.

(3) Relationship with *Odes* texts and interpretations. Chu's limited teachings from his *Odes* teacher Wang Shi resulted in a self-embellished (*zi runse* 自潤色)[772] interpretation of the *Lu Shi*. However, none of his *Odes* texts and only one interpretation of the *Odes* survive today. In contrast, one of Liu He's closest officials, Gong Sui 龔遂, confirmed that Liu "recites the 305 pieces of the *Odes*" (*song Shi sanbaiwu pian* 誦《詩》三百五篇)[773] and possessed "Your Highness's *Odes*" (*bixia zhi Shi* 陛下之《詩》)[774] during his lifetime. Moreover, Liu even brought a complete copy of the *Odes* to be buried with him, which we can still read today.

(4) Attitude towards the *Odes*. Chu's own understanding of the *Odes* was recognized and sanctioned by the court. He thrived in his *Odes* studies to the extent that he "established his own branch of Mr Chu studies under the line affiliation of *Lu Shi*" (*you shi Lu Shi you [...] Chu shi zhi xue* 由是魯詩有〔……〕褚氏之學).[775] Conversely, Liu He was surrounded by a few notable classicists who were

[770] *Shiji* 128.3225.
[771] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[772] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[773] *Hanshu* 63.2766.
[774] *Hanshu* 63.2766.
[775] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

well-versed in the *Odes* and frequently cited them for admonitions, yet he "never changed his qualities" (*zhong bu gai jie* 終不改節)[776]—did not change his behaviour at all.

(5) Attitude towards *Lu Shi*. Chu explicitly disagreed with certain interpretations of the *Odes* associated with the *Lu Shi* line affiliation but did not defend them.[777] Nevertheless, he was appointed as a *Lu Shi* classicist and established his own self-embellished *Lu Shi* interpretation of the *Odes*. In contrast, Liu He's perceived inadequacy in classical learning contextualized the Haihun *Odes* within the lineage of his *Odes* teacher, Wang Shi, of the *Lu Shi*.

The contrast between these two *Odes* students of Wang Shi illuminates the process of ascribing classical interpretations in Han China. The case of Chu Shaosun illustrates that a classicist with limited training in a particular line affiliation of classical interpretation, and who does not adhere to the interpretations of that line, can still be associated with it. Conversely, Liu He's case is vastly different. He had much more exposure to the *Odes* instruction from Wang Shi than Chu Shaosun received. If Chu's self-embellished version of the *Odes* is uncontestably regarded as *Lu Shi*, then the justification for categorizing the Haihun *Odes* within *Lu Shi* should be substantial. Given Liu He's deeper connection to Wang Shi's knowledge of the *Odes* and classical teachings, it is reasonable to consider the *Odes* copy discovered in Liu He's tomb as at least a comparable representation of *Lu Shi*—Wang Shi

[776] *Hanshu* 63.2766.
[777] *Shiji* 史記 13.506.

being the source of authority—compared to Chu's texts and interpretations of the *Odes*.

Additionally, there is another *Odes* student of Wang Shi worth mentioning and comparing, despite the relatively limited information available about Wang and his career in teaching the *Odes*: Xue Guangde 薛廣德. In Section 2.4 of Chapter 3 of this thesis, I have explored the sole evidence linking Xue to the *Lu Shi*, which is his connection to his master, Wang Shi. Xue's affiliation as a student of Wang Shi, a *Lu Shi* master, secured him a *Lu Shi* Academician position. This implies that if we apply the same logic and methodology that the imperial court used to recognize Xue as an Academician in the *Lu Shi* section[778]—and subsequently allow him to represent the *Lu Shi* in discussions at the Shiqu Pavilion 石渠閣—then Liu He's (also known as Haihun's) *Odes* should be categorized in the same manner.

2. What we have

The main point I wish to convey in this thesis is that what is commonly accepted as logical or likely true has surprisingly little connection to the records of lines of affiliation of classical interpretations in standard histories. This understanding liberates us from the unexamined and unaware *assumption* that these master–student records are inherently linked to knowledge transmission. It thus reconciles the apparent conflict between two sets of records: the systematic transmission of classical studies through master–student lineages, and the diverse interpretations of the classics. The records of these lineages primarily serve the purpose of the

[778] *Hanshu* 71.3046–47.

imperial court in providing positions to classicists, rather than accurately indicating knowledge of classical interpretations.

While my central argument aims to demonstrate that the records of classicists in standard histories have little to do with knowledge transmission, I do not assert or believe that it is logically or empirically possible to prove that no knowledge transmission occurred between masters/teachers and students during the Han era. Instead, my argument focuses on the institutional nature of the records we observe. Emphasizing the institutional character of these records should not be interpreted as a denial or diminishment of the *logical possibility* that other factors, such as knowledge transmission, were involved. As indicated in the conclusion of Chapter 6, the straightforward records of master–student associations do not negate the possibility that students imitated or learned from their teachers. However, the logical possibility of knowledge transmission is not inherently required or exclusively implied by the neat records of master–student relationships.

The master–student affiliations serve as reliable and valuable records, rather than as fabricated or manipulated accounts, as long as they are not viewed as the foundation for categorizing classical texts and interpretations. Instead, they reflect the institutional roles held by Academicians. In outlining the developmental history of these affiliations during the Han dynasty, the standard histories aimed to compile a comprehensive understanding of the varying lines of interpretation of classics. This understanding was not primarily based on knowledge transmission but rather on the straightforward reality of master–student affiliations. The records detailing the development of these lines of affiliation in the Han standard histories are a blend of

the historians' judgments (drawing lines) and historical records (showcasing the flourishing classical interpretations).

In light of this proposed new perspective on understanding the underlying logic in standard histories concerning lines of affiliation, the theories of previous scholars who have categorized classical texts and interpretations into such lines based on knowledge transmission—despite their comprehensiveness—warrant a thorough reevaluation. I suggest that, in the study of the developmental history of classical interpretations during the Han dynasty, we should prioritize historical records (contextual information) over classical texts and interpretations (contentual information).

3. Further investigations

This thesis examines how our understanding of lines of affiliation in classical interpretation has evolved within the context of classical reception history during the Han dynasty. Specifically, it focuses on the *Odes*, while also inviting consideration of broader implications for other classics and their interpretations. For instance, the Haihun manuscripts contain a recension of the *Analects* with noteworthy features regarding line affiliation. How do these findings shape and enhance our research on this topic? Through a revised understanding of the transmission of classical studies during the Han dynasty, we can better discern the line affiliation of various scattered and excavated texts related to classical works.

Additionally, this thesis encourages further investigation into the historiography of Han standard histories. If the records and classifications of institutional positions are largely disconnected from classical knowledge, what significant factors might they reflect, such as regional, geographical, or dialectical differences? Is it still viable and beneficial to develop new theories for categorizing classical interpretations from the Han dynasty into distinct lines of affiliation? While creating a comprehensive, all-encompassing method for organizing these interpretations seems essential for deepening our understanding of Han classical scholarship, is this goal still attainable in light of the perspectives presented in this thesis?

4. "Successively receiving from masters" (*di bing shicheng* 遞稟師承)

The general preface of the "Classics" section (*jing bu* 經部) of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (*Complete Library of Four Repositories*, 1780?) expounds on the transmission of classical studies during the Han dynasty, emphasizing "the exclusive nature of instruction and transmission within lineages and the [the students] successively received [teachings] from masters (*zhuanmen shoushou, di bing shicheng* 專門授受，遞稟師承).[779]

While the strict adherence to a master's teaching has been discredited, a closer examination of the phrase "successively receiving from masters" reveals its potential to elucidate the transmission of classical studies in the Han dynasty.

[779] Wei Xiaohu 魏小虎 2012: 1.1.

This thesis argues that, despite the documented master–student relationship, such as that exemplified by Chu Shaosun, students had the capacity to independently develop and promote their own interpretations of classical texts. These independent interpretations could gain widespread acceptance and imperial sanction, reflecting the line affiliation of the classicist. Consequently, the phrase "successively receiving from masters" can also be understood as a "*jein*", a German sphinx or Minotaur word of "*ja*" (yes) and "*nein*" (no), as described in Chapter 4 of this thesis. Here, I reinterpreted the phrase using another Latin phrase by Martin Luther (1483–1546): *Simul Justus et Peccator* (simultaneously justified and sinner).[780] A phrase that effectively encapsulates a seemingly contradictory situation involves delineating a line affiliation in a contextual manner while concurrently establishing an interpretation in a contentual sense.

In the realm of classical interpretations, students benefited from their masters' guidance in classical learning while retaining a certain degree of freedom to establish their own interpretations that might diverge from those of their masters. Considering Academician positions, the master–student affiliation served as a common framework for categorizing classicists into specific lines of affiliation. The recognition and endorsement of a classicist as a representative of their line affiliation by contemporaries or the imperial court hinged upon this master–student connection rather than solely on the knowledge transmission. Thus, while "successively receiving from masters" remains a valid concept within institutional records, the emphasis on knowledge transmission was not the primary concern for Han classicists but rather a matter of later significance.

[780] For a basic explanation of the phrase, please refer to Armentrout and Slocum 2000.

Appendix 1

Table: *Shiji* passages attributed to Chu Shaosun's name with certainty

***Shiji* chapter**	**Text**
"Chronological Table of the Three Generations" (*San dai shibiao* 三代世表)	張夫子問褚先生曰〔……〕豈不偉哉！[781] Master Zhang asked Mister Chu […] Is it not magnificent!
"Chronological Table of Noblemen Since Jianyuan" (*Jianyuan yilai houzhe nianbiao* 建元以來侯者年表)	後進好事儒者褚先生曰〔……〕未聞其有知略廣宣於國家也。[782] The inquisitive classicist Mister Chu from the succeeding generation says, […] It has never been heard that his wisdom and strategy was widely spread throughout the empire.
"Hereditary Houses of Relatives of Emperors" (*Waiqi shijia* 外戚世家)	褚先生曰：臣為郎時〔……〕豈虛哉！[783] Mister Chu says, when I was being a Gentleman (*lang* 郎) […] It is surely not in vain!
"Hereditary House of King Xiao of Liang" (*Liang Xiaowang shijia* 梁孝王世家)	褚先生曰：臣為郎時〔……〕少見之人，如從管中闚天地。[784] Mister Chu says, when I was being a Gentleman […] The shallow people are like merely having tunnel vision to the sky and earth through a tube.
"Hereditary Houses of Three Princes" (*San wang shijia* 三王世家)	褚先生曰：臣幸得以文學為侍郎〔……〕以奉燕王祭祀。[785] Mister Chu says, I was fortune enough to be appointed as a Gentleman Attendance (*shilang* 侍郎) owing to my literary abilities […] In order to hold the ceremonial sacrifice to King of Yan.
"Traditions of Tian Shu" (*Tian Shu liezhuan* 田叔列傳)	褚先生曰：臣為郎時〔……〕後進者慎戒之。[786] Mister Chu says, when I was being a Gentleman […] People from the succeeding generation should carefully take precautions against it.

[781] *Shiji* 13.504–7.
[782] *Shiji* 20.1059–69.
[783] *Shiji* 49.1981–86.
[784] *Shiji* 58.2089–92.
[785] *Shiji* 60.2114–20.
[786] *Shiji* 104.2779–83.

***Shiji* chapter**	**Text**
"Arrayed Traditions of Humorists" (*Guji liezhuan* 滑稽列傳)	褚先生曰：臣幸得以經術為郎〔……〕辨治者當能別之。[787] Mister Chu says, I was fortune to be appointed as a Gentleman through knowledge to classical studies […] People who distinguish the result of governing should be able to distinguish them.
"Arrayed Tradition of Soothsayers" (*Rizhe liezhuan* 日者列傳)	褚先生曰：臣為郎時〔……〕人取於五行者也。[788] Mister Chu says, when I was being a Gentleman […] People take it from *wuxing* people.
"Arrayed Traditions of Diviners" (*Guice liezhuan* 龜策列傳)	褚先生曰：臣以通經術〔……〕內高而外下也。[789] Mister Chu says, because of my thorough understanding to classical studies […] The inner is high, and the outer is low.

[787] *Shiji* 126.3203–13.
[788] *Shiji* 127.3221–22.
[789] *Shiji* 128.3225–51.

Table: *Shiji* passages attributed to Chu Shaosun's name with doubt

***Shiji* chapter**	**Text**
"Basic Annals of Emperor Wu" (*Xiao Wu benji* 孝武本紀)	(the whole chapter)[790]
"Treatise on Rites" (*Li shu* 禮書)	禮由人起〔……〕明者，禮之盡也。[791] Rites begin from man […] Luminous is the complete of rites.
"Treatise on Music" (*Yue shu* 樂書)	(the whole chapter)[792]
"Treatise on Calendars" (*Li shu* 曆書)	曆術甲子篇〔……〕正東，加卯時。[793] "*Lishu jiazi*" chapter […] Due east, plus the *mao* double-hour.
"Hereditary House of Chen She" (*Chen She shijia* 陳涉世家)	褚先生曰：地形險阻〔……〕而攻守之勢異也。[794] Mister Chu says, the landform is dangerous and obstruct […] Therefore the stance of offence and defense is changed.
"Hereditary House of King Yuan of Chu" (*Chu Yuanwang shijia* 楚元王世家)	地節二年〔……〕入漢為彭城郡。[795] The second year of *dijie* […] Merged into Han as City *of Peng* Commandery.
"Hereditary House of King Daohui of Qi" (*Qi Daohuiwang shijia* 齊悼惠王世家)	惠王十一年卒〔……〕十五歲，卒。[796] Died at the eleventh year of King Wei […] Died at fifteen years old.
"Traditions of Chancellor Zhang" (*Zhang chengxiang liezhuan* 張丞相列傳)	孝武時丞相多甚〔……〕困戹不得者眾甚也。[797] At the time of Emperor Wu, there were truly many Chancellors […] There were truly many of them in obstructed and difficult situations and therefore cannot get [a high position].

[790] *Shiji* 12.451–86.
[791] *Shiji* 23.1161–73.
[792] *Shiji* 24.1175–237.
[793] *Shiji* 26.1262–87.
[794] *Shiji* 48.1961–65.
[795] *Shiji* 50.1989.
[796] *Shiji* 52.2009.
[797] *Shiji* 96.2686–89.

Appendix 2

Table: Institutional transmission of *Lu Shi* from Master Shen to Wang Shi

Classicist	**Master–student affiliations**	***Odes* studies**	**Student**	**Influence**	**Active period**
Master Shen 申公		卒以《詩》、《春秋》授[798] finally taught both the *Odes* and the *Chunqiu*	弟子為博士十餘人[799] more than ten students appointed Academicians	其學官弟子行雖不備，而至於大夫、郎、掌故以百數[800] although the conduct of the students at his local academy was not flawless, over one hundred reached imperial office	Emperor Gaozu 高祖 to Emperor Wen 文帝
↓					
Master Jiang from Xiaqiu 瑕丘江公	Master Shen	盡能傳之〔申公之學〕[801] completely able to transmit these [Master Shen's] teaching	徒眾最盛[802] had the most students [among the students of Master Shen]	傳子至孫為博士[803] passed them to son and grandson, both of them appointed Academicians	Emperor Wu

[798] *Hanshu* 88.3608.
[799] *Hanshu* 88.3608.
[800] *Hanshu* 88.3608.
[801] *Hanshu* 88.3608.
[802] *Hanshu* 88.3608.
[803] *Hanshu* 88.3617.

Classicist	Master–student affiliations	*Odes* studies	Student	Influence	Active period
Scholar Xu of Lu 魯許生	Master Shen	守學教授[804] preserved the scholarship, teaching it and handing it down to others			(unknown)
Master Xu of Mianzhong 免中徐公	Master Shen	守學教授[805] preserved the scholarship, teaching it and handing it down to others			(unknown)
↓					

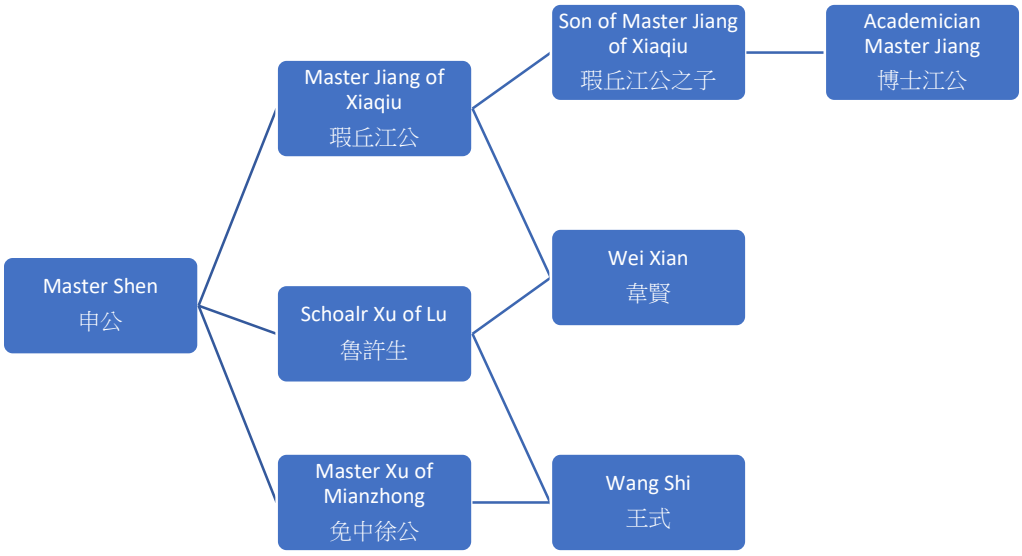
[804] *Hanshu* 88.3608–9.
[805] *Hanshu* 88.3608–9.

Classicist	Master–student affiliations	*Odes* studies	Student	Influence	Active period
Wei Xian 韋賢	事大江公及許生[806] studied with the elder [Xiaqiu] Master Jiang and Scholar Xu	治《詩》〔……〕又治《禮》[807] studied the *Odes* […] and also studied the *Rites*	進授昭帝《詩》[808] handing the *Odes* down to Emperor Zhao 傳子玄成[809] transmitted [them] [i.e. the *Odes* and the *Rites*] to his son [Wei] Xuancheng	（宣帝時）至丞相[810] appointed Chancellor [under Emperor Xuan]	Emperor Zhao to Emperor Xuan
Academician Master Jiang 博士江公	Master Jiang from Xiaqiu and his son 瑕丘江公、瑕丘江公之子	世為魯詩宗[811] being the master of *Lu Shi* for generations			Emperor Xuan

[806] *Hanshu* 88.3609.
[807] *Hanshu* 88.3609.
[808] *Hanshu* 73.3107.
[809] *Hanshu* 88.3609.
[810] *Hanshu* 88.3609.
[811] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

Classicist	Master–student affiliations	*Odes* studies	Student	Influence	Active period
Wang Shi 王式	事免中徐公及許生[812] studied with Master Xu of Mianzhong and Scholar Xu		Prince of Changyi Liu He 昌邑王劉賀	〔諸博士〕皆素聞其賢，共薦式[813] all [of the Academicians] had long heard about his [Wang Shi's] virtues, and collectively recommended [Wang] Shi	Emperor Xuan

Diagram: Institutional transmission of *Lu Shi* from Master Shen to Wang Shi



[812] *Hanshu* 88.3610.
[813] *Hanshu* 88.3610.

Appendix 3

Table: "*Fu ye*" 父業 in *Hanshu*

***Hanshu* chapter**	**Text**
"Treatise on Arts and Literatures" (*Yiwen zhi* 藝文志)	哀帝復使〔劉〕向子侍中奉車都尉〔劉〕歆卒父業。[814] Emperor Ai once again deputing [Liu] Xin, the son of [Liu] Xiang, Palace Attendant (*shizhong* 侍中) and Commandant of Imperial Carriages (*fengju duwei* 奉車都尉), to finish father's scholarship.
"Traditions of Wei Xuancheng" (*Wei Xuancheng zhuan* 韋玄成傳)	〔韋〕玄成〔……〕少好學，修父業[815] [Wei] Xuanxheng […] was fond of studying from young. He refined father's scholarship.

[814] *Hanshu* 30.1701.
[815] *Hanshu* 73.3108.

Table: “*Fu ye*” 父業 in *Houhanshu*

***Houhanshu* chapter**	**Text**
"Arrayed Traditions of Deng Zhi" (*Deng Zhi liezhuan* 鄧騭列傳)	〔鄧〕甫德〔……〕學傳父業。[816] [Deng] Fude […] [His] studies transmitted father's scholarship.
"Arrayed Traditions of Geng Yan" (*Geng Yan liezhuan* 耿弇列傳)	〔耿〕弇少好學，習父業。[817] [Geng] Yan was fond of studying from young. He practised father's scholarship.
"Arrayed Traditions of Fu Zhan" (*Fu Zhan liezhuan* 伏湛列傳)	〔伏〕湛性孝友，少傳父業[818] Fu Zhan had a filial and fraternal character. He transmitted father's scholarship from young.
"Arrayed Traditions of Lang Yi" (*Lang Yi liezhuan* 郎顗列傳)	〔郎〕顗少傳父業[819] Lang Yi transmitted father's scholarship from young.
"Arrayed Traditions of Zheng Xing" (*Zheng Xing liezhuan* 鄭興列傳)	賈逵自傳其父業[820] Jia Kui himself transmitted his father's scholarship.
"Arrayed Traditions of Chen Yuan" (*Chen Yuan liezhuan* 陳元列傳)	〔陳〕元少傳父業[821] Chen Yuan transmitted father's scholarship from young.
"Arrayed Traditions of Jia Kui" (*Jia Kui liezhuan* 賈逵列傳)	〔賈〕逵悉傳父業[822] [Jia] Kui wholly transmitted father's scholarship.
"Arrayed Traditions of Huan Yu" (*Huan Yu liezhuan* 桓郁列傳)	〔桓〕郁字仲恩〔……〕傳父業[823] [Huan] Yu whose courtesy name was Zhongen […] transmitted father's scholarship.
	〔桓〕郁繼傳父業[824] [Huan] Yu inherited and transmitted father's scholarship.
"Arrayed Traditions of Song Yi" (*Song Yi liezhuan* 宋意列傳)	〔宋〕意少傳父業[825] [Song] Yi transmitted father's scholarship from young.

[816] *Houhanshu* 16.618.
[817] *Houhanshu* 19.703.

[818] *Houhanshu* 26.893.
[819] *Houhanshu* 30b.1053.
[820] *Houhanshu* 36.1223.
[821] *Houhanshu* 36.1230.
[822] *Houhanshu* 36.1235.
[823] *Houhanshu* 37.1254.
[824] *Houhanshu* 37.1256.
[825] *Houhanshu* 41.1414.

"Arrayed Traditions of Yuan Jing" (*Yuan Jing liezhuan* 袁京列傳)	〔袁彭〕少傳父業[826] [Yuan Peng] transmitted father's scholarship from young.
"Arrayed Traditions of Guo Gong" (*Guo Gong liezhuan* 郭躬列傳)	〔郭〕躬少傳父業[827] [Guo] Gong transmitted father's scholarship from young.
"Arrayed Traditions of Cui Yuan" (*Cui Yuan liezhuan* 崔瑗列傳)	〔崔〕瑗字子玉〔……〕盡能傳其父業[828] [Cui] Yuan whose courtesy name was Ziyu […] completely able to transmit his father's scholarship.
"Arrayed Traditions of Yang Bing" (*Yang Bing liezhuan* 楊秉列傳)	〔楊〕秉字叔節，少傳父業[829] [Yang] Bing whose courtesy name was Shujie transmitted father's scholarship from young.
"Arrayed Traditions of Reasonable Officials" (*Xunli liezhuan* 循吏列傳)	〔劉〕寵少受父業[830] [Liu] Chong received father's scholarship from young.
"Arrayed Traditions of Classicists" (*Rulin liezhuan* 儒林列傳)	〔歐陽〕祉〔……〕傳父業教授。[831] [Ouyang] Zhi […] transmitted father's scholarship and taught it and handing it down to others.
	〔薛〕漢少傳父業[832] [Xue] Han transmitted father's scholarship from young.
"Arrayed Traditions of Cryptic Arts" (*Fangshu liezhuan* 方術列傳)	〔李〕郃襲父業[833] [Li] He followed along father's scholarship.

[826] *Houhanshu* 45.1522.
[827] *Houhanshu* 46.1543.
[828] *Houhanshu* 52.1722.
[829] *Houhanshu* 54.1769.
[830] *Houhanshu* 76.2477.
[831] *Houhanshu* 79a.2556.
[832] *Houhanshu* 79b.2573.
[833] *Houhanshu* 82a.2717.

Table: "*Jia ye*" 家業 in *Houhanshu*

***Houhanshu* chapter**	**Text**
"Arrayed Traditions of Zheng Zhong" (*Zheng Zhong liezhuan* 鄭眾列傳)	子〔鄭〕安世，亦傳家業[834] [His] son [Zheng] Anshi also transmitted household's scholarship.
"Arrayed Traditions of Huan Dian" (*Huan Dian liezhuan* 桓典列傳)	〔桓〕典字公雅，復傳其家業[835] [Huan] Dian whose courtesy name was Gongya restored to transmit his household's scholarship.
"Arrayed Traditions of Guo Zhen" (*Guo Zhen liezhuan* 郭鎮列傳)	〔郭〕鎮字桓鍾，少修家業。[836] [Guo] Zhen whose courtesy name was Huanzhong refined household's scholarship from young.
	〔郭〕鎮弟子〔郭〕禧，少明習家業[837] [Guo] Xi a disciple of [Guo] Zhen perceptively practised household's scholarship from young.
"Arrayed Traditions of Chen Chong" (*Chen Chong liezhuan* 陳寵列傳)	〔陳〕躬生〔陳〕寵，明習家業[838] [Chen] Ju gave birth to [Chen] Chong who perceptively practised household's scholarship.
"Arrayed Traditions of Classicists" (*Rulin liezhuan* 儒林列傳)	〔孔〕季彥守其家業[839] [Kong] Jiyan preserved his household's scholarship.
"Arrayed Traditions of Writers" (*Wenyuan liezhuan* 文苑列傳)	〔夏恭〕子〔夏〕牙，少習家業[840] [Xia Gong's] son [Xia] Ya practised household's scholarship from young.

[834] *Houhanshu* 36.1226.
[835] *Houhanshu* 37.1258.
[836] *Houhanshu* 46.1545.
[837] *Houhanshu* 46.1545.

[838] *Houhanshu* 46.1548.
[839] *Houhanshu* 79a.2563.
[840] *Houhanshu* 80a.2610.

Table: "*Jia xue*" 家學 in *Houhanshu*

***Houhanshu* chapter**	**Text**
"Arrayed Traditions of Fu Zhan" (*Fu Zhan liezhuan* 伏湛列傳)	〔伏〕無忌〔……〕亦傳家學[841] [Fu] Wuji […] also transmitted household's studies.
"Arrayed Traditions of Huan Yan" (*Huan Yan liezhuan* 桓焉列傳)	〔桓〕焉，能世傳其家學。[842] [Huan] Yan was able to transmit in generations his household's studies.
"Arrayed Traditions of Yuan Jing" (*Yuan Jing liezhuan* 袁京列傳)	〔袁〕湯字仲河，少傳家學[843] [Yuan] Tang whose whose courtesy name was Zhonghe transmitted household's studies from young.
"Arrayed Traditions of Yang Ci" (*Yang Ci liezhuan* 楊賜列傳)	〔楊〕賜字伯獻，少傳家學[844] [Yang] Ci whose whose courtesy name was Boxian transmitted household's studies from young.
"Arrayed Traditions of Yang Biao" (*Yang Biao liezhuan* 楊彪列傳)	〔楊〕彪字文先，少傳家學[845] [Yang] Biao whose whose courtesy name was Wenxian transmitted household's studies from young.
"Arrayed Traditions of Partisan Confinement" (*Danggu liezhuan* 黨錮列傳)	〔孔〕昱少習家學[846] [Kong] Yu practised household's studies from young.

Table: "*Fu xue*" 父學 in *Houhanshu*

***Houhanshu* chapter**	**Text**

[841] *Houhanshu* 26.898.
[842] *Houhanshu* 37.1257.
[843] *Houhanshu* 45.1523.
[844] *Houhanshu* 54.1775.
[845] *Houhanshu* 54.1786.
[846] *Houhanshu* 67.2213.

"Arrayed Traditions of Bao Yu" (*Bao Yu liezhuan* 鮑昱列傳)	〔鮑〕昱字文泉，少傳父學[847] [Bao] Yu whose whose courtesy name was Wenquan transmitted father's studies from young.
"Treatise of Musical Pitches and Calendar" (*Lüli zhi* 律曆志)	〔嚴宣〕不得依託父學[848] [Yan Xuan] was not allowed to rely on father's studies.

Table: "*Fu zu xue*" 父祖學 in *Houhanshu*

***Houhanshu* chapter**	**Text**
"Arrayed Traditions of Xu Fang" (*Xu Fang liezhuan* 徐防列傳)	〔徐〕防少習父祖學[849] [Xu] Fang practised father's and grand-father's studies from young.

[847] *Houhanshu* 29.1021.
[848] *Houhanshu* "Treatise" 1.3015.
[849] *Houhanshu* 44.1500.

Appendix 4

- **Modern scholars who regard Haihun *Odes* as *Lu Shi* 魯詩**

1. Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚. 2020a. "*Haihun zhushu Shi chu du*" 海昏竹書《詩》初讀 (The First Reading of Haihun Bamboo Manuscript *Odes*). In *Haihun jian du chu lun* 海昏簡牘初論 (A First Look at the Haihun Bamboo Manuscripts), edited by Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚 and Ke Zhonghua 柯中華, 79–119. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe

This is an expanded version of the earliest known article dedicated to analysing Haihun *Odes*.[850] The author, Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚, was one of the first researchers to explore the archaeological discovery of the Haihun tomb. This article utilized a combination of contextual and contentual information to examine the line affiliation of the texts. The catalogue (*zhong mu* 總目) of texts was analysed to explore the structural organization of the pieces, including the arrangement of different types and groups of pieces, the sequence of pieces in groups, chapter and ode arrangement, and the total number of pieces and odes. Additionally, the article compared these findings to those of *Mao Shi*. The content of the texts was also studied, including the characters, allographs, and interpretations of the texts and *Mao Shi*. Finally, Zhu investigated the relationship between the Xiping stone stele *Odes*, drawing comparisons between the collected Xiping and Haihun *Odes* in terms of their characters, allographs, and structure.

Zhu suggests that Haihun *Odes* "may well be *Lu Shi*" (*qi wei Lu Shi zhi kenengxing hen da* 其為《魯詩》之可能性很大),[851] according to his findings. His article provides several arguments to support this claim:

(1) Zhu notes that *Mao Shi* is the only complete recension of *Odes* that has survived. After comparing the two, he concludes that there are quite a few differences. However, he claims that when one considers the interpretation of the received *Mao Shi*, the structural organization of Haihun *Odes* "makes more sense" on some of the pieces.[852] Additionally, the organization of pieces in Haihun *Odes* is in accordance with Mao Shi's interpretation of piece themes.[853] Overall, while there are minor differences, Haihun Odes shares a similar structural organization with Mao Shi.[854]

(2) Through a comparison of the characters and allographs found in the Haihun *Odes* and Xiping *Odes*, Zhu has verified that there is a significant variation between

[850] Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚 2020b.
[851] Zhu Fenghan 2020a: 80.
[852] Zhu Fenghan 2020a: 88.
[853] Zhu Fenghan 2020a: 92.
[854] Zhu Fenghan 2020a: 104.

the two. While Zhu acknowledges that previous scholars, such as Ma Heng 馬衡, have asserted that the allographic variant serves as a primary distinguishing factor between *Mao Shi* and Xiping *Odes*, he maintains that it should not be considered a primary factor in distinguishing different filial lines.[855]

(3) However, the primary distinction between Haihun *Odes* and *Mao Shi* lies in the arrangement of pieces into two *ya* 雅 sections,[856] albeit "the overall structure is similar to the received Mao Shi" (*zai zongti jiegou shang yu jinben Mao Shi jiejin* 在總體結構上與今本《毛詩》接近).[857] In several significant ways, Haihun *Odes* adheres to the structure of Xiping *Odes*. This not only supports the conclusions of previous scholars about Xiping *Odes* but also "provides significant evidence proving Haihun *Odes* belongs [in the lineage of] *Lu Shi*" (*wei zhengming Haihun Shi shu Lu Shi tigong le xiangdang zhongyao de zhengju* 為證明海昏《詩》屬《魯詩》提供了相當重要的證據).[858]

2. Yu Hao 于浩. 2021. "*Haihun jian Shi yu Xihan zaoqi Lu Shi chuanshou*" 海昏簡《詩》與西漢早期魯詩傳授 (Research on Bamboo Slips of the *Book of Songs* Unearthed from Marquess of Haihun's Tomb and Lu Poetics in Han Dynasty). *Nanchang daxue xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban)* 南昌大學學報（人文社會科學版） (Journal of Nanchang University) 52.5: 114–122.

According to an article by Yu Hao 于浩, it is argued that the Haihun *Odes* should be classified as *Lu Shi*, based on the structural organization of the grouping of pieces. Yu presents several important points to support this claim:

(1) Yu asserts that "the structural sequence of pieces in *daya* 大雅 is fully able to be important evidence to determine line affiliation of excavated *Odes*" (*Daya bianci wanquan keyi zuowei panding chutu Shi jian guipai de zhongyao yiju* 大雅篇次完全可以作為判定出土《詩》簡歸派的重要依據).[859] Furthermore, regarding the sequence of pieces in Zheng feng 鄭風, the Haihun *Odes* differ from the reconstructed *Lu Shi* structure but are similar to those of *Mao Shi*.[860]

(2) Yu claims *Erya* 爾雅 is in the line of *Lu Shi*. By comparing the similarities between *Erya* and Haihun *Odes* and the differences between *Erya* and *Mao Shi*, Yu concludes, "Haihun bamboo *Odes* overall very much matches the feature of *Lu Shi*"

[855] Zhu Fenghan 2020a: 115–16.
[856] Zhu Fenghan 2020a: 104–5 and 116–18.
[857] Zhu Fenghan 2020a: 104.
[858] Zhu Fenghan 2020a: 118.
[859] Yu Hao 于浩 2021: 115.
[860] Yu Hao 2021: 116.

(*Haihun jian Shi zhengti shang yu Lu Shi de tezheng feichang wenhe* 海昏簡《詩》整體上與魯詩的特徵非常吻合).[861]

(3) In contrast to Zhu Fenghan, Yu dedicates a significant portion of his writing to detailing the characteristics of Master Shen 申公 and the significance of Wang Shi 王式 during his time serving under the Marquess of Haihun.[862] Yu ultimately posits that "it is most likely to be Master Shen's version transmitted by Wang Shi" (*zui you keneng de jiushi Wang Shi chuan xi alai de Shen Gong zhi ben* 最有可能的就是王式傳下來的申公之本).[863]

3. Yu Wanli 虞萬里. 2022. "*You Haihun jian yu Xiping canshi duikan lun Lu Mao biandi yitong: yi Xiaoya Jiaayu Hongyan Putian san shi wei zhongxin*" 由海昏簡與熹平殘石對勘論魯、毛篇第異同——以《小雅》〈嘉魚〉〈鴻鴈〉〈甫田〉三什為中心 (Uncover the Similarities and Differences between the Lu and Mao Chapters through the Comparison of the Haihun Bamboo Slips and the Xiping Remnants: Focus on "Jia Yu", "Hong Yan", and "Fu Tian" in *Xiao Ya*). *Nanyang zhonghua wenxue wenhua xuebao* 南洋中華文學文化學報 (Nanyang Journal of Chinese Literature and Culture) 2: 24–38.

One of the latest journal articles regarding the lineages of Haihun *Odes* was written by Yu Wanli 虞萬里, who has been paying attention to Han-era *Odes* interpretative lines. In the article, Yu analyses the structural organization of three decades (*shi* 什) found in *xiaoya* 小雅 and *daya* 大雅 and compares them in the context of Haihun *Odes*, Xiping *Odes*, and *Mao Shi*. Unlike previous articles, Yu's focus is not on proving the relationship between Haihun *Odes* and *Lu Shi*, but rather on comparing the unique sequencing of pieces in the three selected decades, which is "undoubtedly a unique sequence of *Lu Shi*" (*wuyi shi Lu Shi dute zhi xuci* 無疑是《魯詩》獨特之序次).[864] After the comparison, Yu concludes that both Haihun and Xiping *Odes* are "*Lu Shi* system recensions" (*Lu Shi xitong wenben* 《魯詩》系統文本).[865]

[861] Yu Hao 2021: 118.
[862] Yu Hao 2021: 118–19.
[863] Yu Hao 2021: 119.
[864] Yu Wanli 虞萬里 2022: 29.
[865] Yu Wanli 2022: 30.

4. Lam Pung-pan 林芃彬 (Lin Pengbin). 2023. "*Lu Shi Daya san shi pian ci xin zhen: jian lun Haihun jian Shi zhi xuepai guishu*"《魯詩・大雅》三什篇次新證——兼論海昏簡《詩》之學派歸屬 (New Evidence on the Different Orders of *Odes* in *Daya* in Lu Commentary: also on the Line Affiliation of Haihun *Odes*). Forum of Chinese Department Graduates of Three Taiwan and Hong Kong Universities 臺港三校中文系研究生論壇, National Cheng Kung University 國立成功大學, 2023.05.27.

Lam Pung-pan 林芃彬 (Lin Pengbin) wrote a conference article on the Haihun *Odes*, similar to Yu Wanli, analysing their structural organization in comparison to the Xiping *Odes*. Lam's findings led him to conclude that the Haihun *Odes* "could be confirmed as an early version of *Lu Shi*, one of the three new text lineages in the Han dynasty" (*ke quren qi wei Han dai jinwen sanjia Shi zhong Lu Shi xitong de zaoqi chuanben* 可確認其為漢代今文三家《詩》中《魯詩》系統的早期傳本).[866] Additionally, Lam provided counterpoints to arguments suggesting that the Haihun *Odes* belonged to the lines of Qi Shi or Han Shi:

(1) He highlighted that evidence showed Han classicists were not limited to one line of affiliation of classical studies, despite Liu He's father's *Odes* teacher being a *Qi Shi* classicist.[867] Furthermore, Liu He was appointed Prince of Changyi at a young age, which makes it unlikely that he acquired classical knowledge.[868]

(2) Although Wang Ji 王吉 was a *Han Shi* classicist with proven records of teaching and using classics for admonition,[869] his style of explanation did not match that of the Haihun *Odes*.[870]

(3) Lam pointed out that the explanations of the meaning of words and odes themes in the Haihun *Odes* were consistent with other *Lu Shi* explanations.[871]

[866] Lam Pung-pan 林芃彬 (Lin Pengbin) 2023: 24.
[867] *Hanshu* 漢書 75.3154 and 88.3612.
[868] Lam Pung-pan 2023: 5.
[869] *Hanshu* 88.3614.
[870] Lam Pung-pan 2023: 6–7.
[871] Lam Pung-pan 2023: 7–8.

5. Ran Xueli 冉雪立. 2024. "*Lun liang Zhou yongshi de "bi pian" yuanze yu Shi de cenglei shengcheng: yi Haihun jian Shi yu Mao Shi pianci yitong wei shidian*" 論兩周用詩的「比篇」原則與《詩》的層累生成——以海昏簡《詩》與《毛詩》篇次異同為視點 (On the Principle of "Parallel Pieces" in the Use of Odes of the Zhou dynasties and the Layered Generation of the *Odes*: Taking the Similarities and Differences in the Order of Pieces between Haihun bamboo slips *Odes* and *Mao Shi* as a Point of View). *Qiannian chuansong wenmai gengxu: Shijing wenxian guoji xueshu yantaohui* 千年傳誦・文脈賡續：《詩經》文獻國際學術研討會, Shanghai: Guojia guji baohu zhongxin, Fudan daxue tushuguan/Fudan daxue Zhonghua guji baohu yanjiuyuan, and Daxiang chubanshe, 23 November 2024.

Ran Xueli's 冉雪立 article, was presented at an academic conference and was included in the conference proceedings on pages 212–30. In the article, Ran dedicated considerable effort to comparing the arrangements of the order of pieces and how these arrangements formed groups in excavated and transmitted *Odes*. However, in discussing the line affiliation of *Odes*, particularly the Haihun *Odes*, Ran only asserts in a footnote that "I believe the sequence of the pieces is more closely related to the line affiliation of *Odes*" (*bi zheren weibian ciyushidegui shuguan xigengweimi qie* 筆者認為編次與《詩》的歸屬關係更為密切),[872] without providing additional explanations or supporting evidence. During the comparison, Ran emphasizes that Haihun *Odes*'s arrangements of the pieces are different from those of *Mao Shi*.[873]

- **Modern scholars who regard Haihun *Odes* as *Han Shi* 韓詩**

1. Wu Zhenwei 武振偉. 2019. "*Haihunhou mu chutu jiandu yu Xihan Qi Lu zhi xue*" 海昏侯墓出土簡牘與西漢齊魯之學 (Bamboo and Wooden Manuscripts Excavated from Haihunhou's Tomb and Qi and Lu Studies in Western Han). *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Chunqiu Bimonthly) 6: 50–53.

Wu Zhenwei's 武振偉 article was published in 2019, which means Wu might not have access to any texts of Haihun *Odes*. His article is thus, for now, the only article that relies solely on contextual information: source of authority. Wu assured that, "The large number of bamboo and wooden manuscripts excavated in the tomb of the Marquess of Haihun might be related to the officials of the Kingdom of Changyi period who had the responsibility of assisting and guiding and who had profound knowledge of classical studies" (*Haihunhou mu chutu de daliang jian du wenxian, ying yu Changyi guo shiqi fu you fubi zhize qie you shenhou jingxue gongdi de*

[872] Ran Xueli 冉雪立 2024: 212 n. 3.
[873] Ran Xueli 2024: 212–16.

dachen youguan 海昏侯墓出土的大量簡牘文獻，應與昌邑國時期負有輔弼職責且有深厚經學功底的大臣有關).[874] Here are his main arguments:

(1) Although Wu based his argument on the source of authority and thinks the Haihun *Odes* could be *Qi Shi* or *Lu Shi*, he opines contentual information can make a difference and then a conclusion can be drawn: "Judging from the education received by the father and son of Kings of Changyi Liu Bo and Liu He, it is possible that these bamboo texts of *Classic of Odes* are either *Qi Shi* or *Lu Shi*. At present, the bamboo texts have not yet been fully interpreted, and it is not yet possible to draw a conclusion" (*cong Changyi wang Liu Bo, Liu He fuzi jieshou de jiaoyu lai kan, zhexie jian wen Shijing ji you keneng shi Qi Shi, ye you keneng shi Lu Shi. muqian jian wen shangwei quanbu shidu, hai wufa xia jielun* 從昌邑王劉髆、劉賀父子接受的教育來看，這些簡文《詩經》既有可能是《齊詩》，也有可能是《魯詩》。目前簡文尚未全部釋讀，還無法下結論).[875]

(2) Wu' article listed the officials with classical training in the Kingdom of Changyi. However, without providing supporting evidence and discussion, Wu asserts that Wang Ji 王吉 should be the one taking responsibility for the source of authority of Haihun *Odes*, thus the excavated *Odes* should be regarded as in the *Han Shi* line: "Judging from Liu He's officials of the Kingdom of Changyi, the bamboo and wooden manuscripts excavated from the tomb of the Marquess of Haihun has the closest relationship with Wang Ji, Superintendent of the Capital. The teaching of the *Analects*, *Odes*, *Springs and Autumns*, and *Records of Rites* to Liu He may all be related to Wang Ji" (*cong Liu He Changyi guo qun chen lai kan, Haihunhou mu zhong chuto jian du wenxian yu zhongwei Wang Ji de guanxi zuida, dui Liu He Lunyu Shi Chunqiu Liji de chuanshou dou keneng yu Wang Ji youguan* 從劉賀昌邑國群臣來看，海昏侯墓中出土簡牘文獻與中尉王吉的關係最大，對劉賀《論語》《詩》《春秋》《禮記》的傳授都可能與王吉有關).[876]

2. Cao Jianguo 曹建國 and Wei Bofang 魏博芳. 2021. "*Haihunhou Liu He du shenme Shi*" 海昏侯劉賀讀甚麼《詩》 (Which Kind of *Book of Songs* Did Marquess of the Haihun Liu He Read). *Beifang luncong* 北方論叢 (The Northern Forum) 3: 68–78.

In response to Zhu Fenghan's article, Cao Jianguo 曹建國 and Wei Bofang 魏博芳 present a contrasting view on the lineage of the Haihun *Odes*, positing it to be a *Han Shi* recension. Their article, titled "Which Kind of *Book of Songs* Did Marquess of the Haihun Liu He Read?" (Official English name: *Haihunhou Liu He du shenme*

[874] Wu Zhenwei 武振偉 2019: 51.
[875] Wu Zhenwei 2019: 52.
[876] Wu Zhenwei 2019: 53.

Shi 海昏侯劉賀讀甚麼《詩》)[877] delves into this argument in a concise manner. To investigate this topic, Cao and Wei utilize the following methods:

(1) There were doubts about the influence of Wang Shi on his teaching of *Odes* to the Marquess of Haihun. Cao and Wei cited the example of another classical master, Gong Sui 龔遂, who was well-versed in the *Odes* and used them to admonish the Marquess of Haihun. This indicates a strong culture of teaching and learning the *Odes* around the Marquess of Haihun.[878]

(2) While there is no transmitted commentary (*zhuan* 傳) for the *Lu Shi* tradition, the Haihun *Odes* does have one. Given Wang Shi's approach to the *Odes* tradition and his teaching style, it seems unlikely that he would transmit the *Odes* in the same format as the Haihun *Odes*.[879]

(3) Although Xiping *Odes* follows the characters and allographs of *Lu Shi*, the main purpose was to correct the contemporary erroneous allographs. This purpose has less to do with the structural organization.[880]

(4) Take a closer look at the classicists surrounding the Marquess of Haihun, besides Wang Shi a classicist in *Lu Shi*, there are *Odes* classicists in *Qi Shi* 齊詩 and *Han Shi* as well. *Qi Shi* teacher Xiahou Shichang 夏侯始昌 was officially appointed as Senior Tutor (*taifu* 太傅) of Liu He's father Liu Bo 劉髆. Wang Ji 王吉 is recorded as a classicist in *Han Shi* and established his own branch of *Han Shi* studies.[881] Wang was Superintendent of the Capital (*zhongwei* 中尉) of the Kingdom of Changyi and "although the Prince [Liu] He does not follow the proper way, he still knows [he should] show [Wang] Ji respect and admiration" (*wang He sui bu zun dao, ran you zhi jing li Ji* 王賀雖不遵道，然猶知敬禮吉).[882]

(5) Upon verifying that all three lines of affiliation of *Odes* had significant influence in the Kingdom of Changyi, Cao and Wei delve into the contentual evidence. According to the *zhuan*'s interpretations of piece themes, the Haihun *Odes* and *Han Shi* are the most closely related among the lines.[883]

(6) Cao and Wei have determined that the Haihun *Odes* shares a similar interpretative philosophy with Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, the main commentator of *Mao Shi*, based on their comparison of *Mao Shi*'s interpretations. According to their

[877] Cao Jianguo 曹建國 and Wei Bofang 魏博芳 2021: 78.
[878] Cao Jianguo and Wei Bofang 2021: 69.
[879] Cao Jianguo and Wei Bofang 2021: 69–70.
[880] Cao Jianguo and Wei Bofang 2021: 70.
[881] *Hanshu* 88.3614.
[882] *Hanshu* 72.3061.
[883] Cao Jianguo and Wei Bofang 2021: 72–73.

findings, "Zheng Xuan learned *Han Shi* from Zhang Gongzu before studying *Mao Shi* with Ma Rong, Zheng thus frequently applies *Han Shi*'s interpretations when commentating on *Mao Shi*" (*Zheng Xuan cong Ma Rong xue Mao Shi zhi qian, ceng gensui Zhang Gongzu xue Han Shi, suoyi Zheng Xuan zhu Mao Shi duo yong Han Shi yi* 鄭玄從馬融學《毛詩》之前，曾跟隨張恭祖學《韓詩》，所以鄭玄注《毛詩》多用《韓詩》義).[884]

(7) Archaeologists at the Marquess of Haihun tomb made a significant discovery: a collection of Qi 齊 recension *Analects*. Not only was Wang Ji a renowned classicist during the reign of Changyi, but he was also known to transmit the *Qi Analects*. It is plausible that Liu He was influenced by Wang Ji's teachings on both the *Analects* and the *Odes*.[885]

3. Zhang Feng 張峰. 2022. "*Haihun zhushu Shi xingzhi zai tan: jian tan Haihun zhushu Shi zhi qishi*" 海昏竹書《詩》性質再探——兼談海昏竹書《詩》之啟示 (A Research on Properties of Bamboo Slips the *Book of Songs* Unearthed from the Tomb of Marquess of the Haihun: Also on the Inspiration of Bamboo Slips the *Book of Songs*). *Beifang luncong* 北方論叢 (The Northern Forum) 5: 71–81.

In his article, Zhang Feng's 張峰 argues that the Haihun *Odes* should be attributed to *Han Shi*. Zhang first of all challenges the belief that Haihun *Odes* is *Lu* Shi. He presents several points to support his claim:

(1) Zhang notes that while the Haihun *Odes* may share significant similarities in structure with Xiping *Odes* thus proving Haihun *Odes* might have a higher possibility of being a *Lu Shi* recension, "but are *Qi Shi*'s and *Han Shi*'s structural organization certainly different from *Lu Shi*'s?" (*dan Qi Shi Han Shi de bianci shifou yiding yu Lu Shi you bie* 但《齊詩》《韓詩》的篇次是否一定與《魯詩》有別？).[886] Among the research history of the lines of affiliation of interpretations of *Odes*, this logical gap appears often due to the lack of evidence. On top of the speculation on the logical gap, Zhang takes *Han Shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 as an example proving it is highly possible that *Han Shi* also arranged decades of *daya* the same as Haihun *Odes* and Xiping *Odes*[887]—one of the most important pieces of evidence that the above-reviewed scholars cling to in proving their relationships with *Lu Shi*.

[884] Cao Jianguo and Wei Bofang 2021: 74.
[885] Cao Jianguo and Wei Bofang 2021: 74–75.
[886] Zhang Feng 張峰 2022: 72.
[887] Zhang Feng 2022: 72–73.

(2) The question of whether Zheng Xuan commented on *Mao Shi* based on his *Han Shi* training is still up for debate. However, evidence shows that Zheng commentated *Mao Shi* using all other three lines of interpretation.[888]

(3) Furthermore, Zhang focuses on four main categories to argue that Haihun *Odes* should be attributed to *Han Shi*: (1) Preface; (2) Commentary (*zhuan* 傳); (3) Interpretation and (4) Textual variants.[889]

(4) Zhang speculates that Haihun *Odes* may be a personal *Odes* excerpt from either the lost *Han Shi neizhuan* 韓詩內傳 or *Han Shi gu* 韓詩故.[890]

[888] Zhang Feng 2022: 73.
[889] Zhang Feng 2022: 73–77.
[890] Zhang Feng 2022: 80.

Appendix 5

Table: *Odes* quoted and explained by the officials under the Kingdom of Changyi

Official	Piece of *Odes*	Verses[891]	Explanations	Format
Wang Ji 王吉	"*Fei feng*" in *Guifeng* 檜風・匪風	Not for the blow of the wind; not for the rush of the chariot; it is when I turn my head back and gaze down the road of Zhou, the core of my heart is sad. 匪風發兮，匪車揭兮，顧瞻周道，中心怛兮。[892]	*Explanations* says, this is not olden wind, the wind blows; this is not olden chariot, the chariot rushes. Probably feel pity for it. 《說》曰：是非古之風也，發發者；是非古之車也，揭揭者。蓋傷之也。[893]	Written (*su* 疏)[894]

[891] In translating the *Odes* into English, Bernhard Karlgren (1889–1978) (*The Book of Odes* 詩經) and James Legge (1815–1897) (*The Chinese Classics: With a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes* 中國經典) are my main references. Noting that I referred heavily to Bernhard Karlgren's iconic glosses on *Shijing* (Karlgren 1942–1948; Chinese translation with notes by Dong Tonghe 董同龢: Karlgren 2012). Not to mention Karlgren's rigour in the philological discussion, the fact that he took the three major Han interpretative lines into account and compared them with the "orthodoxy" *Mao Shi*–Zheng Xuan–Kong Yingda–Zhu Xi explanations made his work enormously helpful in understanding and translating the *Odes* when it was quoted in different texts in Han dynasty. Collections of alternate interpretations like *Shi sanjia yi ji shu* 詩三家義集疏 are somewhat helpful but they mostly just lay out variants without judgement. I also made reference to Arthur Waley's (*The Book of Songs*) and Edward L. Shaughnessy's (*The Classic of Poetry: Ancient China's Songbook*) translations. I checked Xu Yuanchong's 許淵沖 (*Shijing* 詩經 1993) and Wang Rongpei's 汪榕培 (*Shijing* 詩經 2008) translations but not seeing them as exceedingly helpful.

[892] *Hanshu* 72.3058. Yan Shigu's commentary: 檜國〈匪風〉之篇。發發，飄風貌。揭揭，疾驅貌。怛，古怛字，傷也。言見此飄風及疾驅，則顧念哀傷，思周道也。

[893] *Hanshu* 漢書 72.3058. *Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注 72.4758 quotes Liu Ban 劉攽 (1022–1088) and Master Yangxia 陽夏公.

[894] *Hanshu* 72.3058.

Official	Piece of *Odes*	Verses[891]	Explanations	Format
	"*Gan tang*" in *Shaonan* 召南・甘棠		In the past, Master Shao narrated his duty. When people were working, he resided beneath a pear tree to hear and adjudicate. The people at that time all be in their element, and the generations of later times thought of his kindness and graces, reaching a degree that not cutting down the sweet pear tree. This is the ode of "*Gan tang*". 昔召公述職，[895] 當民事時，舍於棠下而聽斷焉。[896] 是時人皆得其所，後世思其仁恩，至虖不伐甘棠，〈甘棠〉之詩是也。[897]	
	"*Wen Wang*" in *Daya* 大雅・文王	Splendid were the many officers, And by them King Wen enjoys his tranquility.	Your subject heard that when sage kings spread virtues and circulated teachings, it must be from the nearby. When the court is incomplete, it is difficult to be regarded as well-governed. When close	Written (*su* 疏)[900]

[895] *Hanshu* 72.3058.
[896] *Hanshu* 72.3058.
[897] *Hanshu* 72.3058. Worth noting that a similar passage can be found in the "Prizing Virtue" chapter (*Gui de* 貴德) in *Shuoyuan* 說苑 (*Shuoyuan jizheng* 說苑集證 5.239; an English translation by Eric P. Henry, please refer to *Garden of Eloquence: Shuoyuan* 說苑 5.224–25). Worth noting that here I only excerpt the part that I deem parallel with Wang Ji's text. *Shuoyuan* puts the story in a richer context by citing the *Odes*, *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳, and "Confucius said" (*Kongzi yue* 孔子曰), all of which I omitted in the excerpt. Furthermore, there are other texts mentioning the story behind "*Gan tang*" 甘棠 and share some parallel words, but only *Shuoyuan* shares significantly more parallel texts with Wang Ji's words. For a collection and explanations of other similar texts, please refer to *Shuoyuan jizheng* 5.240–42 and Wang Jou-fang 王柔方 (Wang Roufang). 2017.
[900] *Hanshu* 72.3062.

Official	Piece of *Odes*	Verses[891]	Explanations	Format
		濟濟多士，文王以寧[898]	advisers are improper, it is difficult to teach the far. Commongfolks are weak but not to be dominated, ignorant but not to be fooled. Sage kings stay deep inside the palace. When they are accomplished, all under Heaven acclaim and praise them. When they failed, all under Heaven talked about them. Conduct starts from nearby and certainly be seen far. Therefore, be vigilant in choosing close advisers and be scrupulous in picking errands. Close advisers are to rectify behaviour and errands are to spread virtues. 臣聞聖王宣德流化，必自近始。朝廷不備，難以言治；左右不正，難以化遠。民者，弱而不可勝，愚而不可欺也。聖主獨行於深宮，得則天下稱誦之，失則天下咸言之。行發於近，必見於遠，故謹選左右，審擇所使；左右所以正身也，所使所以宣德也。[899]	

[898] *Hanshu* 72.3063.
[899] *Hanshu* 72.3063.

Official	Piece of *Odes*	Verses[891]	Explanations	Format
	"*Fa tan*" in *Weifeng* 魏風・伐檀		Shun and Tang did not employ descendants of three Dukes and nine Dignitaries but promoted Gao Yao and Yi Yin. Inhumane people were estranged. The vulgar clerks are now able to appoint young fellows, who are mostly peremptorily proud and do not understand ancient and modern. When it comes to accumulating accomplishments and governing people, they are not benefiting the commonfolk. This is what "*Fa tan*" is written for. 舜、湯不用三公九卿之世而舉皋陶、伊尹，[901] 不仁者遠。[902] 今使俗吏得任子弟，[903] 率多驕驁，不通古今，至於積功治人，亡益於民，此〈伐檀〉所為作也。[904]	Oral (*yan* 言)[905]
Gong Sui 龔遂	"*Qing ying*" in *Xiaoya* 小雅・青蠅	Buzzing and hissing the blue flies, reached the fences.	Many malign people are at Your Majesty's elbow, like the malevolence of blue flies.	Oral (*yue* 曰)[909]

[901] *Hanshu* 72.3065.
[902] *Hanshu* 72.3065.
[903] *Hanshu* 72.3065.
[904] *Hanshu* 72.3065.
[905] *Hanshu* 72.3065.
[909] *Hanshu* 63.2766.

Official	Piece of *Odes*	Verses[891]	Explanations	Format
		Contented and peace gentlemen, do not believe slanderous speeches. 營營青蠅，至[906]于藩；愷悌君子，毋信讒言。[907]	陛下左側讒人衆多，如是青蠅惡矣。[908]	

[906] Wang Xianqian's 王先謙 *Shi sanjia yi ji shu* 詩三家義集疏 19.1004 suggests here should be "止". He based his judgment on another quotation of the verse in the same *Hanshu* chapter and all three chapters in the *Odes* used "止" for the repeating verse. I find Wang's suggestion makes sense but I think *Lunheng*' s 論衡 parallel passage is stronger evidence as *Hanshu*'s internal examples can undergo systematic amendments. As the other *Han Shi* 韓詩 quotations did not show the other repeating verses, "至" still makes sense if it is used in all cases.
[907] *Hanshu* 63.2766.
[908] *Hanshu* 63.2766.

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