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Presence and Praise: Writing the Imperial Body in Han China

By

Sharon Sanderovitch

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

Chinese Language
in the
Graduate Division
of the
University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Mark Csikszentmihalyi, Chair
Professor Michael Nylan
Professor Paula M. Varsano
Professor Robert H. Sharf

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Abstract

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The ruler's body in early Chinese literature—whether silent and tranquil or bearing the scars of restless public toil; whether emanating light from the depths of the palatial chambers or displaying charisma while traversing the empire—has served as an idiom for the articulation of competing ideals of rulership, governance, and bureaucratization. This work takes the idiom of the ruler's body and the language of imperial representation as the primary object of scrutiny. It analyzes prevalent rhetorical and literary patterns in light of observations gained in the cross-cultural study of the royal body, metaphor in political discourse, and theories of representation. In particular, I am interested in the way top-down representation, of the ruler by his officials, was conceptualized and advocated in bodily terms, giving rise to some of the most common figures in early Chinese literature. This attention to the work of language in the political discourse of the early imperial period reveals some of the unique features of Chinese theories of monarchy, and brings to light paradigms that structure the literary representation of rulers and rulership across seemingly incompatible genres.

The main texts that drive the inquiry in the three core chapters date from two middle points in the long span of the Han dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE): the reign of Emperor Cheng 成帝 (r. 33 – 7 BCE) in the late Western Han, and the reign of Emperor Zhang 章帝 (r. 75 – 88) in the early Eastern Han. The first chapter takes Liu Xiang's 劉向 (79 – 8 BCE) *Shui yuan* 說苑 as the gate to an ongoing intertextual discourse of rulership and bureaucratization, looking in particular at metaphors that take the ruler's body as the source domain. I show, in the second chapter, that some of the conceptual paradigms that structure such figurative constructions in the discourse of authority and delegation underlie literary strategies that support the goals of the ruler's encomiasts. At the center of analysis in this chapter is Cui Yin's 崔駰 (d. 92) "Four Panegyrics for the Imperial Tours" 四巡頌—a text that fell under the radar of most early-China scholars, East and West, due to a long interruption in its transmission. In the third chapter, focusing on the summaries and evaluations Ban Gu 班固 (32 – 92) had appended to the imperial chronicles of the *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han), I argue that awareness to the poetics of praise is instrumental to the study not only of the rhetorical construction of the ruler's body but also the language of imperial historiography.

This work thus examines the relation between metaphor and politics, body and representation, and history and praise so as to highlight features of the early Chinese discourse of rulership that will have hermeneutical and analytical value for scholars of Chinese literature, political thought, and theories of monarchy across cultures.

In loving memory of

Maya Tal Ronen

(1978 – 2013)

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Wherever I fall short of implementing their advice, as with any error or deficiency, the responsibility is fully my own.

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Introduction
Body, Metaphor, and Representation

This work lies at the intersection of the study of the royal body, body-based metaphors, and political representation, yet these broad labels do not completely capture the field and main thrust of the inquiry that follows. Indeed, 'body,' 'metaphor,' and 'representation' are all notoriously polysemic concepts,[1] and modifying them by means of the 'royal' and the 'political' hardly helps in delimiting clearly the particular field of reference in any given analysis. The nature of their meeting in the present study, therefore, calls for some clarification. I take up each of these three topics below, by no means presuming to present the entire spectrum of applications or avenues of sinological research with regard to any of the three, but aiming to position my line of inquiry vis-à-vis some of the ongoing discussions, and, in the process, lay out the primary theoretical frameworks that have informed my work.

The study of the royal body

Nearly every study from the late twentieth century onwards that pertains to notions of the ruler's body makes some note of indebtedness to Ernst Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies* (1957). Its wide influence notwithstanding, *The King's Two Bodies* does not concern the royal body as an object of scrutiny—not as it came to the fore in subsequent studies of the management of kings' corporeal yet sacralized bodies in life and death (e.g., clothing, food, and funerals); royal cult and state rituals; and artistic representations, visual or literary, of kings' bodily aspects.[2] Itself a study of medieval political theology prompted by the curious Two-Bodies formulations of the Tudor jurists, the publication of Kantorowicz's work coincided with the rise of the body as a topic of historiographical inquiry in the later half of the twentieth century, to inspire questioning concerning the physical body of monarchs as a medium and a product of various acts of signification.[3]

Kantorowicz opens his inquiry with the Tudor theory of the King's Two Bodies—a theory previously defined by the English legal historian Fredric William Maitland (1850 – 1906) as "a marvelous display of metaphysical—or we might say metaphysiological—nonsense."[4] As articulated in one exemplary case argued by the crown lawyers in the second half of the sixteenth century:

> [B]y the Common Law no Act which the King does as King, shall be defeated by his Nonage. For the King has in him two Bodies, viz., a Body natural, and a Body politic. His Body natural

[1] On "the body" as "no topic or, perhaps, all topics" see Caroline Bynum, "Why All the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective," *Critical Inquiry* 22.1 (1995): 1 – 33 (esp. 1 – 8; citation is from p. 2).

[2] See also Conard Leyser on the "sizeable gap between the nineteenth-century tradition of legal history on which Kantorowicz drew, and late twentieth-century work in the history of the body, which… sought to avoid institutional history." Ernst H. Kantorowicz, with a new introduction by Conard Leyser, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton University Press, 2016), xxiii (and articulated differently but with a similar import on p. xvii). Bernhard Jussen even went further to "wonder whether the two bodies are really the book's central idea, or whether they are just an arresting image that has distracted scholars from the book's systematic interest. (…) His concern was less about the body than about the much less sexy 'State.'" Jussen, "*The King's Two Bodies* Today," *Representations* 106.1 (2009), 104.

[3] For the interest in Kantorowicz's work, in the 1970s and 1980s, on the part of historians of the body in general, see Leyser's introduction in Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, xvii – xviii. Examples for subsequent studies that focused on the royal body in particular are Angela Zito, *Of Body and Brush: Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance in Eighteenth-Century China* (The University of Chicago Press, 1997), based on her PhD dissertation from 1989; Sergio Bertelli, translated by R. Burr Litchfield, *The King's Body: The Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), originally published in Firenze in 1990; and, later, Mark W. Hamilton, *The Body Royal: The Social Poetics of Kingship in Ancient Israel* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).

[4] Cited in Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 3.

> (if it be considered in itself) is a Body mortal, subject to all Infirmities that come by Nature or Accident, to the Imbecility of Infancy or old Age, and to the like Defects that happen to the natural Bodies of other People. But his Body politic is a Body that cannot be seen or handled, consisting of Policy and Government, and constituted for the Direction of the People, and the Management of the public weal, and this Body is utterly void of Infancy, and old Age, and other natural Defects and Imbecilities, which the Body natural is subject to, and for this Cause, what the King does in his Body politic, cannot be invalidated or frustrated by any Disability in his Natural Body.[5]

Rather than 'nonsense,' Kantorowicz defines this way of handling the difference between office and occupant a "mystic fiction,"[6] and sets out to reconstruct its spell: to trace the antecedent, interrelated religious and political discourses that granted this fiction its persuasive force. His route—a *tour de force* that instantly garnered reviewers' praise and has by now reached the status of a 'classic'[7]—passes through the works of medieval theologians, of Shakespeare (1564 – 1616), and Dante (1265 – 1321), and takes the notion of the king's body, as well as the Church and Christ, to the level of an abstract discourse.

What later scholars, in turn, tried to do by focusing on factors that shaped the appearance, behavior, and artistic representations of the king's physical body is to show how "the visible, imbecilic body of the king *reveals* the invisible, pristine body (politic) of the King."[8] In other words, they attempted to describe the ways in which the king's physical body served as both a surface and a tool for the inscription of political ideologies and social perceptions—including the relation between the corporeal and the divine, however the latter be defined in a given cultural context.[9]

With their attention thus directed to royal representation in text, ritual, and art, historians came to engage more closely with various disciplinary approaches. Sergio Bertelli's (1928 – 2015) path, in *The King's Body: The Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (originally published in 1990), towards incorporating methods and emphases from cultural anthropology passes through social-historian Marc Bloch (1886 – 1944), who back in 1923 advised his readers: "Absolutism was a kind of religion; and does not knowing a religion only through its theologians perhaps leave us ignorant of its vital sources?"[10] Bloch made this point over three decades prior to the publication of Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies*, but cited at the end of the twentieth century it seems to take-on the tones of some of the latter's less satisfied admirers.[11] Bertelli, in any event, responded to Bloch's call by directing attention to the design of kings' sacralized bodies on various ceremonial occasions

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[5] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 7.

[6] Ibid., 3.

[7] For a review of the early reception of Kantorowicz's work see William Chester Jordan's preface from 1997, in Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, xxv – xxxi.

[8] Hamilton, *The Body Royal*, 30 (emphasis mine). Hamilton makes this point with regard, specifically, to the Isrealite king as depicted in his sources. I borrow his formulation because I believe it well captures the transition of scholars' attention in many of the studies that followed *The King's Two Bodies*.

[9] On this commonality see Angela Zito's careful formulations in *Of Body and Brush*, 60 – 61. On the study of divine kingship and early Chinese notions of rulership see also Michael Puett, "Human and Divine Kingship in Early China: Comparative Reflections," in *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond*, edited by Nicole Brisch (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2008), 207 – 220.

[10] Bertelli, *The King's Body*, 69. See also ibid., 1, 4.

[11] See, for example, Leyser and Jordan in Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, ix, xvii – xx, xxv – xxviii.

throughout western Europe, and, furthermore, to the roles played by spectators as participants in acts of collective representation, such as the medieval and Renaissance triumphant city entries.[12]

The work of Angela Zito, co-editor of *Body, Subject & Power in China* (1994), and author of *Of Body and Brush: Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance in Eighteenth-Century China* (1997), exemplifies the combination of cultural-anthropological methods with the sensibilities of late-twentieth-century historians of the body. Taken to bear on the study of monarchy in late imperial China, this has produced, in the latter manuscript, an intense reflection on the ritual language of the imperial Grand Sacrifice and its place among other forms of "signifying emperorship."[13] A study by Mark Hamilton, in turn, has extended the notions of performativity and signification to the analysis of activities that go beyond institutionalized ritual. Drawing on the work of social semioticians, Hamilton has set out to investigate the function of the Israelite king's body as a sign relating to ancient Israel's conceptions of maleness, rule, and divinity.[14] In *The Body Royal: The Social Poetics of Kingship in Ancient Israel* (2005) he examines different views of the activity, display, discipline, and training of the royal body as these are variously represented in the royal psalms and Deuteronomistic narratives, with the aim of learning *of* but also *through* the king's body—of the system of codes and conventions that shaped other bodies in the same cultural sphere.

The studies by Bertelli, Zito, and Hamilton represent some of the main avenues in which the study of the doubled royal body in different historical and cultural contexts has proceeded since Kantorowicz—with an emphasis not on the semantics of political theorization but on behaviors and practices that involved the king in his body natural.[15] In this regard, the present work may be viewed as somewhat reactionary. Indeed, my purpose in this briefest of reviews is to roughly sketch the terrain of a growing interdisciplinary discourse simply in order to clarify what the present study of the early Chinese 'imperial body' is *not* set to do. Stated positively, the following three essays lean heavily towards the semantics of the political discourse, at the expense of political and religious practices. They focus, furthermore, on one particular thematic strand that participated in the construction of rhetorical and literary depictions of the ruler's 'body' in pre-modern China—namely, notions of authority and delegation (see below, under 'political representation')—to the tentative neglect of others. I submit, however, that this is an important entry point—not sufficient, surely, but necessary—to any investigation that would rely on textual sources from the early imperial period (and, conceivably, later as well) in order to ask questions such as those asked by Hamilton or Bertelli.

The ruler's body in the early literature—whether silent and tranquil or bearing the scars of restless public toil; whether emanating light from the depths of the palatial chambers or displaying charisma while traversing the empire—has served as an idiom for the articulation of competing ideals of rulership, governance, and bureaucratization. As such, its peculiar syntax must be learned as a preliminary step, in order to better understand the paradigms that informed the language and design of our textual sources. Scholars of kingship in general and Chinese monarchy in particular have come to analogous conclusions. Zito, for example, has observed with regard to the handbooks and treatises

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[12] Ibid., e.g. 67 – 70. Note that Kantorowicz himself did grant some attention to rituals of monarchy among the wealth of topics he had incorporated in his study and laid forth for later scholars to pick up and develop. See, e.g., Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 419 – 437.

[13] Zito, *Of Body and Brush*, e.g., xiv – xv, 52 – 56, 57 – 58.

[14] Hamilton, *The Body Royal*, e.g. 15 – 21. See also Zito on emperorship and signification in *Of Body and Brush*, 13 – 17.

[15] This, of course, is not to limit the influence of *The King's Two Bodies* to the field of inquiry narrowly defined above. See Bernhard Jussen on the different scopes of engagement of Kantorowicz's classic in studies of various disciplines, which were nevertheless doubtlessly inspired by his work (or, according to Jussen, primarily its title): "*The King's Two Bodies* Today," 103 – 105. An important work that clearly drew influence from *The King's Two Bodies* is Louis Marin's (1931 – 1992) *Portrait of the King*, originally published in Paris in 1981 (*Le Portrait du roi*) and later translated by Martha M. Houle (University of Minnesota Press, 1988). I refer to Marin's work occasionally in the essays that follow.

at her disposal (as well as the visual and material sources available to scholars of late imperial China) that "they do not give a privileged vantage point *upon* their structuring system, having been constantly performed into being within it, but only varying points of view *inside* it."[16] This is an important reminder, specifically because the performative dimension is not, in fact, limited to texts that pertain to what Zito calls the "ritual universe."[17] It is also pertinent to a broad range of literary sources, including historiographical records. Thus, Hamilton has pointed out the fault of past analyses of biblical narratives, which "paid little attention to the possible ideological underpinnings of the text under consideration, seeking instead to discover 'what really happened.'"[18] Hamilton's remark brings to mind a fine point Harold Kahn has made over four decades ago:

> It is fashionable in some historical circles to deplore the work of those who are concerned with the language of history rather than with the 'reality' of history. Yet it seems to me that the study of Chinese monarchy requires both and perhaps even demands that weight be given the first. For a knowledge of the language and style of the emperorship must surely precede any attempt to separate image from reality and to recognize when in fact the two actually coincide. [19]

The essays that follow pertain to the study of the 'language of history,' broadly conceived, to include political rhetoric, epideictic rhyme-prose, and historiographical sources. Indeed, one of the advantages in taking the idiom of the ruler's body as the primary lens is the ability to transcend generic boundaries and bring into view the paradigms that structure the literary representation of rulers and rulership across seemingly incompatible genres.

Body-based political metaphors

To say that the following is concerned with the royal body as an *idiom* for the articulation of ideas that may include but certainly transcend the body natural, means that the latter is used figuratively. In the three essays that follow, I refer occasionally to 'figures,' 'images,' and 'analogies' as best fits the case under discussion, but I take all to be instances of 'metaphor' as "the phenomenon whereby we talk and, potentially, think about something in terms of something else."[20] I favor this definition since it suspends the question of cognitive necessities mostly associated with the school of Cognitive (or Conceptual) Metaphor Theory (CMT). In the present work, 'body-based metaphor' does not refer to metaphors as a manifestation of bodily, or experience-based conceptualization of abstract ideas, even though, in many of the cases considered, this may as well be applicable. 'Body-based,' in this study, is descriptive, not analytical. It refers to metaphors that take the biological body as the source domain (I provide further specification below), whether that be understood as a pure rhetorical choice, a cognitive necessity, or a combination thereof. What is of primary interest to me in the following discussions is the function and negotiation of these metaphors in the early-Chinese discourse of rulership. I am interested, in other words, not so much in what body-based metaphors *are* but in how

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[16] Zito, *Of Body and Brush*, xv (emphasis there).

[17] Ibid.

[18] Hamilton, *The Body Royal*, 22.

[19] Harold Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes: Image and Reality in the Ch'ien-lung Reign* (Harvard University Press, 1971), 261.

[20] Elena Semino, *Metaphor in Discourse* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1. On 'metaphor' as a fundamental category that includes specific manifestations such as 'analogy,' see also Andreas Musolff, "Metaphor in the History of Ideas and Discourses: How Can We Interpret a Medieval Version of the *Body-State* Analogy?" in *Metaphor and Discourse*, edited by Andreas Musolff and Jörg Zinken (Palgrave Mcmillan, 2009), 245n2.

they are *used*.[21] For this purpose, the tools and observations offered by scholars who study metaphorical meaning from the discourse-analytic perspective are of more relevance than the psycholinguistic perspective, and more suited for a historical-literary analysis that is geared towards the particular rather than the universal.[22]

At the same time, there is no denying the place of some of the metaphors considered below among widely attested cross-cultural phenomena. As Andreas Musolff has aptly put it, "The mapping of body-related concepts onto political entities is one of the most famous, and notorious, conceptual metaphors in the history of ideas."[23] The metaphorical use of certain features of the human body for the purpose of talking or theorizing about forms of organized society goes back as far as the second millennium BCE, to the *Rig-Veda*, and, later, the *Book of Daniel*, and Plato's *Republic*. Throughout global history, this loose metaphorical scheme had been creatively manipulated to advocate for widely different, and at times contrasting visions of social organization, and was influenced by changing views of natural philosophy and science,[24] its mapping potential "routinely revived and extended time and again."[25] The phrase 'body politic,' a translation into English vernacular of the term borrowed by the Tudor jurists to speak of the king's embodiment of a sacralized political capacity,[26] is one lexical instantiation of this semi-universal phenomenon, with its own culture-specific history and equivalents in other western-European languages, each of which displays distinctive patterns of application in current usage.[27]

In early China, the mapping of the bodily onto the political (and vice versa) has been embedded, approximately since the mid-third century BCE, in a tripartite analogical model comprising the cosmos,

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[21] "Psycholinguists study what metaphor *is*, discourse analysts study how metaphors are *used*." Jörg Zinken and Andreas Musolff, "A Discourse-Centered Perspective on Metaphorical Meaning and Understanding," in *Metaphor and Discourse*, 4 (emphasis there).

[22] For two brief expositions of the relation between these two approaches, see Semino, *Metaphor in Discourse*, 1 – 10; and Zinken and Musolff, "A Discourse-Centered Perspective," 1 – 6. Semino, like her colleague Zoltán Kövecses, aims to bridge the gap between the two approaches by developing methodology for the analysis of instances derived from naturally occurring discourse (e.g., as recorded in modern media) rather than making due with invented examples designed so as to highlight the universality of certain paradigms. Musolff is a more firm, but not categorical opponent of CMT. See, for example, Musolff, *Political Metaphor Analysis: Discourse and Scenarios* (Bloomsbury, 2016), 67 – 70. His work is of special interest for the current study since it focuses on the use of metaphor in political discourse in particular, from both synchronic and diachronic (historical) perspectives, and, furthermore, on cross-domain mappings that involve the human body. Well known applications of CMT—most famously associated with George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (University of Chicago Press, 1980)—to the study of Chinese thought include Sarah Allan's *The Way of Water and Sprouts of Virtue* (SUNY, 1997), and, more conspicuously, Edward Slingerland's *Effortless Action: Wu-wei as Conceptual Metaphor and Spiritual Ideal in Early China* (Oxford University Press, 2003). For more examples, and a dissenting view, see Jane Geaney, "Self as Container? Metaphors We Lose By in Understanding Early Chinese Texts," *Antiquorum Philosophia* 5 (2012): 11 – 30.

[23] Musolff, "Metaphor in the History of Ideas and Discourses," 233.

[24] Arnold D. Harvey, *Body Politic: Political Metaphor and Political Violence* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), e.g. 4 – 10, 28 – 29; Kathryn Banks, "Interpretations of the Body Politic and of Natural Bodies in Late Sixteenth-Century France," in *Metaphor and Discourse*, esp. 205 – 210; and see also Francis W. Coker (1878 – 1963), *Organismic Theories of the State: Nineteenth Century Interpretations of the State as Organism or as Person* (Batoche, 2001), first published in 1910.

[25] Musolff, "Metaphor in the History of Ideas and Discourses," 234.

[26] Kantorowicz's account puts emphasis mostly on the Christian-theological antecedents of the related Latin phrases (e.g. *corpus mysticum, corpus politicum*), but does grant a role in his analysis to "that moment in the history of Western thought when the doctrines of corporational and organic structure of society began to pervade anew the political theories of the West and to mold most significantly and decisively the political thinking in the high and late Middle Ages." Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 199.

[27] Musolff, "Metaphor Interpretation and Cultural Linguistics," *Language and Semiotic Studies* 1.3 (2015), 37 ff.; Musolff, *Political Metaphor Analysis*, 57 – 67; Musolff, "Metaphor and Cultural Cognition," in *Advances in Cultural Linguistics*, edited by Farzad Sharifian (Springer, 2017), 328 ff.

the state, and the physical body.[28] Examples abound, with some formulations exhibiting suggestive similarities to prominent examples in the Western tradition.[29] However, here as well I have to open with a disclaimer: the examples incorporated in the discussion below (primarily chapter 1) include the analysis of a collective entity in the general terms of *a* physical body only as far as this ubiquitous model commingles with cases of a distinctive subset—one that draws on the *ruler's* body in particular as the source domain. The distinction, however, is not always straightforward. Consider the following example, from the late-Eastern-Han set of political essays by Xun Yue 荀悅 (148 – 209), the *Shen jian* 申鑒 (205 CE):

> The state and the entire realm are [like] one body:[30] The ruler is the head (*yuan shou*), the ministers are the thighs and upper arms (*gu gong*), and the people are the hands and feet.
>
> 天下國家一體也，君為元首，臣為股肱，民為手足。[31]

On the surface, the analogy merely concerns the imperial realm and bodily anatomy, that is, parts of the socio-political entity are equated with organs of the physical body. However, as discussed at more length in chapter 1, the *yuan shou* model that includes the ruler as the head and his aides as the limbs (the phrase *gu gong*, 'thighs and upper arms,' is most often used as a synecdoche for 'arms and legs' or simply 'limbs') is primarily associated with the "Gao Yao mo" 皋陶謨 (mid-3rd c. BCE), where it refers, specifically, to the role of the ruler's close aides in executing his policies. "You, my ministers, are my legs and arms (*gu gong*)" 臣作朕股肱, the ruler declares, "I wish to declare my power in the four quarters, and you execute it" 予欲宣力四方, 汝為.[32] Here, in this instance, it is not the anatomy of *any* body that serves as the source domain for an analysis of a social structure, but the ruler's own body that provides a figurative language for speaking of the delegation of tasks and royal authority.

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[28] Nathan Sivin, "State, Cosmos, and Body in the Last Three Centuries B.C.," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 55.1 (1995): 5 – 37. Robin McNeal takes Sivin's analysis as a departure point in "The Body as Metaphor for the Civil and Martial Components of Empire in *Yi Zhou shu*, Chapter 32; With an Excursion on the Composition and Structure of the *Yi Zhou shu*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122.1 (2002): 46 – 60. Cross-domain mapping in the opposite direction, that is, the conceptualization of biological bodies by appeal to political notions (as, perhaps most conspicuously, with the term *guan* 官 for both 'office' and 'organ'), is evident not only within the early Chinese tripartite model but also in other historical and cultural contexts. See, for example, Banks, "Interpretations of the Body Politic and of Natural Bodies in Late Sixteenth-Century France," 210 – 212.

[29] Consider, for example, the stress—within a hierarchical order of body organs in both the *Shen jian* 申鑒 (205) and the *Policraticus* (1159)—on the vital importance of the lower strata of society as the 'feet' (or 'hands and feet'; *shou zu* 手足) of the respective political entities. This intentionally generalized description does not, of course, do justice to the details of each case, nor to the ingenuity revealed once these are considered in their respective historical and cultural contexts. I leave this discussion for another occasion since, as I explain above, the focus of the current study lies elsewhere, in a different set of political body-based metaphors. For the *Shen jian* passage see the following footnote and the discussion above; for the *Policraticus* see Allen M. Bass, "The Metaphor of the Human Body in the Political Theory of John of Salisbury: Context and Innovation," in *Metaphor and Rational Discourse*, edited by Bernhard Debatin et al (Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1997), 201 – 213 (esp. 207 – 210).

[30] As a phrase, *tianxia guojia* 天下國家 may also be understood as 'the realm and the ruling house' or 'all the states in the realm.' In the present context, however, I believe that reading *guajia* (and *guo* below) as referring to a single entity that implicates but also goes beyond the ruling house is defendable. In this I concur with Ch'i-yün Ch'en's translation ("the state and all under Heaven") in *Hsün Yüeh and the Mind of Late Han China: A Translation of the Shen-chien with Introduction and Annotations* (Princeton University Press, 1980), 118.

[31] *Shenjian zhujiaobu* 申鑒注校補 (Zhonghua shuju, 2012), 37 ("Zhengti" 整體).

[32] *Xuan li* 宣力: to spread, publicize, or broadcast royal power. See Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 and Liu Qiyu 劉起釪, *Shangshu jiaoshi yilun* 尚書校釋譯論 (Zhonghua shuju, 2005), vol. 1, 445n13.

Yet, soon afterwards, the king celebrates his cooperation with his ministers with a verse: "When the limbs are thriving, the head rises up, and all the administrative tasks are perfectly accomplished!" 股肱喜哉, 元首起哉, 百工熙哉.[33] If previously, in speaking of the delegation of the functions of *his* arms and legs to his ministers, the ruler was identified with the implicit 'body' in its entirety, in the concluding verse the ruler self-identifies as the 'head' of what consequently is understood as the governmental body. The two metaphorical constructions that appear in close proximity in the "Gao Yao mo" are rationally compatible, and the difference between them in terms of their source and target domains is hardly noticed, but the fact is that this formulation, widely cited throughout the Han, is itself a hybrid of mapping patterns.

Embedded as it is, in the *Shen jian*, in an explicit body-state model that includes, furthermore, the lower strata of society, the hybridity is not alleviated but multiplied, to the final effect of highlighting the direct relation between the well-being of the lower social strata and the protection of the ruler's own body. What follows the allusion to the *yuan shou* paradigm in Xun Yue's text is a statement of the imperative to care for the lower orders of society, the 'hands and feet' of the depicted 'body,' and Xun Yue's following conclusion: "To wear a [ruler's] cap with hanging fringes and walk around barefooted is improper. Feet that suffer from cold hurt the heart; people who suffer from cold hurt the state." 徒跣而垂旒, 非禮也. 足寒傷心, 民寒傷國.[34] If earlier the ruler's own body was merely invoked by force of the reference to his 'limbs' (*gu gong*) as conceptualized in the "Gao Yao mo," here it is explicitly brought back to the equation—in the guise of the source domain for the body-state analogy which was previously articulated by reference to the anatomy of an impersonal body. But this same analogy is already embedded in Xun's warning against the consequences cold, bare feet might have on the health of the 'heart'—yet another common analogy to the place of the ruler himself in the body politic. Thus, the perfectly rational identification of the fate of a state, the ruling house, and the person of the ruler, supports a complex hybrid metaphorical construction and produces what we may call circularity of source and target domains, with the ruler's occupying both positions, at times simultaneously. This is not purely an aesthetic feature. The implication is clear: when distressed, the lower strata threaten not only the stability of the reign, and the continuity of the state, but also the ruler's own wellbeing, who must therefore conceive of the people (not merely his delegates) as essential and worthy of protection as a part of his own body.

This minimally discussed example should be sufficient to demonstrate that rather than a sign of "light-hearted" composition or irrational argumentation, metaphorical hybridity and the combination of different paradigms, when well executed, are indications, if anything, of fine rhetorical skill.[35] I have not excluded hybrid cases from inclusion in the following analysis (chapter 1) even when the distinction between state-as-body and government-as-ruler's-body is not straightforward. My focus, however, is on the latter: on the function of the ruler's body as the source domain for metaphorical articulations of the relationship of representation, division of labor, and distribution of power between the ruler and his various aides, from senior advisors to regional functionaries. One example should do in order to illustrate the general orientation of this set of body-based metaphorical formulations as opposed to those pertaining to the state-as-body paradigm. According to one of the examples considered in chapter 1, the ruler is to "use the eyes and ears of other men to enhance his own sight and hearing, their lips to augment his own speech, their minds to assist his own thoughts and

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[33] *Shangshu jinguwen zhushu* 尚書今古文注疏, compiled by Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753 – 1818) (Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 2B.96 – 97, 2C.134.

[34] *Shenjian zhujiaobu*, 37.

[35] Compare to Bass, "The Metaphor of the Human Body in the Political Theory of John of Salisbury," 211 – 212. On "Combination and Mixing" as an aspect of "the patterning of metaphors in discourse" see Semino, *Metaphor in Discourse*, 26 – 27. For another concrete example see Musolff, *Political Metaphor Analysis*, 59.

reflections, and their limbs (*gu gong*) to extend his range of movement and action." 使人之耳目助己視聽, 使人之吻助己言談, 使人之心助己思慮, 使人之股肱助己動作.[36] To what extent those entrusted with the ruler's eyesight, speech, movement, and so forth were to do it *in his stead*, and what that entailed as to the ruler's own involvement in governance and policy making, is the question that propelled much of the intertextual negotiation of this metaphorical paradigm and underlies some of its more ingenious variations.

The guiding question in the present study, however, is not the history or range of applications of one particular paradigm but the literary, often (but not exclusively) metaphorical, representation of notions of top-down political representation (more on this momentarily), and its importance for the way we read and interpret texts of different genres. For this reason, the examples and case studies discussed below go beyond organologic metaphors of the subset defined above, to include, on the one hand, images of the ruler's body natural—bodily postures or state of in/activity—that the tradition has read and employed as reflecting notions of authority and delegation (chapter 1); and, on the other hand, literary strategies of imperial representation that depart completely from cross-domain mapping and yet will be shown to be based on the same perceptions and conceptualizations of delegation and representation as those reflected in the above metaphorical paradigms (chapter 2).

This, then, is the point of overlap between the study of the royal body and the study of body-based political metaphors: interest in literary representations of the ruler's body, its features, and actions, as revealing fundamental cultural conceptions of rulership and governance. In the present study, these conceptions pertain to the dynamics of delegation and representation, and it is time to explain in more detail what the latter means in this context, and why it merits a dedicated examination.

Political representation(s)

'Representation' and the derived verbal and adjectival forms are confoundingly multivalent, as Hanna Pitkin has famously shown in *The Concept of Representation* (1967).[37] The previous sections have already tossed out several related terms, or several 'representations': imperial, literary, political, and so forth. These three adjectives modify the act of 'making present' differently—by reference to its object, mode, and social domain, respectively—thus leaving space for a great measure of overlap.[38] In the former case, for example, 'imperial' refers to the object, or content of various acts of representation, namely, imperial ideology with a focus on the figure of the emperor, his reign, and his virtues. As such, it includes the use of different media and overlaps with various modes of literary, as well as visual and ritual representation—all of which give form to abstract ideas and in this sense lend them presence.[39] The present work engages questions that pertain to one such meeting point, specifically, instances of *written* imperial representation. Such is the case, for example, with the set of imperial panegyrics that stands at the center of chapter 2 and triggers questioning with regard to the interrelation between the form and the object of representation. But at the heart of the literary strategies examined, and the

[36] *Mozi jigu* 墨子集詁, edited by Wang Huanbiao 王煥鑣 (Shanghai guji, 2005), vol. 1, 3.263.

[37] Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (University of California Press, 1967), primarily the first six out of ten chapters, and the appendix on etymological origins.

[38] On 'representation' as 'making present' see Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, 241; B. J. Diggs, "Practical Representation," in *Representation* (Nomos X: Yearbook of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy), edited by Pennock and John Chapman (Atherton Press, 1968), 35.

[39] See, for example, studies by Martin Kern and Carlos F. Noreña, including: Kern, *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang: Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Imperial Representation* (American Oriental Society, 2000); Norenã, *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West: Representation, Circulation, Power* (Cambridge University Press, 2011). For a semiotician's take on royal representation in portraiture, commemorative medallions, and literary genres in seventeenth-to-eighteenth-century France, see Marin, *Portrait of the King*.

conceptions of emperor and emperorship they are designed to reflect, lies another concept of representation—not the giving presence to abstract ideas but the representation of human beings by other human beings.[40]

More specifically, early Chinese thinkers, authors, and statesmen, although not having in their disposal a theoretical term equivalent to 'representation' in this sense, were clearly interested—as chapter 1 demonstrates—in the proper way to structure the relation between the monarch and those who acted in his name. It is in this sense that the present work concerns *political* representation, even though it may certainly be argued that the use of the latter phrase is counter-productive. The problem, of course, is that, as a term, 'political representation' is strongly associated with notions of representative government—from Hobbesian absolutism to popular self-government.[41] It is the topic, in other words, of theoretical debates over the representation of the many by the few. By contrast, the present study concerns articulations of the ruler's place not as *representer* of a collective entity (whether the embodiment of a dynastic lineage, or the 'parent' of the people, which he is indeed claimed to be), but as himself *represented* (and therefore a 'representee') by multiple members of the governmental apparatus, who often act *on*, and claim to always act *in* behalf of his majesty.[42] Why, then, muddle the discussion with interruptive connotations?

The answer is that there is much more to be gained by consulting theories of political representation than there is to be lost. For despite the essential difference outlined above, political representation in the conventional sense and top-down representation as demarcated here share several fundamental traits, the most important of which are the definition of the act of representation and the core problem that it entails. Pitkin has made an excellent point with regard to the relevance of other notions of representation (such as the pictorial and the symbolic) for the analysis of theories of democratic representation, [43] but for the present purposes I shall focus on inter-human representation, or "substituted presence."[44] As one scholar has reasoned:

> Persons do have representatives because they cannot "be present" themselves, in a particular role, to do a job, or exercise the rights and obligations of the role. (…) One person cannot be wise in all matters and he cannot be in all places at once.[45]

This characterization of inter-human representation is not yet a definition, but it identifies two root problems for which representation is the solution: the problem of presence, and the problem of knowledge.

Modern philosophers and political scientists have invoked both these arguments in articulating the need for political representatives, arguing that, in a complex society, the busy man's need for

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[40] Pitkin analyzes the etymology of the word 'representation' and argues that its application to the representation of human beings by other human beings is essentially a modern one. Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, 2 – 3, 241 – 248. See also Diggs' differentiation between what we might call 'artistic representation' and what he terms "practical representation" (a class of which, according to Diggs, "political representation" is part): Diggs, "Practical Representation," 29 – 31.

[41] See, for example, J. Roland Pennock, "Political Representation: An Overview," in *Representation* (Nomos X: Yearbook of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy), edited by Pennock and John Chapman (Atherton Press, 1968), 6 – 8.

[42] Here, and often below, I follow the terminology employed by Philip Pettit: 'representer' (rather than 'representative') for the agent/s performing the act of representation, and 'representee' for the represented party. Pettit, "Varieties of Public Representation," in *Political Representation*, edited by Ian Shapiro et al (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 62. For '*on* behalf of' as meaning 'in the name of,' versus '*in* behalf of' as meaning 'in the interest of,' see Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, 126 – 127.

[43] Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, esp. chaps. 4 and 5.

[44] Ibid., 247 – 248.

[45] Diggs, "Practical Representation," 31.

delegation and professional assistance is as true of political life as of other matters.[46] Putting aside for the moment the implications of the underlying analogy of a representative to a professional expert, it should be noted that early Chinese authors articulating the ruler's need for aides who would handle matters on his behalf have also utilized both these points, some stressing the ruler's need for others who would spread out in the four directions and serve as his eyes and ears in remote locations, and others stressing the need for expertise in handling each of the various specialized matters of governance.[47]

Differing emphases derive both from the particular context of a given utterance, if concerning, for example, provincial officials or senior ministers, and from authors' general commitment to a vision of more or less active rulership. What persists, however, is the figurative language with and through which these ideas are negotiated: primarily (though not exclusively), the depiction of the ruler as delegating functions of his body organs—like the limbs, the eyes, and the ears—to his aides. But are they the ruler's 'representatives'? Are they not simply employees?

Answers would vary according to the particular rhetorical formulation under consideration. Employees are surely not the same as representatives, but they can serve or be conceived as such under certain circumstances.[48] A necessary condition that Pitkin identifies is the principle of the ascription of actions: "We begin to speak of representation only when the substitute's actions are, in some way or for some reason, to be ascribed to another."[49] I argue, and in chapter 1 demonstrate, that the use of the figurative language of the *ruler's* body to speak of the division of labor in governance is exactly such way of ascribing their actions to him.

Perhaps a helpful point of reference for pushing forward this observation is the differentiation, in Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan or The Matter, Forme and Power of a Common Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil* (1651), between two kinds of 'person' on the basis of the ascription of actions:

> A Person, is he, *whose words or actions are considered, either as his own, or as representing the words or actions of an other man, or of any other thing to whom they are attributed, whether Truly or by Fiction*. When they are considered as his owne, then he is called a *Naturall Person*: And when they are considered as representing the words and actions of an other, then is he a *Feigned* or *Artificiall* person.[50]

The natural person, then, is one whose words and actions are considered his own—this is the natural state of affairs. The other kind of 'person' is an artifice in so far as his words and actions are not considered his own but are ascribed to someone else—that is, to the person or persons whom he represents.[51]

After a brief foray to the etymological roots of the word 'person' and its relation to 'persona,' mask, and stage acting, Hobbes formulates the same distinction in slightly different terms, observing that he whose acts are ascribed to another (i.e., representer) is also said to 'bear his person':

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[46] Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, 135.

[47] See chapter 1, sections 1.1 and 1.2.

[48] Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, 130.

[49] Ibid., 139. However, for the purpose of identifying the defining elements of political representation in democratic systems, the ascription of action, though necessary, is not sufficient: ibid., 139 – 143. For theories that emphasize the ascription of action (Pitkin's "authorization view") see ibid, chapter 3.

[50] Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679), *Leviathan* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 111 (italics in the source).

[51] See Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, 15 – 16.

> [A] *Person*, is the same that an *Actor* is, both on the stage and in common Conversation; and to *Personate*, is to *Act*, or *Represent* himselfe, or an other; and he that acteth another, is said to beare his Person, or act in his name…[52]

It is this conception of 'acting in the name of' as 'bearing the person of' that underlies the famous image on the engraved frontispiece of *Leviathan*: the image of the king's body, which from the neck to the waist is comprised of multiple little figures—his subjects—standing with their faces raised towards his majesty. For Hobbes, it is the king who is the artificial person, the representer, who in acting for the people is imagined as wearing their person.

Yet the principal of ascription need not necessarily be abstracted, as it is in Hobbes, for it to underlie the construction of royal-body imagery.[53] As demonstrated earlier and more so below, the early Chinese ruler's body, like the body of the Hobbesian monarch, is often figured as comprised of multiple persons due to the principle of representation. In this case, however, that is due to the ruler's extensive action not *in the name of* others but *through* them, who act in *his* name, and are thus imagined as 'bearing' his eyes and ears, his mouth and tongue, his claws and teeth, his arms and legs, and so forth. This figurative framework opens various rhetorical avenues for the theorization of kingship. Such are those common formulations wherein the ruler approximates deification due to, we may now observe, his doubling as both a natural person in the Hobbesian sense and the addressee of the ascription of action, so that "he sees without watching, hears without listening" 不視而見, 不聽而聰, and so forth.[54] It is thus my contention that early Chinese theorists of rulership directed a great deal of rhetorical effort and literary talent towards the characterization (and, as in the latter example, mystification) of what, drawing on Hobbes, we might call yet a third kind of 'person': not the 'natural,' whose words and actions are his own, nor the 'artificial' whose words and actions are ascribed to another, but the represented, whose words and actions are uttered and carried out by others.

What writers debated was the extent of this substitution, or, viewed from the opposite side, what is to be left in the hands of the ruler himself. Are his ministers and officials mere agents and proxies through whom he executes his benevolent policies, or is he to entrust to them more extensive authorities, including policy design? The question, of course, is not presented quite in this way. I borrow the analogies to agents, proxies, and trustees from the modern discourse of political representation, where these are often used to highlight the difference between the two poles of a scale of configurations concerning the *operative* meaning of representation: acting on specific instructions or a limited mandate that bind the representative (hence a 'mere agent' or 'proxy'); or being entrusted with authority in certain broad domains and thus given the freedom to act on one's own discretion (hence a 'free agent' or 'trustee').[55] In the early Chinese political discourse, a parallel distinction is

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[52] Ibid., 112 (italics in the source).

[53] What comes the closest to a general articulation of the principle of ascription is perhaps *Hanfeizi*'s 韓非子 typically blunt statement: "Working hard is the share of ministers; reaping accomplishments is the share of rulers." 臣有其勞, 君有其成功. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu* 韓非子新校注, annotated by Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 (Shanghai guji, 2000), 1.67. See also *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋, edited by He Ning 何寧 (Zhonghua shuju, 1998), vol. 2, 12.841 (垂拱受成功).

[54] *Xunzi jiaoshi* 荀子校釋, edited by Wang Tianhai 王天海 (Shanghai guji, 2005), vol. 2, 17.965 ("Jun zi" 君子), further discussed in chapter 1, pp. 56 – 58.

[55] For 'mere agent' versus 'free agent' see, e.g., Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, 146 – 147. See also her systematic discussion of the analogies and adverbial expressions that theorists of political representation often resort to, in ibid., chapter 6 (112 ff.). For the longstanding debate among theorists of political representation, variously spoken of in terms of the "Mandate-Independence Controversy," the "delegate versus trustee" dichotomy, "proxy theory" versus "transfer theory," and "directed" as opposed to "interpretive" representation, see, respectively: ibid., 144 ff.; Pennock, "Political Representation," 14; Jaroslaw Szymanek, *Studies in Politics, Security and Society: Theory of Political Representation* (Peter Lang, 2015), 86; and Pettit, "Varieties of Public Representation," 65.

reflected in the particular applications of common metaphorical paradigms—especially the analogy of persons in certain official capacities to the ruler's 'throat and tongue' or 'eyes and ears.' The metaphorical scope of the latter, for example, is significantly broad: from the collection of data from the outside world to perception and discernment. Restriction to data collection would mark the said officials as not more than informants, whereas the inclusion of discernment would signal a more extensive transfer of authority. Theoretical debate may thus take place within the confines of a shared paradigm.

To conclude, modern theories of political representation are geared towards political scenarios that are irrelevant at best to early imperial China. Due, however, to theorists' inquiry into the very nature of social practices of 'substituted presence,' their work has yielded observations that may be of use in analyzing the negotiation of metaphors of delegation and representation in early Chinese rhetorical texts.

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As stated at the opening and may now be augmented with parenthetical clarifications, this work lies at the intersection of the study of the (idiom of the) royal body, body-based metaphors (of authority and delegation), and (top-down) political representation. Yet it aims at exhausting none. The inquiry in the three essays that follow did not begin with a theoretical question or a desire to 'apply' existing theories and methodologies to the study of early Chinese thought and literature. It was triggered by curiosity over a peculiar feature of a long-overlooked text: Cui Yin's 崔駰 (d. 92) "Four Panegyrics for the Imperial Tours" 四巡頌, now standing at the center of chapter 2. In examining the curious treatment of royal proxies in Cui's panegyrics and tracing its roots in the rhetorical tradition, I have strayed into new domains of inquiry and found it rewarding. This excursion has made it possible to observe patterns that cross perceived generic boundaries and may have implications for scholars of Chinese historiography (chapter 3) no less than literature (chapter 2) and political thought (chapter 1).

The three fields of study reviewed in this introductory chapter, therefore, provide some of the analytical tools that facilitated the articulation of observations in what are essentially highly text-based discussions. At the same time, while each focusing on a unique set of questions in light of the nature of the main texts under examination and in response to current scholarship in the respective fields, the following three essays jointly draw the contours of a cross-generic study of Chinese kingship via written representations of the royal body. They lay out some of the rich and diverse features of the bodily idiom for the theorization of rulership in early China, draw attention to both its overt and covert manifestations, and submit its nuances for the scrutiny of scholars of Chinese monarchy as well as configurations of the royal body across cultures.

Chapter 1
Metaphors of the Body Natural: Reading Liu Xiang's "Way of the Ruler"

If historical discourse is a multi-generational cross-textual conversation, this chapter plunges in midway, into a particular utterance at a particular point in time, in order to examine both its position vis-à-vis previous utterances, and the language that they all share. The two objectives are, of course, bound together, by the force of a hermeneutical circle. It is by learning the language that the import of a single utterance may be illuminated, and it is the latter's historical context that may help reveal the inner logic of certain formulations, thus enriching our understanding of 'linguistic' nuances. The following, therefore, is not exclusively dedicated to Liu Xiang's 劉向 (79 – 8 BCE) vision of rulership. Rather, it is a reading of his selection of lessons about rulership for its "luminous particularity" (a concept credited to the late historian George Huntston Williams), concerning the use of the ruler-body idiom in early Chinese political rhetoric. As such, the chapter proceeds on two plains simultaneously: on the one hand taking the opening anecdote in Liu Xiang's "Way of the Ruler" (*jun dao* 君道) as the riddle that drives the inquiry forward, and on the other hand using it as an opportunity to inquire more broadly and gain a better understanding of the general phenomenon of which it is part.

The hoped-for result is a view of the "intertextual coherence" of metaphorical scenarios based on the ruler's physical body, whether these draw on the function and hierarchy of different body organs, or on depictions of bodily postures, actions, or most frequently, states of 'non-action' (one of several translations of the contested term, *wu wei* 無為; more on this below).[1] The latter, I argue, is a multivalent concept-term that, in one of its major trends of application, came to be closely tied with, and in fact an integral part of the bodily idiom used for the discussion of the division of labor between a ruler and the officials who *acted for* him.[2] Liu Xiang's work is a representative window onto these processes of conceptualization, as well as their relation to ruler deification. But in order to push the window fully open, the reader should be willing to stray with me often, to other Han and pre-Han texts.

First, however, a few words about the text that frames the entire inquiry. In 17 BCE, Liu Xiang, a senior statesman and an eminent scholar at the court of Emperor Cheng 成帝 (r. 33 – 7 BCE), submitted to the throne a collection of over seven hundred historical tales and anecdotes in 20 *juan* (or 'chapters'). The received text, transmitted under the title *Shui yuan* (or *Shuo yuan*; Garden of Persuasions) 說苑, includes 639 items, many of which are drawn from or based on earlier sources.[3] The overarching concern of the entire compilation is proper governance, with *juan* topics such as "The Way of the Ruler" (*juan* 1), "The Ministerial Art" (*chen shu* 臣術; *juan* 2), "Honoring the Worthies" (*zun xian* 尊賢; *juan* 8), "Model Persuasions" (*shan shui* 善說; *juan* 11), and so forth.[4] Beyond innocent titles and timeless concerns, however, lay contemporary problems that prompted Liu Xiang, a member of the imperial clan, to produce this work as a collection of authoritative models for the critique and

[1] The term "intertextual coherence" in application to metaphor studies is borrowed from Elena Semino, who in turn attributes it to Paul Anthony Chilton and Christina Schäffner. Semino, *Metaphor in Discourse* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 106; Chilton and Schäffner, *Politics as Talk and Text: Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2002).

[2] On 'acting for' as acting *in* and *on* behalf of another, see Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (University of California Press, 1967), 126 – 127.

[3] On *shui* vs. *shuo* see the editors' comments in John Major et al, eds., *The Huainanzi: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China* (Columbia University Press, 2010), 617 – 619.

[4] For an overview and further readings, see David Knechtges and Taiping Chang, eds., *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide* (Brill, 2010 – 2014), 2: 952 – 955.

reform of the reign's weaknesses.[5] At his disposal was the entire collection of the imperial library that he was charged to collate and catalogue in 26 BCE.[6]

The question of whether Liu Xiang acted as a compiler or 'author' has been raised with regard to several of his works.[7] Specifically with regard to the *Shui yuan*, traditional and modern historians have both expressed doubts concerning the historical veracity of the collected anecdotes.[8] Disagreements appear to revolve not around the nature of the text—with its anachronisms and obvious divergences from earlier records—but around the evaluation of the authorial practice it represents, and the value of the final product. The consensus among most scholars these days, however, is that the *Shui yuan* is a compilation of carefully selected, heavily edited, and at times possibly self-authored pseudo-historical anecdotes that was produced as a response to contemporary political affairs in support of Liu Xiang's vision, and as such constitutes a valuable source for the study of Han literature, rhetoric, and politics. This, then, is an important working hypothesis in the present study, as well as the observation that the *Shui yuan* anecdotes represent notions, tropes, and models of governance that were alive and present in the Han political discourse of the late second century BCE.[9]

To a certain degree, Liu Xiang's work would be as good a starting point for the present inquiry as many other Han texts. Furthermore, some readers may understandably desire a chronological overview of the development of the ruler-body idiom from its early pre-imperial roots onwards. At this point, however, I am not interested in making claims about origins but in drawing attention to the phenomenon itself and examining the ways in which it facilitated a sophisticated discussion of competing political views. Methodologically, there is value in beginning with a concrete, historically-contextualized articulation of ideas, and then working backwards to recover aspects of the literary history that granted this utterance its rhetorical force. As argued earlier, the historical context—more easily retrievable in the case of Liu Xiang's *Shui yuan* than in the case of most other texts I incorporate

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[5] This is implied in Liu Xiang's biography (e.g., *Hanshu* 36.1958), and pointed out in Michael Loewe, "Liu Xiang and Liu Xin," in *Chang'an 26 BCE: An Augustan Age in China*, edited by Michael Nylan and Griet Vankeerberghen (University of Washington Press, 2015), 373; Luke Habberstad, "Recasting the Imperial Court in Late Western Han," in *Chang'an 26 BCE*, 250 – 251. At the same time, some regard the *Shui yuan* as "an anthology of various types of oral lore and performative literature" [Major et al, *The Huainanzi*, 618 (noted there in characterizing the *Shui yuan* in particular)]—that is, a repository of rhetorical performances compiled so as to serve Han authors and orators. The fact that the different ideological stances and metaphorical applications reviewed below gain representation in separate anecdotes throughout the compilation (with the important exception of the chapter prefaces) would seem to support the view of the compilation as a *manual* rather than a *treatise*, which presents a coherent view and labors to reconcile its different components. These, however, are not the only two options, and they are not mutually exclusive. Literary form often provided the guise that facilitated the transcendence of its own boundaries, and thus should not restrict our efforts to fully grasp the import of a cultural product such as the *Shui yuan*.

[6] *Hanshu* 10.310.

[7] For a review see Bret Hinsch, "Reading *Lienüzhuan* (Biographies of Women) Through the Life of Liu Xiang," *Journal of Asian History* 39.2 (2005): 129 – 132; and Hinsch, "The Composition of *Lienüzhuan*: Was Liu Xiang the Author or Editor?" *Asia Major*, third series, vol. 20.1 (2007): 1 – 5. On the problematics of 'authorship' in early Chinese manuscript culture, see Michael Nylan, "Manuscript Culture in Late Western Han and Authors' Authority," *Journal of Chinese Literature* 1:3 (2014 – 2015): 155 – 185.

[8] See, e.g., the evaluation in Liu Zhiji's 劉知幾 (661 – 721) *Shitong* 史通 ("Comprehensive Account of Historiography"): *Shitong tongshi* 史通通釋, edited by Pu Qilong 浦起龍 (1679 – 1762) (Taipei: Jiusi chubanshe, 1978), 18.516 – 517. See also Xu Fuguan 徐復觀, "Liu Xiang *Xinxu Shuiyuan* de yanjiu" 劉向新序說苑的研究, *Dalu zazhi* 55.2 (1977): 56ff.; Eric Henry, "Anachronisms in *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Shuo yuan*," *Early Medieval China* 2003.1: 127 – 138; and the review by Zuo Songzhao 左松超 in *Shuiyuan jizheng* 說苑集證, edited and annotated by Zuo Songzhao (Taipei: Guoli bianyi guan, 2001), 4 – 11.

[9] As has been observed, "Liu's works not only reflect the most important sources and rhetorical styles of his era; they also illustrate the range of concepts drawn upon by politically engaged and highly cultivated officials when formulating their policy proposals." Habberstad, "Recasting the Imperial Court," 250.

in the discussion below—may be helpful in identifying the possible target domains of metaphorical constructions with more specificity.

The time of Liu Xiang's submission of his *Shui yuan* to the throne, approximately midway through Emperor Cheng's reign, is characterized in the received literature as showing the signs of a court in decline: the ascendancy of strong consort families who exerted their power on the young emperor; a series of ominous natural disasters occurring only three years after his accession; a growing tendency on the part of the emperor towards self-indulgence including incognito excursions to the pleasure quarters of Chang'an; and the commencement of an extravagant mausoleum construction project (to be aborted later, in 16 BCE), which took a toll on the populace in the form of enhanced conscript labor and taxation.[10] In 8 BCE, almost a decade after the submission of the *Shui yuan*, a set of administrative reforms was approved that sought to curb the power of the leading consort family, the Wang 王, and to redefine ranks, duties, and conditions for official promotion.[11] Throughout the period in between, the emperor was the intended recipient of memorials boldly protesting the current state of events and pleading for reforms—two functions that the *Shui yuan* may have fulfilled in a less direct manner.[12]

It is perhaps with this in mind that one should examine the *Shui yuan*'s depiction of the 'way of the ruler' in the passage that opens the first *juan* [JD1]:[13]

> Lord Ping of Jin (r. 557 – 532 BCE) asked [Music] Master Kuang (fl. 550 BCE): "What is the way of the ruler?" Master Kuang answered: "The way of the ruler is tranquility and non-action. His task is all-embracing care, and his urgent priority is employing the worthy. He opens wide his ears and eyes in order to scrutinize the myriad regions. He does not shut himself off and drown in worldly pleasures, nor does he let the people around him bind and restrict him. He observes far and wide, stands alone above all. With frequent scrutiny and review of accomplishments, he oversees the performance of the official ranks. This is the conduct of a ruler." Lord Ping replied: "Excellent!"
>
> 晉平公問於師曠曰:「人君之道如何?」對曰:「人君之道, 清淨無為; 務在博愛, 趨在任賢; 廣開耳目, 以察萬方; 不固溺於流俗, 不拘繫於左右; 廓然遠見, 踔然獨立; 屢省考績, 以臨臣下。此人君之操也。」平公曰:「善!」[14]

The ruler's conduct as described by Master Kuang is comprised of a chain of general statements the connections among which may not be readily evident. Nevertheless, the possible import of some of these statements immediately suggests itself in light of what we know of Emperor Cheng's reign. For example, Kuang's stress on employment based on merit may have resonated well with Liu Xiang's wish to reduce the weight of familial and factional relations in the assignment of official appointments; and the warning against being limited or controlled by those surrounding the ruler 'on his left and his right' may have similarly been understood as addressing the emperor's inability to act against the power that stemmed from the women's quarters. Likewise, the explicit reference to the danger of 'drowning

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[10] Michael Loewe, "Chengdi's Reign: Problems and Controversies," in *Chang'an 26 BCE*, 221 – 238.

[11] Habberstad, "Recasting the Imperial Court in Late Western Han," 239 – 262.

[12] See the studies cited in the previous two footnotes, as well as Mei Fu's 梅福 (fl. 30 – 10 BCE) memorial below.

[13] The discussion throughout the present chapter involves a number of different items from Liu Xiang's "Way of the Ruler," at times moving back and forth between them. For the reader's convenience, I indicate in brackets the number of each item discussed, according to the numbering in the *Shuiyuan jizheng*. '[JD1]' thus means "'Jun dao' #1," and so forth.

[14] *Shuiyuan jizheng*, 1. I continue to refer to this passage occasionally throughout the entire chapter, and in the concluding section.

in worldly pleasures' seems extremely suitable to the figure of Emperor Cheng as it arises from the reproaching memorials of some of his more daring ministers. In fact, these possible echoes are so suggestive that they raise the suspicion that Liu Xiang had composed this item of the "Way of the Ruler" rather than selected it from elsewhere.

It is of interest, then, that unlike most other anecdotes in the *Shui yuan*, this exchange between Lord Ping of Jin and his Music Master Kuang cannot be traced to any earlier, identifiable source. It has been suggested that its origin may be the now-lost collection of Master Kuang tales in six chapters (*pian* 篇), as recorded in the bibliographical treatise of the *Han shu* 漢書.[15] The possibility that it was picked up from a text that did not survive transmission is indeed not to be dismissed. But another factor that may strengthen the above suspicion is the fact that the first *juan*, unlike the great majority of all other *juan* in the *Shui yuan*, does not include an opening exposition that presents the theme to be illustrated in the anecdotes that follow.[16] In addition, this passage appears to bring together many of the themes and tropes that gain further elaboration in the following anecdotes, as shall be demonstrated below. In light of these textual features, as well as the freedom Han writers are known to have exercised in ascribing fictional words and events to historical figures, it is not implausible that Liu Xiang had himself invented this dialogue, devised so as to fulfill prefatory functions while hiding behind, and drawing authority from the figure of Master Kuang.[17] Whether or not authorial intention is involved, this opening passage effectively introduces many if not most of the themes that are explored in the rest of the first *Shui yuan* chapter,[18] as well as—and this would be the focus of the discussion below—the body-based figures used in the articulation of those themes. I will, therefore,

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[15] Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842 – 1918), citing Shen Qinhan 沈欽韓 (1775 – 1832), lists this passage of the *Shui yuan* among others that are mentioned in Han sources and may have originated in this collection: Wang Xianqian, *Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注 (Zhonghua shuju, 1983), vol. 1, 30.50a (p. 890); *Hanshu* 30.1744. See also a similar title in eight *pian*: *Hanshu buzhu* 30.62b (p. 896); *Hanshu* 30.1760.

[16] The expositions to *juan* #2 – 17 and #19 are generally ascribed to Liu Xiang, even if parts of them are borrowed from other texts. See the discussion in *Shuiyuan jizheng*, 8 – 9. Other than the first *juan*, the two *juan* that lack a prefatory exposition are #18 and #20. The latter was still missing when Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019 – 1083) reconstructed the entire compilation, and was recovered later from a Korean manuscript. See Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (The Society for the Study of Early China, 1993), 444. The former, *juan* #18 (*Bian wu* 辨物), opens with a dialogue between Zhongni 仲尼 (Kongzi 孔子) and Yan Yuan 顏淵 (Yan Hui 顏回), which is structurally similar to the dialogue between Lord Ping and Shi Kuang (i.e., the opening of *juan* #1). It similarly opens with a general question, which is a request for a definition of a fundamental concept, and follows with a brief monologue by way of an answer—one that is comprised of a chain of highly formulaic expressions without further elaboration. This exchange between Kongzi and Yan Hui only appears elsewhere in the *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 (received edition dates to 3rd c. CE), which probably drew it from the *Shui yuan* rather than the other way around. *Kongzi jiayu tongjie: fu chutu ziliao yu xiangguan yanjiu* 孔子家語通解: 附出土資料與相關研究, edited by Yang Zhaoming 楊朝明 (Taipei: Wanjuanlou tushu, 2005), 5.231 ("Yan Hui" 顏回). This raises the question whether or not this exchange as well was composed, rather than recorded, by Liu Xiang himself. For the passage that opens *juan* #18 see *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 3, 18.1109; for opposite evaluations of the authorship of this passage see *Shuiyuan jizheng*, 8 – 9.

[17] On plausible deniability and the absence of an opening paragraph in the first *juan*, see Xu Fuguan, "Liu Xiang *Xinxu Shuiyuan* de yanjiu," 56 – 57. On the attribution of words and actions to well-known pre-imperial figures in Han texts, see Henry, "Anachronisms in *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Shuo yuan*," 127 – 138. Henry positions Liu Xiang's *Shui yuan* at the end and the apex of a period in which such anachronistic attributions were a norm in literary production. At that time, he observes, it was possible to "attribute virtually any speech to virtually any personage, and virtually any event to any place or time" (ibid., 128). On this phenomenon see also David Schaberg, "Playing at Critique: Indirect Remonstrance and the Formation of *Shi* Identity," in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, edited by Martin Kern (University of Washington Press, 2011), 194 – 225.

[18] Major et al have recognized a similar "structural strategy" in several chapters of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (completed ca. 139 BCE) that consist of collections of precepts, anecdotes, and persuasions. These, they note, often open with a passage that serves as the frame or preamble for the entire chapter. Major et al, *The Huainanzi*, 529 – 530.

use it in structuring the following discussion, taking it as the basis for departure and returning to it in the "Conclusion."

While the historical context alone allowed some hypothesis about the import of several of the general statements that are strung together in the opening passage, other formulations—like "tranquil and without activity" 清淨無為, "opens wide his ears and eyes" 廣開耳目, and "standing alone above all" 踔然獨立—require further examination in order to reveal their particular import in the present context. I argue below that here (and elsewhere) these are neither stale formulae, nor simply keywords that encode entire philosophical programs, but living discursive metaphors that draw on the ruler's physical body as their source domain. Since these metaphors are of different symbolic structures, I discuss them below in two parts: first, the notion of the ruler's power of sight will lead to a discussion of one set of body-based figures, which I term below "organs of the body politic"; and, second, tropes of stillness and tranquility will be discussed under the title "models of the imperial body."

1.1. Organs of the Body Politic

The figure of Master Kuang—a blind musician and an insightful advisor—features in a number of Warring-States and early-imperial texts, including four other anecdotes in the *Shui yuan* in which he converses with the same Lord Ping, who falls short of implementing his advice.[19] Kuang's figure is part of a common motif in the early literature that casts knowledge and understanding in terms of vision and perception, and to that extent occasionally contrasts clear-sightedness (and, often, foresight) with physical eyesight.[20] This contrast is fully spelled out in another conversation between Master Kuang and Lord Ping—one that Liu Xiang had incorporated in another compilation of his, the *Xin xu* 新序 (New Array [of Persuasions]). There, Lord Ping laments the fact that Master Kuang was fated to 'live in the dark' (*mo mo* 墨墨), only to have the master retort with a redefinition of 'staying in the dark': according to Kuang, the one truly blinded is the ruler who is not aware (*bu wu* 不悟) of the ills and therefore the impending collapse of his regime.[21]

The passage that opens *Shui yuan* again posits the blind advisor as the one imparting his insight on the ruler. Here, however, the main import of Kuang's own references to the exemplary ruler's vision, coupled as they are with acute hearing and lack of spatial limitations (廣開耳目… 廓然遠見), involve another discourse tradition, one that concerns the ruler's in/capability to 'see and hear' all that transpires within and beyond the palace walls, and the function of his aides in facilitating (or obstructing) this ability. In order to explore this point in more detail, it would be helpful to take a close look at another passage of this same chapter—one that focuses on the figure of the ruler's eyes and ears but also leads, upon investigation, to indications of its place in the organologic metaphorical paradigm: the mapping of different organs of the ruler's body onto the segments that comprise the governmental body.

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[19] *Shui yuan* vol. 1, 3.175; vol. 2, 11.742; vol. 3, 18.1179, 1181.

[20] See, for example, Michael Nylan, "Beliefs about Seeing: Optics and Moral Technologies in Early China," *Asia Major* third series, 21.1 (2008): 89 – 132. Other studies that are often cited in regard to cultural perceptions of seeing (and hearing) in the early literature are Jane Geaney, *On the Epistemology of the Senses* (University of Hawaii Press, 2002), esp. chapter two, "Hearing and Seeing"; and Miranda Brown and Uffe Bergeton, "'Seeing' Like a Sage: Three Takes on Identity and Perception in Early China," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 35.4 (2008): 641 – 662. I would, however, caution against the occasional confusion in both these studies between the *mode* of the discourse (e.g. references to the faculties of hearing and seeing) and its actual *subject*.

[21] *Xinxu jiaoshi* 新序校釋, compiled by Liu Xiang, edited and annotated by Shi Guangying 石光瑛 and Chen Xin 陳新 (Zhonghua shuju, 2001), vol. 1, 1.140 – 142.

1.1.1. From 'eyes and ears' to 'head and limbs': retrieving the organologic paradigm

The following is one of seventy-six passages that the *Shui yuan* shares with, and possibly borrowed from the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 (ca. 150 BCE)—with several differences.[22] Most noteworthy are the different openings and endings of the otherwise mostly parallel versions (except for minor differences in language), as will be noted below. But while the immediate source of the *Shui yuan* passage seems to have been similar or identical to the *Hanshi waizhuan* version, the roots of the latter seem to go further back, to a tradition now recorded in one of the core chapters of the *Mozi* 墨子, "Exalting Conformity II" 尚同中 (chapter 12; ca. 230 BCE).[23] This record was probably known to Liu Xiang, who was chief editor of the *Mozi* during the grand collation project.[24] However, the following argument does not depend on the supposition that Liu Xiang had in mind *Mozi* 12 when incorporating said passage into his *Shui yuan*.[25] Rather, I argue that in tracing the relations between *Mozi* 12 and the *Shui yuan* anecdote, a field of discourse comes into view, which is marked by shared concerns and a shared figurative language even if not a shared political vision.

Below, I first present the *Shui yuan* version in its entirety [JD8], and then discuss its different sections in comparison to the *Hanshi waizhuan* version. Afterwards, I consider *Mozi* 12 and proceed to highlight other intertextual relations.

> When the Duke of Zhou occupied the seat of the Son of Heaven, he spread his virtue and exercised his kindness [broadly], so that it reached ever-brighter to the farthermost regions of the realm.[26]
>
> [He commissioned] twelve [provincial] pastors, three per each [of the four] quarters, to go out to the distant regions, and report on [the wellbeing of] their residents. They reported to the Son of Heaven every case in which there were people who suffered from hunger and cold and could not obtain clothes and food; lawsuits that awaited resolve and were neglected by the relevant office holders; and capable persons of merit who were not recommended for office. During court audience with all the regional rulers, the Son of Heaven accepted them respectfully with his hands joined in front of him, and said: "Is it that my rule and instruction have shortcomings? How is it possible that the people under your jurisdiction have among them those who suffer from hunger

[22] Yang Bo 楊波 counts this passage alongside 11 other passages from the *Shui yuan* that, in his account, were adapted—not merely borrowed—from the *Hanshi waizhuan*. See Yang Bo, "*Xinxu*, *Shuiyuan* yu *Hanshi waizhuan* tongti yizhi gushi bijiao" 《新序》、《說苑》與《韓詩外傳》同題異旨故事比較, *Lanzhou xuekan* 171 (2007): 126 – 129.

[23] *Mozi* 12 was dated by Watanabe Takashi to the period between 250 to 220 BCE. Watanabe Takashi 渡邊卓, *Kodai Chūgoku shisō no kenkyū* 古代中國思想の研究 (Sōbunsha, 1973), 496 – 497. For a convenient summary of the main theories with regard to the evolution of the *Mozi* core chapters, see Carine Defoort and Nicolas Standaert, eds.,*The Mozi as an Evolving Text* (Brill, 2013) 9 – 19. John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel have recently suggested an emendation to Watanabe's chronology of the triad comprised by chapters 11 to 13, but did not specify a different dating for chapter 12. Knoblock and Riegel, *Mozi: A Study and Translation of the Ethical and Political Writings* (University of California, Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2013), 33 – 36 (esp. 33n137), 109 – 110. On the translation of the chapter title see ibid., 418n1.

[24] On Liu Xiang and the compilation of the *Mozi* see, e.g., Knoblock and Riegel, *Mozi*, 14 – 16, 31.

[25] From a discourse perspective, the resonances of a rhetorical trope do not depend on the deliberate intentions of any one speaker, and this is especially so with a compilation like the *Shui yuan*, or "Garden of Persuasions," which may be thought of as a selection of rhetorical tropes, themes, and narratives that were a part of a live political discourse.

[26] On the nature of the occupation of the throne by the Duke of Zhou, see Michael Nylan, "The Many Dukes of Zhou in Early Sources," in *Statecraft and Classical Learning: The* Rituals of Zhou *in East Asian History*, edited by Benjamin Elman and Martin Kern (Brill, 2010), 94 – 128.

and cold but cannot obtain food and clothes? How is it that there are lawsuits that await resolve but are neglected by the relevant office holders? And how is it that there are capable persons of merit who are not recommended for office?" When these rulers returned to their domains, they summoned their ministers and told them the words of the Son of Heaven. When the common people, [in turn,] heard about it, they exclaimed with delight: "This is truly a Son of Heaven! How is it that he resides so far away and yet is able to see us with such clarity? He simply cannot be deceived!"

Thus, [provincial] pastors are the means by which [he had] "the gates to the four directions open, the eyes watching in the four directions gain clarity, and keen hearing extend to the four directions."[27] It is through them that [a ruler] "treats warmly those who are near, and reassures those who are far."[28] When the *Odes* say, "Treat tenderly the near and distant, and with that our king will be secure,"[29] this is what it means.

周公踐天子之位, 布德施惠，遠而逾明。

十二牧，方三人，出舉遠方之民。有飢寒而不得衣食者，有獄訟而失職者，有賢才而不舉者，以入告乎天子。天子於其君之朝也，揖而進之曰：「意朕之政教有不得者與？何其所臨之民有飢寒不得衣食者？有獄訟而失職者？有賢才而不舉者也？」其君歸也，乃召其國大夫告用天子之言。百姓聞之，皆喜曰：「此誠天子也，何居之深遠而見我之明也，豈可欺哉！」

故牧者所以辟四門，明四目，達四聰也。是以近者親之，遠者安之。《詩》曰：「柔遠能邇，以定我王。」此之謂矣。[30]

Beginning with the opening lines, I should note that the form of exemplary rulership that the *Shui yuan* ascribes to the figure of the Duke of Zhou (mid 11th c. BCE) in his (temporary) capacity as Son of Heaven is presented in the *Hanshi waizhuan* as a general prescription for the aspiring true king:

A king must establish [provincial] pastors, three per each [of the four] quarters of the realm, in order to inspect the far [regions] and shepherd the multitudes.

王者必立牧，方三人，使窺遠牧眾也。[31]

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[27] *Shangshu jinguwen zhushu* 尚書今古文注疏, compiled by Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753 – 1818) (Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 1B.60. I translate this citation from the *Venerated Documents* 尚書, "Canon of Yao" 堯典, in light of the context in the present passage. As to other possible readings, see the discussion below.

[28] This is a fairly common formula in the early literature. For several examples from the pre-imperial period see *Shuiyuan jizheng*, 18n9.

[29] The translation of the *Odes* citation (#253) is borrowed from Joseph Allen, in *The Book of Songs: The Ancient Chinese Classic of Poetry*, translated by Arthur Waley with additional translations by Joseph R. Allen (Grove Press, 1996), 256. *Rou yuan neng er* 柔遠能邇 is a formula that appears several times in the *Documents*, including the section of the "Canon of Yao" that provided the preceding citation in the translated passage. It also appears elsewhere in Warring States texts, and has variants in earlier bronze inscriptions. See Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 and Liu Qiyu 劉起釪, *Shangshu jiaoshi yilun* 尚書校釋譯論 (Zhonghua shuju, 2005), vol. 1, 196 – 199. The archaic use of the character *neng* 能 has been explained in several different ways, but in most readings, particularly from the Han period and shortly after, *neng* is understood as replicating, in one way or another, the semantics of *rou* or its implications (i.e., 'pacifying'). I therefore find Allen's translation proper and suitable for the present context as well.

[30] *Shuiyuan jizheng*, 1.16.

[31] *San* 三 (three) is an editorial correction of *er* 二 (two). See *Hanshi waizhuan jishi* 韓詩外傳集釋, attributed to Han Ying 韓嬰 (fl. 150 BCE), edited and annotated by Xu Weiyu 許維遹 (Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 6.219; and James Hightower,

That the *Shui yuan* turns this into a historicized model is much in line with the guiding format of the compilation as a whole, which presents arguments regarding models (and, at times, anti-models) of governance in the form of pseudo-historical anecdotes rather than theoretical discussion.[32]

More interesting from the perspective of the current inquiry is another feature that differentiates the *Shui yuan* version from its precursor: the telling juxtaposition of formulaic depictions of the ruler's alleged traits—such as the 'brightness' of his virtue and his all-encompassing benevolence—with the mechanisms of a bureaucratic government.[33] This structure is telling because it highlights the intrinsic relation between the two juxtaposed aspects. More specifically, the relation between the opening line in the *Shui yuan* version (布德施惠, 遠而逾明) and the following description of the twelve-pastors system is of general abstraction to concrete detail: to say that the Son of Heaven 'spread his benevolence far and wide' is perhaps a platitude but one that here serves to frame, and is simultaneously supported by the specifics of a governmental structure. In other words, the *Shui yuan* narrator announces the entire account with formulae that translate the effects of a successful governmental system into the personal attributes of the ruler who supposedly oversees the operation of this system. This mirrors the interpretive pattern reflected in the words ascribed to the residents of the remote regions. The latter wonder at the ability of the Son of Heaven to 'see' the details of their situation even though they reside far out of sight, and express that in what reads like a near-ascription of supernatural ocular abilities to their king. In both cases—in the narrator's introduction and in the people's exclamation—the separate entities involved in effecting a certain state of affairs, such as the office of the king, the ministers at court, and the local officialdom, are all collapsed into the single figure of the king's own person.[34]

The canonical citations in the ending portion of the *Shui yuan* version likewise gesture towards both the details of a bureaucratic mechanism and the person of the ruler. I begin with the *Odes* citation, which is different from the one incorporated in the *Hanshi waizhuan* version. The latter cites a line from the Major Ode "Zheng min" 烝民 (#260), a eulogy for a Western Zhou royal aide named Zhong Shanfu 仲山甫 (9th c. BCE): "Whether the states were managed well or not, Zhong Shanfu was able

Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs (Harvard University Press, 1952), 206n2.

[32] Closer in this regard to the *Hanshi waizhuan* is *Mozi* 12, which maintains a highly theoretical mode of discussion, despite arguing, in the most general terms, that the prescribed program was in fact put into practice by the "Former Kings" 先王. See the discussion below.

[33] For a discussion of the 'brightness' imagery in the context of the consolidation and projection of imperial authority, see Charles Sanft, *Communication and Cooperation in Early Imperial China: Publicizing the Qin Dynasty* (SUNY, 2014), 42, 43. By the same token, treacherous ministers and those who covet the highest authority to themselves are often said to "conceal" or "obstruct" the sovereign's light. See, for example, the *Jingfa* 經法 "Wang lun" 亡論: "If another person on his own authority acts as the ruler, it is termed "Concealing the Light" 一人擅主命曰蔽光; Robin D. S. Yates (trans.), *Five Lost Classics: Tao, Huanglao, and Yin-Yang in Han China* (Ballantine Books, 1997), 92 – 93. The emission of light is directly related to clear-sightedness in Han ethical theories whose points of intersection with political theory and rhetoric would require a separate discussion. See Mark Csikszentmihalyi, *Material Virtue: Ethics and the Body in Early China* (Brill, 2004), 77 – 78, 243 – 245.

[34] The incorporation of the people's exclamation is particularly telling in this regard, as it illustrates the meeting between mass psychology and patterns of political rhetoric. It demonstrates, in other words, the self-consciousness of rhetoricians who, on the one hand, maximized the rhetorical benefit in suggesting supernatural royal traits and abilities, and on the other hand, advocated their political cause by identifying the particular means through which these purported abilities can be 'acquired.' This strategic duality will become clearer when we attend to its absence from the argument in *Mozi* 12.

to discern it [and reflect it upwards]" 邦國若否, 仲山甫明之.[35] This choice of citation works well with the entire anecdote's emphasis on the pivotal role of the king's representatives away from the central domain (and echoes, furthermore, the idiom of clear-sightedness, discernment, and perspicacity). "Zheng min" depicts a loyal official who traveled across the realm to spread and enforce the king's commands and then report back to the throne. By alluding to it, the *Hanshi waizhuan* version of the twelve-pastors anecdote marks both accounts as prototypes of a bureaucratized governance and makes up a clear argument in favor of recruitment and delegation of authority.

The *Shui yuan* version, by citing instead the "Min lao" 民勞 (#253) ode—an admonition to functionaries in the different localities—retains this emphasis, but introduces an additional element in the second line of the selected couplet (柔遠能邇, 以定我王): the result of the governmental measures on the part of the king himself. As the context of the entire "Min lao" ode makes clear, those ordered to "treat tenderly the near and distant" are the local functionaries, and the result of their service is the enhancement of the king's authority and the stabilization of his reign.[36] This mechanism of monarchical rule may seem obvious beyond mention but, as shall be seen below, the stability of the reign was further linked with the ruler's peaceful state of mind, and these rational causal relations of officials' activity to ruler's wellbeing came to undergird some of the more pervasive metaphorical paradigms to be considered below. For now, however, it would do to take note of the fact that the structure of this couplet reflects the dual loci of the discourse the outlines of which we are gradually sketching: aspects of the bureaucratic mechanism on the one hand, and references to the person of the ruler on the other hand.[37]

In the second canonical citation the two are not easily distinguished. The citation of the *Venerable Documents* 尚書, "Canon of Yao" 堯典 ("Canon of Shun" 舜典; ca. mid 3rd c. BCE),[38] appears in both the *Hanshi waizhuan* and the *Shui yuan* versions (slightly paraphrased in the former). The enigmatic syntax of the three stringed phrases therein—concerning the gates, the eyes, and the ears—raises two separate questions: what the original intention behind this formulation was, and how it was read from the mid-second to the late-first centuries BCE, around the time the *Hanshi waizhuan* and the *Shui yuan* were compiled. The former, of course, is the more difficult to answer, and I will merely entertain several possibilities, beginning with a brief account of the immediate context of this formulation in the "Canon of Yao." Uncertainties surrounding key questions in the interpretation of this text complicate this task considerably, and I rely primarily on the work of Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893 – 1980) and Liu Qiyu 劉起釪 (1917 – 2012) in providing the following account.

Towards the end of the "Canon of Yao," as the mourning period for Yao has ended, Shun reports to the ancestral temple and deliberates with his aide/s (the *si yue* 四岳)—either one or four such advisors—on his desire to "open the four gates (or 'the doors of the four quarters'), sharpen the sight of the four eyes (or 'pairs of eyes,' or 'sharpen the ability to see in the four directions'), and attain keen

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[35] *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999), vol. 3, 18.1221. Compare to the translations by Waley and Hightower: "In the States, the princes, be they good or bad / Are clearly distinguished by Chung Shan-fu" (Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 207); and "If in the land anything was darkened / Zhong Shan Fu shed light upon it" (Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 276).

[36] *Maoshi zhengyi*, vol. 3, 17.1139.

[37] In this regard the "Min lao" citation is reminiscent of another couplet from the *Odes* ("Wen wang" 文王; #235), which is cited in no less than three of the texts that will come up in the following discussion. The three are a passage from Liu Xiang's "Way of the Ruler" (*Shuiyuan jizheng* 1.42; JD20); the memorial by Mei Fu, Liu Xiang's contemporary; and a passage from the *Xunzi*, which Liu Xiang is known to have edited. For the couplet and its translation see pp. 33, 34, 53.

[38] What is referred to as the "Canon of Shun" (Archaic Script) was part of the "Canon of Yao" in the Han *Documents* (Modern Script).

hearing in the four [directions]" 闢四門, 明四目, 達四聰.[39] His address to the *si yue* opens the last section in the "Canon," which consists of Shun's appointment of selected figures for official positions—a total of twenty two—along his side.[40] This fact is relevant for the ways in which this formula has been read at least through the Han onwards, but its exact linguistic construction remains unclear. It is not absolutely clear, for example, in what way *si* 四 modifies *mu* 目. Is it descriptive of mode of action, quantity, or location? In other words, is there one pair of eyes that seeks to penetrate the four directions, or are there four eyes or four pairs of eyes? If four, are they related to the *si yue*, or, alternatively, can they be imagined as all belonging to King Shun?[41]

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[39] *Si yue* 四岳: Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu argue that the commentarial tradition on the "Canon of Yao" has consistently mistaken a single figure called *si yue* and drawn from ancient mythological lore, to be a joint reference to four different figures who were thus named due to their official positions. For further details see *Shangshu jiaoshi yilun*, vol. 1, 77 – 79. *Simen* 四門: The 'four gates' have been variously explained as belonging to the palace or temple, as associated with the four directions, or as a trace to mythological traditions. See ibid., 100 – 101. *Si mu* 四目: Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu interestingly do not discuss this particular notion in the typical detail, but instead let it get submerged in a discussion of the tripartite formulation as a whole (gates, eyes, ears) and the commentaries that it has generated. Ibid., 193 – 194. My brief review above of possible readings incorporates some of the clues that they provide. *Da* 達: alternatively, "reach towards" or "extend [one's power of hearing to the four directions]." See its use in the Mawangdui "Li ming" 立命 ("extend from the center to the four directions" 四達自中), as reproduced in Mark Csikszentmihalyi, "Reimagining the Yellow Emperor's Four Faces," in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, 237. *Cong* 聰: In some reiterations of this formula in the early and early-imperial literature this character has been rendered *chuang* 窗, "window." Gu and Liu reject this version. See ibid., 194; and also *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 17n8. For an analogy of royal aides to both gates and windows, see the passage from *Xunzi* 12, discussed below. Finally, the tripartite formula in its appearance in the "Canon of Yao" does not necessitate its reading as the content of a question or order addressed to the *si yue* (as suggested in the translation above). It may also be read as a descriptive sentence, referring to King Shun's series of actions after the death of Yao.

[40] Several different attempts have been made to account for this sum total. See Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu, *Shangshu jiaoshi yilun*, vol. 1, 317 – 324.

[41] This option might seem fanciful at first, but in consideration of the degree to which the "Canon of Yao" is found to adopt and euhemerize folklore elements, it would at least merit consideration—if not as a descriptive image then as a metaphorical figure prompted by such an image. Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu only come as close as listing the formula under consideration among other textual phenomena in the "Canon of Yao" that they believe may have roots in mythological lore but are doomed to remain obscure. See Gu and Liu, *Shangshu jiaoshi yilun*, vol. 1, 101. Other clues can be gleaned from Mark Csikszentmihalyi's account of the relation between a third-century-BCE tradition that figuratively attributed four faces to the Yellow Emperor 黃帝, and ritual vessels that were designed with figures facing in the four directions. Csikszentmihalyi, "Reimagining the Yellow Emperor's Four Faces," 226 – 248. It may be of interest that the same *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 section that records the *Shizi* 尸子 fragment of the Yellow Emperor's four faces (or his 'facing' in the four directions; *si mian* 四面) with which Csikszentmihalyi's discussion begins, also records a fragment from Huangfu Mi's 皇甫謐 (215 – 282) *Diwang shiji* 帝王世紀 that uses the phrase *si mu* 四目 in reference to the same tradition: "He assigned [aides] for the management of the four quarters, and it was as if he himself scrutinized each of their respective domains. This is why they say that the Yellow Emperor had four eyes (or 'looked in the four directions')" 分掌四方, 各如己視, 故號曰黃帝四目. See *Taiping yulan* (Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), vol. 1, 79.676; and *Diwang shiji jicun* 帝王世紀輯存, compiled by Xu Zongyuan 徐宗元 (Zhonghua shuju, 1964), 17. Note that in the late-7th-century *Chengui* 臣軌 (Pathways for Ministers), the phrase *huangdi simu* 黃帝四目 is identified as coming not from the *Diwang shiji* but from the *Shizi*. See *Chengui*, attributed to Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690 – 705), in *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 no. 893 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 1A.4.

Another detail, which may or may not be related to the image/figure of the four-eyed or four-faced ruler, is the figure of the *fangxiang shi* 方相氏, or "the one who scrutinizes in all four directions": an exorcist-impersonator that filled a central role in ritual practices that may date to the Warring States period if not earlier (this is open to speculations). The *Zhou li* 周禮, which is mostly believed to date to pre-Han and, according to some accounts, pre-imperial times, describes the *fangxiang*-exorcist as wearing "a bearskin having four eyes of gold…" 蒙熊皮黃金四目. *Zhouli zhengyi* 周禮正義, compiled by Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848 – 1908) (Zhonghua shuju, 1987), vol. 10, 59.2493. For a translation of the entire passage, a discussion of the *fangxiang*'s ritual functions, and an account of the controversy around the interpretation of the name

While the exact figurative configuration of this formula will likely remain unknown, it is important to note that the different readings mentioned above are not, to an extent, mutually exclusive, but move along a continuum that stretches between the two aspects identified earlier: the ruler's person and the bureaucratic system. Any way we choose to explain the particular linguistic structure, all of the readings point to the ruler's desire to know everything that transpires in the realm under his control. And likewise, any way we prefer to translate the original formula, it is clear that in the context of the narrative of the "Canon," the appointment of worthy men to official positions is the answer to this desire for omniscience. From here it is a short way to conceptualizing the ruler's representatives as extensions of his eyes and ears, as the *Hanshi waizhuan* and *Shui yuan* seem to suggest by incorporating the *si mu* formula in the twelve-pastors anecdote. This will become all the more clear as we turn to read these two versions of the anecdote alongside *Mozi* 12.

The tradition recorded in *Mozi* 12 reveals the entire metaphorical scheme that underlies the reading and incorporation of the *si mu* formula in the anecdote in question. Prior to reading these three texts in tandem it should be stated that the differences between the theory propounded in *Mozi* 12 and the main thrust of the *Hanshi waizhuan* and *Shui yuan* anecdote are not less intriguing than the similarities between them, and would sustain a lengthy discussion. I will, however, discuss either of these only to the extent that it facilitates the current investigation. *Mozi* 12, or "Exalting Conformity II," is a fairly developed theoretical discussion that stresses the need to have everyone in the realm—from the king down to the last commoner—praise and condemn acts according to the same standards.[42] It opens with a description of a presumed primordial state of perilous anarchy, which preceded any form of social organization, and then continues to describe the establishment of monarchical rule as follows:

> Those who understood that the chaos of the world was produced by the absence of leaders who could unify all the standards in the world selected the world's most virtuous, wise, and discerning man to be established as Son of Heaven… When the Son of Heaven had been established, he found that by using only the capacities of his own eyes and ears, he would be incapable of unifying the standards of the whole world. For this reason, he selected the most virtuous, wise, and discerning men he could find in the world and appointed them to be the Three Lords of the Executive Council… When the Son of Heaven and the Three Lords of the Executive Council had been established, they realized that the world being so vast and large, they alone could not unify all the peoples of the mountain forests and distant lands. This is why they divided the realm and established the myriad lords and rulers of states… When the positions of the rulers of states had been established, also finding that by using only the capacities of their own eyes and ears, they would be incapable of unifying the standards of their state, they selected the worthy men of their

fangxiang, see Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China* (Princeton University Press, 1975), 77 – 80. Elizabeth Childs-Johnson has gone so far as to argue that "this impersonator (the *fangxiang shi*) is the ritual heir of the Shang king who has presided over organized rites of exorcism two thousand years earlier" (p. 89). See Childs-Johnson, "The Ghost Head Mask and Metamorphic Shang Imagery," *Early China* 20 (1995): 79 – 92. Although this leaves us in the domain of sheer speculation, it may be worth contemplating the possible connections between ancient royal ritual practices, the imagined attributes of the *fangxiang* as ritual impersonator, and depictions of legendary rulers like the Yellow Emperor, and, perhaps, King Shun, by reference to either four faces or four eyes. Interesting in this regard is the functional parallelism between the royal impersonator in ancestral ritual (*shi* 尸) and the spirit mediums in less prestigious rituals, as observed by Lothar von Falkenhausen in his "Reflections on the Political Role of Spirit Mediums in Early China: The *Wu* officials in the *Zhou li*," *Early China* 20 (1995): 279 – 300. On the figure of the *shi*-impersonator in the Han discourse of rulership, see below, section 1.2.

[42] *Shang tong* may also be translated as "confirming to superiors," which is a fundamental aspect of the theory laid out in all the chapters in this triad. See Knoblock and Riegel, *Mozi*, 418n1.

state, and appointed them to be their associates, generals, grand officers, and officials down to the level of heads of districts and villages…[43]

明乎民之無正長以一同天下之義而天下亂也，是故選擇天下賢良聖知辯慧之人，立以為天子… 天子既以立矣，以為唯其耳目之請，不能獨一同天下之義，是故選擇天下贊閱賢良聖知辯慧之人, 置以為三公… 天子三公既已立矣，以為天下博大，山林遠土之民，不可得而一也，是故靡分天下，設以為萬諸侯國君… 國君既已立矣，又以為唯其耳目之請，不能一同其國之義，是故擇其國之賢者，置以為左右將軍大夫，以遠至乎鄉里之長…[44]

The establishment of government in *Mozi* 12 appears as a process of multiplication: the king is chosen for his enlightened acumen, but since he cannot be present everywhere in the realm or personally involved in its myriad affairs, he selects likeminded people to serve as his aides.[45] The problems of presence, however, reappears on every level of the administration of a vast realm and requires that authority will be delegated further down, to persons who represent the same outlook on ethics and governmental practices. The implication of this narrative is that, on every level of the administrative and social hierarchy, inferiors should adopt the same evaluation standards held by their superiors, so that everyone would eventually confirm to the outlook of the most wise and discerning person in the world—the Son of Heaven.

In order to inculcate the king's standards in his subordinates, the authors of *Mozi* 12 propose a uniform system of punishments and rewards. Officials and commoners alike are required to report to their superiors any blameworthy or praiseworthy act that comes to their knowledge. To support this proposed system with ancient precedents, the authors of *Mozi* 12 conclude the chapter with alleged evidence of related practices in the *Odes*. In the form of *Odes* hermeneutics they claim that "in antiquity the rulers and lords of the various states came to the court of the Son of Heaven each spring and autumn, received his stern instructions, and then returned home to rule their states accordingly" 古者國君諸侯之以春秋來朝聘天子之廷, 受天子之嚴教, 退而治國;[46] and, furthermore, that "all the rulers and lords of the various states, on hearing or seeing good or evil deeds, galloped and hurried to report them to the Son of Heaven" 國君諸侯之聞見善與不善也, 皆馳驅以告天子.[47]

This alleged practice of periodical reports from the various localities is reminiscent of both the reports by the twelve pastors and the court audience depicted in the *Hanshi waizhuan* and *Shui yuan* anecdote. Although the political philosophy reflected in the twelve-pastors anecdote stresses personal example and care for the people rather than conformity and intimidation, the opening and ending of *Mozi* 12 display several components that the two narratives have in common: the problem of

[43] Translation adapted with some modifications from Knoblock and Riegel, *Mozi*, 118.

[44] *Qing* 請 should be read as *qing* 情. Ibid.; and *Mozi jigu* 墨子集詁, edited by Wang Huanbiao 王煥鑣 (Shanghai guji, 2005), vol. 1, 3.237 – 238.

[45] For thoughts on "the vagueness surrounding the most important step, namely the selection of the worthiest man to become the Son of Heaven," see Yuri Pines, "Disputers of Abdication: Zhanguo Egalitarianism and the Sovereign's Power," *T'oung Pao* XCI (2005), 250.

[46] *Mozi jigu*, vol. 1, 3.264; Knoblock and Riegel, *Mozi*, 128.

[47] *Mozi jigu*, vol. 1, 3.265 – 266; Knoblock and Riegel, *Mozi*, 128.

presence,[48] the delegation of authority as its solution, and the formulation of both problem and solution in terms of hearing and eyesight.

But the most striking point of similarity occurs around the middle of *Mozi* 12, in the description of the people's response to the vast coverage of an unfailing system of, in this case, reports, punishments, and rewards:

> This is why, if several thousand or even more than ten thousand *li* away there was anyone who did good, even if that was not known to everyone in his family or heard of by everyone in his home village, the Son of Heaven heard about it and rewarded him. And if several thousand or even more than ten thousand *li* away there was anyone who did something wrong, even if that was not known to everyone in his family or heard of by everyone in his home village, the Son of Heaven heard about it and punished him. This is why all the people of the world shook and trembled in fear and thus dared not do anything destructive or violent. They said: "The Son of Heaven has supernatural powers of hearing and seeing!" [But] the Former Kings would say: "Nothing about it is supernatural; it is only the ability to use the eyes and ears of other men to enhance one's own sight and hearing, their lips to augment one's own speech, their minds to assist one's own thoughts and reflections, and their limbs to extend one's range of movement and action." [49]
>
> 是以數千萬里之外，有為善者，其室人未徧知，鄉里未徧聞，天子得而賞之。數千萬里之外，有為不善者，其室人未徧知，鄉里未徧聞，天子得而罰之。是以舉天下之人皆恐懼振動愓慄，不敢為淫暴，曰：「天子之視聽也神。」先王之言曰：「非神也，夫唯能使人之耳目助己視聽，使人之吻助己言談，使人之心助己思慮，使人之股肱助己動作」。[50]

Here as well one immediately notes crucial differences between the Mohist narrative and the twelve-pastors anecdote. Primarily, the culprits in the *Hanshi waizhuan* and *Shui yuan* anecdote are not wrongdoers from among the common people but elements in the local government who neglect their duties towards the common people. For this reason, furthermore, in *Mozi* 12 the people exclaim the king's divine powers in fear, whereas in the *Hanshi waizhuan* and *Shui yuan* anecdote they delight in his extraordinary abilities. And yet, the structure of the argument is parallel: in both cases the narrators verbalize some degree of mystification of the king's power of sight (as well as hearing, in the case of *Mozi* 12) with the alleged speech of the common people (see the 'A' column in the table below); and in both cases they immediately follow with an alternative explanation that directs attention *away* from the king's physical body and towards a bureaucratic mechanism (column 'B'). We may illustrate the structural parallelism as follows:

[48] For the problem of presence as fundamental to various phenomena of inter-human representation, or forms of "practical representation," see the citation of B. J. Diggs in the "Introduction," p. 9.

[49] Adapted with modifications from Knoblock and Riegel, *Mozi*, 127.

[50] *Mozi jigu*, vol. 1, 3.262 – 263.

		A	B
1	*Mozi* 12	All the people of the world shook and trembled in fear… They said: "The Son of Heaven has supernatural powers of hearing and seeing!"	[But] the Former Kings would say: "Nothing about it is supernatural; it is only the ability to use the eyes and ears of other men to enhance one's own sight and hearing…"
		天下之人皆恐懼…曰：「天子之視聽也神。」	先王之言曰：「非神也，夫唯能使人之耳目助己視聽…」
2a	*Hanshi waizhuan* 6	When the people of those distant places hear of it, they all say, "He is truly Son of Heaven. Although we dwell in an out-of-the-way place, he sees us as though we were near at hand, and though we dwell far out of sight, he sees us so clearly. How is it possible to deceive him?"	Thus, [provincial] pastors are the means by which he 'opened his eyes to the four directions' and 'made effective his hearing throughout the four quarters.'[51]
		遠方之民聞之，皆曰：「誠天子也！夫我居之僻，見我之近也；我居之幽，見我之明也。可欺乎哉！」	故牧者所以開四目，通四聰也。[52]
2b	*Shui yuan* 1	When the common people heard about it, they exclaimed with delight: "This is truly a Son of Heaven! How is it that he resides so far away and yet is able to see us with such clarity? He simply cannot be deceived!"	Thus, [provincial] pastors are the means by which [he had] "the gates to the four directions open, the eyes watching in the four directions gain clarity, and keen hearing extend to the four directions."
		百姓聞之，皆喜曰：「此誠天子也，何居之深遠而見我之明也，豈可欺哉！」	故牧者所以「辟四門，明四目，達四聰」也。

The intertextual relationship demonstrated in the foregoing comparisons is hard to define, but, I would argue, equally hard to deny. The style and length of the two narratives are different; the language is different, with no direct borrowings; the canonical citations are different; and, most of all, the political philosophy and the derived emphases are significantly different. Yet, on top of the common figurative framework in the articulation of the problem and the proposed solution, as noted earlier, the above table highlights further more shared motifs: a narratival element in the form of the people's

[51] Adapted with modifications from Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 207.

[52] *Hanshi waizhuan jishi*, 6.220 (#17), rejecting the emendations to the *Documents* citation. The *Hanshi waizhuan jishi* replaces the original paraphrase with a direct citation, following the *Shui yuan* version. However, the received *Hanshi waizhuan* not only abbreviates the full sentence by dropping the section of the 'four gates' but also makes minor lexical changes in the two other sections of the formula, as can be seen in the text presented above.

response to the king's perceived omniscience, and the rhetorical structure in which it is embedded. The *Mozi* chapter and the *Hanshi waizhuan* and *Shui yuan* anecdote appear to build their respective cases on the same narratival, figurative, and rhetorical platform. Since we are dealing with records of traditions that circulated orally long before they were put into writing, it is not possible—nor is it crucial for the present purpose—to determine which was the first to appear.[53] What is important is to recognize that the two narratives represented in the above table run parallel to each other as different performances of a similar script, sharing common elements on both the macro and the micro levels.

Once this is established, the comparison of the parallel performances may yield further insights. First, it highlights the fact that *Mozi* 12 displays a much more concentrated effort towards the demystification of the king's natural abilities. It is very explicit with regards to both the deification of the king in the people's interpretation (神; in column 'A') and its rejection in the narrator's comment (非神也; in column 'B').[54] Here we are finally back with the *Documents* citation: positioned as it is right after the popular interpretation, and preceded with a phrase that identifies it with the effect of the pastors' function (牧者所以…), the allusion to the "Canon of Yao" in the twelve-pastors anecdote appears to serve the same role as the Mohist correction of the people's view. It makes clear that what the people interpret as the king's extraordinary abilities are actually the effects of a properly functioning bureaucracy. This is especially clear in the *Hanshi waizhuan* version, which paraphrases rather than directly cites the "Canon," dropping out the 'gates' segment and directing attention to the segments that involve the organs of perception. Whatever was originally meant by these phrases in the "Canon," and to whatever degree that they were devised to operate as a metaphor, the *Hanshi waizhuan* treats them as a figure that encodes the benefits of the construction of a bureaucratic apparatus.

But there also lies the difference between the two performances. As much as it serves as an answer to the people's interpretation, the body-based figure also mirrors their interpretive act. The people explain political circumstances by reference to the ruler's natural endowments; the metaphor inscribes governmental operations onto the ruler's body. Both conceptualize rulership by recourse to the royal body, whether that reflects a convention or a conviction—a figurative trope or a genuine explanatory act. Thus, the *Mozi*'s forceful denial of the ruler's extraordinary abilities highlights the subtlety in the twelve-pastors anecdote, which, although employs the same rhetorical structure that ultimately directs attention to the ruler's representatives, still leaves the appeal of the glorified royal body intact. This duality is not a case of double speech that is designed to obscure, or of rhetorical ambiguity that capitalizes on open-endedness. The ultimate import of the complete utterance—in the anecdote as in the *Mozi* chapter—is clear and unambiguous. But the choice of language carries its own rhetorical benefit, and to a certain extent—here, as in other examples we will encounter throughout this study—allows both authors and readers to hold the rope at both ends.

Mozi 12, then, presents an alternative to the use of the figure derived from the *Documents* formulation, and invites us to contemplate the differences. In addition, however, its articulation of the postulated response of the Former Kings to the popular interpretation further reveals the entire metaphorical paradigm that underlies the use of the eyes-and-ears figure in the *Hanshi waizhuan* and

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[53] The numbers in the leftmost column (1 – 2b) indicate the chronological order of the written versions according to current estimations of their respective composition dates.

[54] See also the negation of odd causes and strange phenomena (他故異物) later in the same chapter (*Mozi jigu*, vol. 1, 3.263, and Knoblock and Riegel, *Mozi*, 128); and the alternative version in *Mozi* 13 ("Exalting Conformity III" 尚同下): "Therefore, was it due to nothing but the sage kings' [own] keenness of hearing and clear-sightedness?... It was because they adopted 'exalting conformity' as the guiding principle of their government." 故唯毋以聖王為聰耳明目與?…其以尚同為政善也. *Mozi jigu*, vol. 1, 3.292 – 293 (reading 故 for 善, but rejecting amendments for 唯 and 毋; cf. Knoblock and Riegel, *Mozi*, 137).

Shui yuan anecdote (and may or may not have played a role in its initial construction in the "Canon"). The Former Kings, according to *Mozi* 12, did not possess any magical abilities but simply knew to use the eyes and ears—and, furthermore—the lips, the minds, and the limbs of others in order to extend the scope of their own perception, action, and authority.

In putting together this list of organs and constructing an entire body paradigm, the authors of *Mozi* 12 were drawing on earlier traditions of high cultural currency. The casting of the ruler's representatives as parts of his physical body according to their different functions in the body politic—his arms and legs (*gu gong* 股肱, 'thighs' and 'upper arms,' or simply 'limbs'; *shou zu* 手足, 'arms and legs'),[55] his throat and tongue (*hou she* 喉舌), and his claws and teeth (*zhao ya* 爪牙)—is attested in texts as early as the ninth century BCE, including Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and oft-cited eulogia from the *Odes*.[56] Thus, for example, the Major Ode "Zheng min"—which celebrates the service of Zhong Shanfu in spreading and enforcing the king's commands, and is, as noted earlier, cited in the *Hanshi waizhuan* version of the anecdote in question—honors Zhong Shanfu with the designation "the king's throat and tongue" 王之喉舌.[57] A later example (though probably representing earlier traditions) is the labeling of the king's close advisors as both his 'arms and legs' and his 'eyes and ears' in the *Documents* chapter "Gao Yao mo" 皋陶謨 (believed to date, like the "Canon of Yao," to around mid-3rd c. BCE), where King Shun is cited as stating, "You, my ministers, are my legs and arms, my ears and eyes… I wish to declare my power in the four quarters, and you execute it" 臣作朕股肱耳目… 予欲宣力四方, 汝為.[58]

It is worth dwelling for a bit on this last example, since the "Gao Yao mo" produced a related formulation that, despite being a single instance in an age-old (yet constantly evolving) metaphorical framework, turned widely cited and took up the status of a *locus classicus*. Towards the end of the chapter, having received counsel from Yu 禹 and Gao Yao, King Shun celebrates their advice with a song (*ge* 歌): "When the limbs are thriving, the head rises up, and all the administrative tasks are perfectly accomplished!" 股肱喜哉, 元首起哉, 百工熙哉. In reply, Gao Yao presents two verses of his own, further specifying the conditions and implications of this analogy. First, he points out, it is up to the ruler to lead on and originate affairs of governance (率作興事), making sure his standards

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[55] Compare *shou zu* as 'arms and legs' or 'limbs' (i.e., as synonym for *gu gong* in the latter's idiomatic sense) in the *Mencius* passage cited in the following footnote, to its use as 'hands and feet' (i.e., the body's extremities; the body parts connected to *gu gong* in the latter's specific sense as 'thighs and upper arms') in the *Shenjian* passage cited in the "Introduction," p. 6.

[56] For one example of *gu gong* (in this case, *gong gu* 肱股) in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, see the *Shi Xun gui* 師詢簋 (internal dating interpreted as 885 BCE), in Constance A. Cook and Paul R. Goldin, eds., *A Source Book of Ancient Chinese Bronze Inscriptions* (The Society for the Study of Early China, 2016), 112 – 113. See further references in Yuri Pines, "Bodies, Lineages, Citizens, and Regions: A Review of Mark Edward Lewis' *The Construction of Space in Early China*," *Early China* 30 (2005 – 2006), 162n7. For *zhao ya* and *hou she* in the *Odes*, see *Maoshi zhengyi*, vol. 2: 11.671, vol. 3: 18.1220; translated in Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 158 (#185), 275 (#260). For *shou zu* in the *Mencius*, see Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Mengzi yizhu* 孟子譯注 (Zhonghua shuju, 1960, 2006), 186 ("Li Lou xia" 離婁下, 8.3). The latter should be read in light of the following use of *gu gong* in *Zuozhuan*, Aigong 6: *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 (Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999), vol. 3, 58.1636. For a brief discussion of Aigong 6 see Liu Zehua 劉澤華, *Zhongguo chuantong zhengzhi siwei* 中國傳統政治思維 (Jilin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991), 253 (and 48 for more related references). Note also that Aigong 6 is the basis for another entry in the *Shui yuan* "Way of the Ruler": *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 1.67.

[57] *Maoshi zhengyi*, vol. 3, 18.1220.

[58] *Shangshu jinguwen zhushu*, 2B.96 – 97; *Shangshu jiaoshi yilun*, vol. 1, 440 – 441 (and see note 32 in the "Introduction"). In the Archaic-Script *Documents* this section of the "Gao Yao mo" (2B and 2C in Sun Xingyan's *Shangshu jinguwen zhushu*) is separately titled "Yi Ji" 益稷. All the subsequent references in this chapter to the "Gao Yao mo" refer to these later parts, which correspond to the Archaic-Script "Yi Ji." For a different application of the eyes-and-ears figure to the role of ministers see *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 45.1273 – 1274 (Zhaogong 9).

are observed (慎乃憲), conducting frequent reviews and following things to completion (屢省乃成). Thus, says Gao Yao, "When the head is perspicacious, the limbs are proper, and the numerous affairs are successful." 元首明哉, 股肱良哉, 庶事康哉. At the same time, however, a ruler should not get overly involved in the work of his subordinates. Thus the second verse reads: "When the head occupies itself with minute details, the limbs turn idle, and the various affairs fall into ruin!" 元首叢脞哉, 股肱惰哉, 萬事墮哉.[59] These three verses clearly build on the identification of the advisors earlier in the chapter as the king's four limbs (as well as eyes and ears), but the metaphorical mapping here is slightly different. In the three verses, the ruler is not the owner of the body that serves as the metaphor's source domain, but an organ of what is therefore an impartial body concept—he is the 'principal head' (*yuan shou* 元首). The ministers are likewise not, strictly speaking, *his* limbs, but the limbs of what we may conclude is the governmental body.[60] If we aim at precision in metaphor analysis we must acknowledge this difference. However, as demonstrated throughout this section (1.1), the governmental body itself is often construed by reference to the ruler's own physical body, and this inter-metaphorical mapping results in a flexible, hybrid paradigm that may play either way in light of contextual emphases and authors' preferences. At times, furthermore, as in some of the examples incorporated below, the distinction is inconsequential.

The head-and-limbs paradigm is, therefore, an integral part of the following discussion. The three verses of the "Gao Yao mo" (the middle one in particular) came to be frequently cited or paraphrased in official communications and works of Han literature,[61] and as such they present a model that may be fruitfully compared to other metaphorical configurations of monarchical rule that draw on the ruler's body. Specifically, the eyes-and-ears metaphor may operate within the general framework of the head-and-limbs paradigm, or it may reflect challenges to the elevation of the person of the ruler as the single head that guides the body politic. Whereas the head paradigm only allows Gao Yao to warn the king against the consequences of 'micro-managing' his limbs and performing their tasks (see Gao Yao's second verse above), the eyes-and-ears metaphor allowed authors to articulate claims that are more far-reaching in terms of the place members of the officialdom asked to occupy in the body politic. Before, however, turning to discuss the eyes-and-ears metaphor as a challenge to the head-and-limbs paradigm, it would help to continue sketching some of the lines that link them both as part of the same discourse.

1.1.2 A minimal sketch of an intertextual discourse

The previous subsection demonstrated the relation between the *Shui yuan* anecdote of the twelve provincial pastors and the elaborate narrative of governmental bureaucratization as encountered in *Mozi* 12. The present subsection travels in the opposite direction, from roughly the third century BCE back to Han hermeneutics and political rhetoric. It begins with two examples for the simultaneity, around the third century BCE, of elaborations of the eyes-and-ears metaphor that share certain elements with the narrative encountered in *Mozi* 12. It proceeds with examples from Han hermeneutics and rhetoric that further tie the former texts and traditions in an intertextual network that facilitated the discourse of employment, consultation, and delegation.

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[59] *Shangshu jinguwen zhushu*, 2C.134; *Shangshu jiaoshi yilun*, vol. 1, 477. I return to these verses again below.

[60] See also "Introduction," pp. 6 – 7.

[61] To list but one example of each, consider Emperor Cheng's dismissal letter to Chancellor Xue Xuan 薛宣 (active 33 – 7 BCE) as recorded in *Hanshu* 83.3393; and the literary admonition (*zhen* 箴) for the provincial inspector (*mu* 牧) of Yangzhou 揚州, attributed to Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE – 18 CE), in *Yang Xiong ji jiaozhu* 楊雄集校注, annotated by Zhang Zhenze 張震澤 (Shanghai guji, 1993), 326. Other examples are incorporated in the following discussion.

First to be considered is the "Jiu shou" 九守 ('Nine things to be preserved'; 3rd c. BCE) chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子.[62] In terms of style and composition, the brief and somewhat enigmatic passages that comprise the "Jiu shou" are significantly different from the elaborate narrative and lucid discussions one finds in *Mozi* 12. And yet, the former, despite its brevity, displays thematic similarities to *Mozi* 12, such as a clear emphasis on the advantages of implementing a uniform system of rewards and punishments (*xing shang* 刑賞; *fa* 罰) throughout the realm.[63] In addition, "Jiu shou" as well articulates the necessity of omnispection—gaining access to any transgression or meritorious deed performed in the realm—by reference to the eyes and the ears as a figure for obtaining knowledge. In a section internally titled "The Ruler's Capacity to Observe" 主參, the authors list three components, or three stages (the title seems to pun with the alternate meaning of 參, "three"), in the attainment of the above kind of all-encompassing knowledge, while, furthermore, illustrating its pervasiveness by reference to units of spatial measurement as seen in *Mozi* 12 (and will be seen again below):

> First are long-reaching eyes, second are flying ears,[64] third is established clarity of perception. [This means] gaining clear knowledge of [all that transpires] in a distance of more than a thousand *li*, [down to] the most minute and secretive. This is called uprooting treasonous behavior.
>
> 一曰長目，二曰飛耳，三曰樹明；明知千里之外，隱微之中，曰動姦。[65]

Neither here nor elsewhere in "Jiu shou" do we find the specification of the growing circles of royal aides and subjects as elaborated in *Mozi* 12. Interestingly, however, the notion of helpers who encircle the ruler is conveyed by means of a visual image in another aphoristic section of that chapter, titled "The Ruler's Clarity of Vision" 主明:

> The eyes value clarity of sight; the ears value sharpness of hearing; the mind values expansive knowledge. Using the eyes of all under heaven to observe, there will be nothing that he will not see. Using the ears of all under heaven to listen, there will be nothing that he will not hear. Using the minds of all under heaven to think, there will be nothing that he will not know. [Thus,] if all surround him in even distances like the spokes of a wheel, his clarity of sight will not be obstructed.
>
> 目貴明，耳貴聰，心貴智，以天下之目視，則無不見也。以天下之耳聽，則無不聞也。以天下之心慮，則無不知也。輻湊並進，則明不塞矣。[66]

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[62] The composition of the "Jiu shou" in its received form, according to W. Allyn Rickett, is estimated to have taken place in the 3rd c. BCE, although some scholars have argued that it dates further back. See Rickett, *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China* (Princeton University Press, 1985 – 1998), vol. 2, 232 – 233. The translations below are greatly indebted to Rickett (ibid., 233 – 237), but at times depart from his translations considerably.

[63] See *Guanzi jiaozhu* 管子校注, annotated by Li Xiangfeng 黎翔鳳, edited by Liang Yunhua 梁運華 (Zhonghua shuju, 2004), vol. 3, 18.1042 (fourth section out of nine, internally titled "The Ruler's Rewards" 主賞), and 18.1044 (sixth section, "What the Ruler Relies Upon" 主因).

[64] Compare to "flying ears and traveling eyes" 飛耳游目 in the *Laozi zhigui* 老子指歸, ascribed to Yan Zun 嚴尊 (53 – 24 BCE). *Laozi zhigui*, collated by Wang Deyou 王德有 (Zhonghua shuju, 1994), 4.62.

[65] *Guanzi jiaozhu*, vol. 3, 18.1045. *Dong jian* 動姦: to 'move' or 'remove' all illicit behaviors as the objective of tight inspection of the entire realm. Compare to the adaptation in the *Guiguzi* 鬼谷子: "'dig out' the world's transgressions" 洞天下姦. *Guiguzi jijiao jizhu* 鬼谷子集校集注, compiled by Xu Fuhong 許富宏 (Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 187 ("Fu yan" 符言).

[66] *Guanzi jiaozhu*, vol. 3, 18.1041.

The term *fu cou* 輻湊, "gather around like the spokes of a wheel," is seen in the early literature mostly with regard to ministers, local lords, and various ranks of officials.[67] If they all come forward together (*bing jin* 並進), all having access to the ruler at the center, with no one party closer to the ruler than others, then proper flow of information to the throne will not be obstructed, and nothing would be concealed from the ruler's view. The preceding lines, however, seem to be further more inclusive, expressing the desire to have all the subjects in the realm ("the eyes of all under heaven" and "the ears of all under heaven") serve as the ruler's eyes and ears. This may bring to mind the requirement, in *Mozi* 12, of any subject to report to his or her superiors any transgression or meritorious deed that comes to their knowledge, although there is no indication for this detail in the "Jiu shou," which does not go far beyond listing basic principles of governance, and certainly does not advance a well-developed political program.

Interestingly, the inclusive formulation of the "Jiu shou" further resonates with the *Shiji*'s 史記 (ca. 100 BCE) rephrasing of the *si mu* formula (闢四門, 明四目, 達四聰), in the "Chronicles of the Five Emperors" 五帝本紀. Rather than read the tripartite formula as a reference to, specifically, the employment of royal aides and assistants—the reading represented in the *Hanshi waizhuan* and *Shui yuan* anecdote—Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145 – ca. 86 BCE) substitutes his own expression of universal scale for the second and third segments: "To open the gates to the four [directions], and gain thorough perception through the ears and the eyes of all in the four quarters." 辟四門, 明通四方耳目.[68] This does not exclude, of course, the conceptualization of the official ranks as extensions of the ruler's eyes and ears. The latter may well be implied and considered part of an entire system of upward reports. However, the universal scope—not of the space covered by the ruler's ocular and auditory faculties but of those whose eyes and ears are utilized for this purpose—is not necessitated by the original formula. It is a particular inflection of the *Shiji* reading, which may have been informed by formulations such as those that comprise the "Jiu shou" take on the "ruler's clarity of vision."

Another text that dates approximately to the late third century BCE and is suggestive in terms of its intertextual relations to the narrative developed most elaborately in *Mozi* 12 is the *Xunzi* 荀子, "Jun dao" 君道 ("The Way of the Ruler"; chapter 12).[69] *Xunzi* 12 repeats the points made in *Mozi* 12 with regard to the insufficiency of the purview ('seeing and hearing') of the ruler as a single person and the necessity of relying on the assistance of three growing circles of officials, from the central governance to local units. If in the *Mozi* these were the Three Lords of the Executive Council 三公, the lords and rulers of states 諸侯國君, and the local bureaucracy down to village heads 左右…鄉里之長, in the *Xunzi* these are the king's close confidants 便嬖左右, his ministers and assistants 卿相輔佐, and the

[67] Rickett, therefore, chose to specify in his translation of this passage: "If his ministers, rallying around him like the spokes of a wheel…" Rickett, *Guanzi*, vol. 2, 234.

[68] *Shiji* 史記 (Zhonghua shuju, 1959), vol. 1, 1.38. Compare to Hightower's translation: "To throw open all the doors of communication between the court and the empire, and to see with the eyes and hear with the ears of all." Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 207.

[69] The authenticity of this particular chapter is somewhat debated, with some scholars taking it to represent, for the most part, Xunzi's (d. c. 238 BCE) genuine philosophy, and others concluding it has been composed by Xunzi's followers. See Loewe ed., *Early Chinese Texts*, 180, 187. For the present purposes what matters is that this would be recognized as a voice that dates back to around the late third century BCE, regardless of whether or not it belonged to Xunzi himself, or to a particular school of thought as opposed to others.

lords of the four quarters 四鄰諸侯.[70] Due to its length, I provide here only the opening (the first circle) and ending (the conclusion regarding all three) of the *Xunzi* account:

> The eyes cannot see what happens beyond walls, and the ears cannot hear to a distance of even one *li*,[71] but the affairs under the ruler's responsibility concern, at the furthest, all the regions under heaven, and at the nearest, everything within the limits of the royal domain. He cannot afford not to have thorough knowledge [of everything that pertains to those regions]. Among the transformations under heaven and the affairs of the royal domain are things that undergo changes and various irregularities. If the ruler has no means by which to become aware of these, this can lead to a situation in which things are kept concealed from him and he is kept restricted.[72] The reach of the eyes and ears is that much limited; the responsibilities of the ruler of men are that much broad; and the necessity to know everything in the realm under his authority is that much crucial.[73]
>
> If that is the case, then how is the ruler to become knowledgeable of all those things? The answer is that his close confidants are the gates, the doors, and the windows through which the ruler peers out and watches over the multiple affairs.[74] He cannot afford not to obtain them as

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[70] Ian Johnston provides a general review of the critique of Mohist thought in the *Xunzi*, with brief, general remarks on similarities and overlaps. See Ian Johnston, trans., *The Mozi: A Complete Translation* (Columbia University Press, 2010), xxxviii – xxxix (esp. note 42, where he mentions *Xunzi* 12 in particular), and lxix – lxxii. See also John Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works* (Stanford University Press, 1988 – 1994), vol. 1, 57, 101 – 102.

[71] I translate *li* 里 in light of *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, "Ren shu" 任數 (Techniques of Employment): "The ears cannot hear to a distance of ten *li*, the eyes cannot see beyond curtains and walls, and the mind cannot know [all that transpires] within a compound of three *mu*" 十里之間而耳不能聞, 帷牆之外而目不能見, 三畝之宮而心不能知. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi* 呂氏春秋新校釋, edited by Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 (Shanghai guji, 2002), vol. 2, 17.1076. Note that, in addition, the lines that precede this assertion in the *Lüshi chunqiu* "Ren shu" clearly resonate with the lines that follow it in the *Xunzi* "Jun dao": "To use that which is shallow and deficient (i.e., the knowledge obtained by one's eyes, ears, and mind) in order to encompass all under heaven, harmonize the diverse customs, and rule over the myriad subjects—this plan will certainly not work." 以淺闕博居天下, 安殊俗, 治萬民, 其說固不行. Ibid.

[72] The phrase *ju xie* 拘脅, to restrict and hold down, suggests that the ruler is not merely restricted by the circumstances (i.e., lack of sufficient information) but that there are those in his environment who take advantage of it and retain this situation for their own interests. See also *Xunzi jiaoshi* 荀子校釋, edited by Wang Tianhai 王天海 (Shanghai guji, 2005), vol. 1, 8.562n4; and Eric L. Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text* (Princeton University Press, 2014), 130n36.

[73] Literally, "he cannot afford not to know [everything] that pertains to [his broad responsibilities]—it would be that much perilous" 其中不可以不知也, 如是其危也.

[74] I follow Jiang Lihong in reading 牧 for 收. But see Hutton, *Xunzi*, 130 (line 480). Note also the analogy of the ruler's confidants to openings in the walls that obstruct his view—like gates, doors, and windows. One wonders if the construction of this metaphor was somehow related to the *si men* formula in the "Canon of Yao." In any event, it seems to come in conversation with the stance represented in the following saying, which is ascribed to Shen Buhai 申不害 (d. 337 BCE): "Now the reason why a ruler builds lofty inner and outer walls, and looks carefully to the barring of doors and gates, is [to prepare against] the coming of invaders and bandits. But one who murders the ruler and takes his state does not necessarily [force his way in by] climbing over difficult walls and battering in barred doors and gates. [He may be one of the ruler's own ministers, who] by limiting what the ruler sees and restricting what the ruler hears, seizes his government, monopolizes his power to command, possesses his people, and takes his state." 今人君之所以高為城郭而謹門閭之閉者, 為寇戎盜賊之至也.今夫弒君而取國者, 非必踰城郭之險而犯門閭之閉也. 蔽君之明, 塞君之聽, 奪之政而專其令, 有其民而取其國矣. Herrlee G. Creel, *Shen Pu-hai: A Chinese Political Philosopher of the Fourth Century BC* (University of Chicago Press, 1974), 344, with slight modifications. In this scenario, physical walls are protective, whereas self-seeking ministers form the real obstacle to the ruler's authority by blocking his view and preventing information from reaching his ears. Whether aides were portrayed one way or the other depended on theorists' perceptions of the reliability of, on the one hand, the aides' loyalty, and on the other hand, a ruler's personal competencies. For similar passages in the fragments ascribed to Shen Buhai, see also ibid., 367 – 374, 380.

soon as possible. Therefore, a ruler must have close confidants that he can trust—nothing short of that. Their knowledge and wisdom should be sufficient for regulating matters and their uprightness and sincerity sufficient for reaching stability—nothing short of that. They are what we call the 'state's asset.'[75] (…)

Therefore, if a ruler does not have confidants that can be trusted, we call him "benighted"; if he has no ministers and assistants that he can safely employ for these purposes, we call him "solitary"; and if those employed as the lords of the four quarters are not such men, we call him "deserted." Deserted, solitary, and kept in the dark—we call this "perilous." Even if such a state still exists, the ancients would say it is doomed to perish. When the *Odes* say, "In throngs are the many officers; relying on them, King Wen (r. ca. 1099 – 1049 BCE) is serene,"[76] this is what it means.

牆之外，目不見也；里之前，耳不聞也；而人主之守司，遠者天下，近者境內，不可不略知也。天下之變，境內之事，有弛易齟差者矣，而人主無由知之，則是拘脅蔽塞之端也。耳目之明，如是其狹也；人主之守司，如是其廣也；其中不可以不知也，如是其危也。

然則人主將何以知之？曰：便嬖左右者，人主之所以窺遠收眾之門戶牖嚮也，不可不早具也。故人主必將有便嬖左右足信者，然後可。其知慧足使規物，其端誠足使定物，然後可；夫是之謂國具。(…)

故人主無便嬖左右足信者，謂之闇；無卿相輔佐足任使者，謂之獨；所使於四鄰諸侯者非其人，謂之孤；孤獨而晦，謂之危。國雖若存，古之人曰亡矣。《詩》曰：「濟濟多士，文王以寧。」此之謂也。[77]

This passage is interesting on several accounts: its basic similarities to the hypothetical narrative in *Mozi* 12; its differences, in emphases and general thrust, from the theory formulated in *Mozi* 12; and its possible connections, in the language and the figures employed, to texts other than *Mozi* 12 that the current discussion has touched upon so far. I will open the next subsection with a discussion of the particularities of this passage as opposed to *Mozi* 12 and the *Shui yuan* anecdote. At this point, we need only observe the commonalities that position the *Xunzi* account alongside *Mozi* 12 as a different argument that is nevertheless constructed by making use of similar building blocks: the stress on the insufficiency of any one ruler's physical abilities for completing his tasks as ruler (or, the problem of

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[75] *Guo ju* 國具: literally, the state's instrument, or tool [of governance]. Often explained by reference to the synonym *qi* 器, vessel. See *Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 563n9.

[76] *Maoshi zhengyi*, vol. 3, 16.960 ("Wen wang"; #235). The reduplicative binom *qi qi* 濟濟 appears several times in the *Odes* as descriptive of different subjects (human and nonhuman, single and plural), and its import in the current context is not completely clear. The two main readings that commentators and translators revolve around are 'dignified' as a reference to the appearance and decorum of the officials, possibly during court audience, and 'numerous' as a reference to their great numbers in a ceremonial setting. See *Maoshi zhengyi*, vol. 3, 16.960 – 961; and *Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 565n23. Compare: Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 227 ("Splendid are those many knights"); Hutton, *Xunzi*, 131 ("So impressively refined and numerous were the well-bred men!"); Garret P. S. Olberding, *Dubious Facts: The Evidence of Early Chinese Historiography* (SUNY, 2012), 43 ("In throngs are the many *shi*"). The second line in this frequently cited couplet is also touched with ambiguity. The point of uncertainty concerns the verb *ning* 寧, which may be read as both a transitive verb and a stative verb. Compare: Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 227 ("[those many knights] who gave comfort to Wen the king"); Hutton, *Xunzi*, 131 ("King Wen used them to bring about peace"); Olberding, *Dubious Facts*, 43 ("King Wen depends upon them to bring tranquility to the empire.") I tend to side with Waley's reading and oppose attempts to rationalize the reference to the king's own repose, especially when the line is cited in the context of the discourse of bureaucracy and delegation.

[77] *Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 8.560 – 561.

presence); the specific emphasis, in this regard, on hearing and seeing as a metonymy for attaining knowledge; and the role of three growing circles of official ranks in complementing the insufficiencies that stem from the ruler's singularity.

In addition, it may be worth noting indications for possible intertextual relations between the *Xunzi* account and texts visited earlier in the course of the discussion of the twelve-pastors anecdote. For example, the *Hanshi waizhuan* antecedent version of the *Shui yuan* anecdote indicates the function of the twelve pastors by means of a four-word expression (窺遠牧眾) similar to the one used in the *Xunzi* passage to describe the function of the ruler's close confidants (窺遠收眾). In principle, this does not necessarily indicate a direct citation. However, this phrase is not attested elsewhere in the extant sources, and this may be the reason why Jiang Lihong 蔣禮鴻 (1916 – 1995) has suggested that the *Xunzi* text be amended in light of the *Hanshu waizhuan*, assuming *shou* 收 to have been a copyist mistake for *mu* 牧.[78] Either way, since both texts have commonalities with the narratival framework of *Mozi* 12, the shared phrase may be taken as yet another indication for the fact that both claim relevance to and participate in the same cross-textual conversation.

Gradually, then, since setting off with the *Shui yuan* version of the twelve-pastors anecdote, a whole intertextual network has come into view, which links together texts of different political orientations in a discussion the contours and specific manifestations of which Han authors appear to have known very well. To further illustrate this last point, consider the following example, this time drawn from records of Han official communications. Around 24 BCE, a few years before the submission of the *Shui yuan,* Mei Fu 梅福 (fl. 30 – 10 BCE), a retired local official who has consistently tried, to no avail, to have his voice heard at the capital, submitted yet another letter to Emperor Cheng's attention. In the letter he laments the fact that the emperor allows self-interested ministers to screen upward communications and thus limit his own purview of the true state of affairs. In this context, possibly both echoing and countering the *Xunzi*'s labeling of the ruler's close confidants as the 'state's asset' or 'essential instrument' (*guo ju* 國具), Mei Fu labels *all* the official ranks (*shi* 士, men in official service), specifically those outside of the central government, as the 'state's great vessel' (*guo zhi zhong qi* 國之重器).

Like the *Xunzi*, furthermore, Mei Fu seals the point of the officials' role in securing the stability of the emperor's reign by citing the "Wen wang" couplet: "In throngs (*qi qi*) are the many officers (*shi*); relying on them, King Wen is serene."[79] These oft-cited lines from the *Odes* have, surely by the Han, become a trope for the benefit in obtaining loyal aides, and came to be employed as widely as the head-and-limbs verses of the "Gao Yao mo." A recommendation letter written by Du Shi 杜詩 (d. 38) on behalf of Fu Zhan 伏湛 (d. 37) even weaves the two tropes together, giving clear indication of their cultural valence in the context of this particular discourse: "I have heard that Tang [Yao] and Yu [Shun] were peaceful thanks to their 'limbs' (*gu gong*), and that King Wen was easeful thanks to his many officers. That is why the *Odes* had praised the 'many throngs' (*qi qi*), and the *Documents* had said 'fine indeed!'" 臣聞唐虞以股肱康, 文王以多士寧, 是故詩稱濟濟, 書曰良哉.[80]

Next, Mei Fu points to the difference between the classical ideal and the contemporary reality. Nowadays, he warns, harsh taboos, censure, and punishments cause upright officials from around the empire to refrain from speaking their minds and sharing their observations with the emperor. He therefore urges the emperor to:

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[78] *Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 8.563n7.

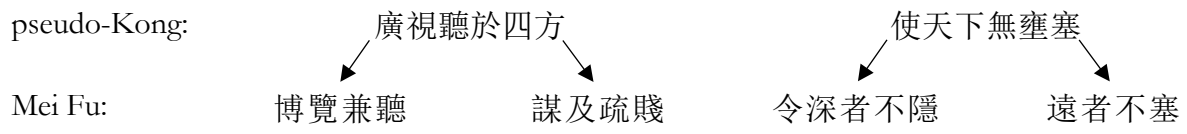
[79] For a translation of this particular portion of Mei Fu's long letter to the throne, see Olberding, *Dubious Facts: The Evidence of Early Chinese Historiography* (SUNY, 2012), 43.

[80] *Hou Han shu*, 26.896.

> Abolish the system [that allows to label certain upward communications as] "non-essential"; issue edicts that cancel current taboos; observe broadly, listen without discrimination; and accept counsel even from the lowest strata [in the officialdom]. Such measures would make those at the deep reaches of the empire cease hiding, and would put a stop to the situation in which those far away are concealed (*sai*) from view. This is what is meant by "opening the gates to the four quarters and attaining clear vision in the four directions."
>
> 除不急之法，下亡諱之詔，博覽兼聽，謀及疏賤，令深者不隱，遠者不塞，所謂「辟四門，明四目」也。[81]

The last citation is, of course, what I have previously referred to as the *si mu* formula, from the "Canon of Yao." Mei Fu employs it here to alert the emperor to the gap between the ideal it represents and the current state of affairs. The latter—a situation in which certain persons or certain affairs are either hiding or intentionally concealed from the emperor's view (*yin* 隱; *sai* 塞)—is reminiscent of the dire warning of the *Xunzi* from reaching a state in which a ruler lacks the means to gain a broad knowledge of all that transpires within and beyond the royal domain, resulting in his manipulation by those self-seeking courtiers who conceal (*bi sai* 蔽塞) the reality from him, and thus restrict his participation in state affairs.[82]

That this negative scenario had, furthermore, become part and parcel of the hermeneutic of the eyes-and-ears figure is suggested by the *Documents* commentary (misleadingly) attributed to Kong Anguo 孔安國 (late 2nd c. BCE). It is arguably the lens through which the pseudo-Kong commentary glosses the *si mu* formula: "To watch and listen extensively in the four directions, so that everywhere under heaven there will not be a thing that will be concealed [from him]." 廣視聽於四方, 使天下無壅塞.[83] Mei Fu's advice, in fact, appears like an elaboration of the explication represented in the fourth-century pseudo-Kong commentary, duplicating each of its two sections:



This, again, is not to imply that the pseudo-Kong commentary predated Mei Fu's memorial. It is to show that both, in thinking of the *si mu* formula—the one employing it, the other glossing it—invoke a similar set of issues with a similar vocabulary, which, in turn, are shared by other texts in the tradition, like *Xunzi* 12. The idiom, specifically, of the ruler's gaze, its facilitation and obstruction (both potentially traced to elements in the official ranks), has thus gained a high degree of intertextual

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[81] *Hanshu* 67.2922.

[82] The point of restriction (*ju* 拘) in the *Xunzi* passage should further bring to mind Master Kuang's warning, in the opening passage of Liu Xiang's "Way of the Ruler," against 'letting those close [to the ruler] bind and restrict him' 拘繫於左右. See above.

[83] *Shangshu zhengyi*, 3.72. *Wu yongse* 無壅塞: literally, 'nothing that will block or obstruct [his vision].' For more indications for the particularly political semantics of these terms, see the *Guanzi* "Ming fa." In a section that specifically addresses obstructions to the flow of information upward and of command downward, the "Ming fa" terms *yong* 擁 a case in which a royal command is issued but stalled midway in its distribution, and *sai* 塞 a case in which reports upward are not properly submitted. *Guanzi jiaozhu,* vol. 2, 15.914.

coherence—certainly by the late western Han, when Mei Fu had expressed his grievances and Liu Xiang had assembled his model anecdotes.

Therefore, recalling the advice, in *Shui yuan*, of Master Kuang to Lord Ping of Jin to "open wide his ears and eyes" 廣開耳目 [JD1], it would be reasonable to suppose that in the minds of the Han literati this short four-character phrase, despite its apparent general field of reference, implicated a highly specific set of political concerns. If the Master Kuang anecdote was composed by Liu Xiang rather than picked up from elsewhere, we may further speculate that both he and Mei Fu resorted to the figure of 'broadening the scope of one's listening and observation capacities' in response to the same political reality at the court of Emperor Cheng, who failed to shake off the monopolizing influence of senior officials from the strong consort families. This, then, would be one example of the emerging fact that the figurative language these authors had employed—like the list of mostly-figurative expressions that comprise Master Kuang's brief counsel—was not a measure that blunted the edges of their arguments but a well-pointed device that enabled accurate pronouncements by relying on a solid discursive basis.

In order to illustrate this point, I have so far emphasized the *commonalities* that link all the reviewed texts as parts of the same discourse, with a shared language and shared themes of concern. Having done that, I now turn to examine their *differences* as individual applications of the eyes-and-ears metaphor. Attention to differences in the metaphorical scope of this figure would reveal its potential challenge to the elevated status of the emperor as the head of the body politic. We will then be at a better position to go back to the *Shui yuan* and examine the way Liu Xiang participated in this ongoing conversation by force of his anecdote selection and, at times, the changes he appears to have introduced into the text.

1.1.3. 'Eyes and ears' as a challenge to 'head and limbs'

From the ninth century BCE to the late Western Han, the identification of different sections of the governmental structure with parts of the ruler's body had been used for various ends, from the praise or admonition of a ruler's attitude towards different strata of the officialdom, to the praise or admonition of the office holders themselves.[84] The shared presupposition in all cases is the mutual dependence—a notion intrinsic to any organismic metaphor—between the head of the imperial body and its bureaucratic organs. Ban Gu 班固 (32 – 92) has made this point explicit in his concluding remarks (*zan* 贊) to the biographies of two highly-praised Han Chancellors, Wei Xiang 魏相 (d. 59 BCE) and Bing Ji 丙吉 (d. 55 BCE): "Thus, the *Classic* [*of Documents*] marks the ruler as the head, and his ministers as the limbs, making clear that together they form one body. Only by mutual reliance do they reach completion." 故經謂君為元首, 臣為股肱, 明其一體, 相待而成也.[85] However, authors' perceptions of the implications of this interdependence as far as the distribution and exercise of authority—particularly, the nature of the position of the emperor, or Son of Heaven, at the top of the governmental structure—differed significantly.

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[84] Of the early instances cited earlier, the bronze inscription *Shi Xun gui* demonstrates the resort to the body scheme for the praise of the appointee's ancestors; *Odes* #185 voices protest against a senior minister's conduct from his underlings; Zhaogong 9 presents reproach of senior officials by their colleague; the case from Aigong 6 represents praise of a ruler's conduct; Mei Fu's memorial is an example of a ruler's admonition; Emperor Cheng's dismissal letter to Chancellor Xue Xuan is reproach of a senior minister for poor performance; and the literary admonition to the inspectorship of Yangzhou—as well as another admonition attributed to Yang Xiong, the admonition for the Secretariat 尚書 (*Yang Xiong ji jiaozhu*, 350 – 351)—is at the same time praise for the respective official functions and preemptive admonition of those who fulfill them in the imperial bureaucracy.

[85] *Hanshu* 74.3150 – 3151.

Thinking back to the three verses of the "Gao Yao mo," following Ban Gu, we may further note that these convey a clear sense of hierarchy and division of duties: the head is singular, the limbs plural; the head rises at the top, the limbs operate below; the head discerns, the limbs execute. As further elaborated in a paraphrase by Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE – 18 CE): "The head's duty is careful contemplation; the limbs' duty is diligent operation" 元首不可不思, 股肱不可不孳.[86] As rudimentary and unsophisticated as these distinctions may seem at first, they were not trivial and beyond debate. There were other models as well, and the body scheme, particularly metaphors related to the eyes and the ears—which in the "Gao Yao mo" take the unproblematic back seat—constituted one idiom in which this conversation of monarchic rule took place.

This, we may suppose, has much to do with the metaphor's flexible scope of reference. As much as 'hearing and seeing' mean the acquisition of data from the outside world—as in the *Guanzi* "Jiu shou," *Mozi* 12, and the *Hanshi waizhuan* and *Shui yuan* anecdote—their operation is of the type of executing commands, much like the arms and legs, or the claws and teeth. But when used to denote keen understanding, correct judgment, and acute insight, the metaphorical scope of the faculties of hearing and seeing expands from the level of operation to the level of contemplation: from execution to design. And when contemplation and design, not merely the channeling of information upwards, are defined as the role of ministers rather than a perspicacious ruler, this has implications on the latter's elevated, singular position as the commanding head of the entire body politic.

The *Xunzi* passage considered above for its similarities to *Mozi* 12 differs from the latter exactly on this point. Whereas *Mozi* 12 describes the evolution of the governmental structure as a projection and multiplication of the ruler's perception of right and wrong—a ruler selected for this position precisely due to his superior wisdom and discernment—*Xunzi* 12 emphasizes the ruler's dependence on the wisdom, deliberation, persuasions, and decision-making of his three circles of aides. The portion translated earlier only specifies the knowledge and wisdom (*zhu hui* 知慧) of the ruler's close confidants, but the portions that follow consistently make this point with regard to the other two circles as well, emphasizing the necessity of having ministers, assistants, and local lords who possess wide knowledge, wisdom, and analytical abilities (*zhi lü* 知慮; *zhi lü* 智慮), and who are skilled in debate and persuasion (*bian shui* 辯說), and good at decision making (*qi duan* 齊斷).[87] Without the right persons to serve as his eyes and ears and enhance his perception in this extended sense, the ruler is said to be "solitary" (*du* 獨), blind, and doomed to perish.[88] The principle of mutual dependence is thus made to tilt unsymmetrically towards the ruler's aides, emphasizing his complete dependence upon them, and encouraging him to lean more heavily on their advice and acumen.

This is all the more clear when contrasted with a saying ascribed to Shen Buhai 申不害 (d. 337 BCE):

> He who observes independently (*du*) we call clear-sighted; he who listens independently (*du*) we call perspicacious; and he who is [therefore] able to make decisions independently (*du duan*), can become the ruler of all under heaven.[89]

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[86] This couplet appears in the previously mentioned Yangzhou admonition. *Yang Xiong ji jiaozhu*, 326.

[87] *Xunzi jiaoshi*, 8.561. *Qi duan* is read as *cai duan* 裁斷: ibid, 564n17.

[88] The *Xunzi* passage analogizes ministers and assistants to the staff (*zhang* 杖) the ruler leans upon, further advancing the point that he cannot stand without them. Ibid., 8.560.

[89] On *du* as potentially involving both notions of 'solitariness' and 'independence,' see also Enno Giele, *Imperial Decision Making and Communication in Early China: A Study of Cai Yong's Duduan* (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 21 – 23, 262n172.

獨視者謂明，獨聽者謂聰。能獨斷者，故可以為天下主。[90]

This supposed fragment of Shen Buhai's teaching provides a lucid example of the extended scope of the eyes-and-ears metaphor, clearly linking it to discernment and decision making. It uses 'hearing' and 'seeing' as a metaphor not for the collection but for the processing of information. It then makes a case for a ruler-centered governance by depicting favorably a ruler who relies only on his own faculties rather than, we may suppose, being swayed by other people's recommendations. *Xunzi* 12 objects to this stance by bringing the two metaphorical uses to meet, and embedding the extended scope of 'hearing and seeing' within the framework of the body paradigm. The point of the indispensability of the bureaucratic organs thus extends to include their powers of discernment and decision making, resulting in an explicit opposition to 'singularity' (*du*) as a desired attribute of a ruler, and marking monocracy as a system that is necessarily short-lived.

We have seen a similar usage of the two applications of the eyes-and-ears metaphor in Mei Fu's memorial. Mei Fu, we may recall, cites the *si mu* formula in a manner similar to the *Hanshi waizhuan* and *Shui yuan* anecdote. But if in the twelve-pastors account the faculties of hearing and seeing operate as a metonymy for the attainment of knowledge, particularly of facts and events that pertain to locations beyond the ruler's physical purview, in Mei Fu's memorial listening (*ting* 聽) is further associated with the ruler's attentiveness to counsel (*mou* 謀) and reproach from officials far from the inner circles. The twelve pastors report facts; Mei Fu asks to guide the emperor in analyzing those facts.

Interestingly, in Liu Xiang's "Way of the Ruler," the two applications of the eyes-and-ears metaphor are, for the most part, represented separately. The passage concerning the place of the twelve pastors—or, more generally, the local officialdom—in the body politic does not diverge from the head-and-limbs paradigm as articulated in the "Gao Yao mo." The pastors' operation as the Son of Heaven's eyes and ears consists primarily in gaining knowledge of facts and reporting them upwards. It is the Son of Heaven who then decides the course of action on the basis of the reports from his underlings. There is no dispute over his discernment and judgment; he needs them merely in order to carry out his benevolent policies. This is much in line with Liu Xiang's depiction of Yao and Shun elsewhere in the "Way of the Ruler" [JD14], who are said to have been clear-sighted themselves but unable to manifest their benevolence throughout the realm without aides who would act as their 'arms and legs' (雖有堯舜之明, 而股肱不備, 則主恩不流, 化澤不行).[91]

The intervention of the 'limbs,' or organs, in the operations of the 'head' is seen in references to advisors of less sagely rulers, who use their acute perspicacity to compensate for their ruler's lacking judgment. When Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 (r. 685 – 643 BCE), for example, confesses that Guan Zhong 筦仲 and Xi Peng 隰朋 made his eyes more clear-sighted and his ears more perspicacious (吾目加明, 耳加聰), he does not refer to the flow of information from the farther reaches of his domain but to the daring reproach from these two advisors, who revealed to him what the impact of his actions was on the populace, and therefore on the stability of his reign [JD22].[92] This statement by Duke Huan appears in three other earlier sources (with a version of the same scene, without this statement, in a fourth source; see the references below). A closer examination of the particulars of the narrative as told in the *Shui yuan* as opposed to these other sources might help illustrate how the eyes-

[90] Creel, *Shen Pu-hai*, 380. See also *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu* 韓非子新校注, annotated by Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 (Shanghai guji, 2000), vol. 2, 13.783. Chen Qiyou follows Gu Guangqi 顧廣圻 (1770 – 1839) in noting, on the basis of rhyme, that *zhu* 主 (ruler) must have originally been *wang* 王 (king).

[91] *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 1.29.

[92] *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 1.50.

and-ears metaphor in its extended scope is more liable to implications that challenge the elevated status of the ruler as articulated in the head paradigm.

The different versions of this scene display several interesting differences in terms of language and narrative, but I will focus here only on those most relevant for the present purposes. In a *Guanzi* chapter named "Admonitions" 戒, Guan Zhong, later joined by Xi Peng, reproaches the duke twice for his inclination towards travel and hunting at the expense of the labor and resources of the local populace. Guan Zhong observes that the people, as a result of the duke's activities, fail to cultivate their fields in the proper times and, upon showing difficulty to comply with the duke's demands, suffer harsh punishments. Duke Huan shows reluctance to listen, at first, but then eventually abandons the shooting activity he was engaged in when first approached by Guan Zhong, and heads back to his residence in a chariot, with the two men on his side. On a selected day he leads them to his ancestral temple, bows his head twice, and announces: "Since I have heard the words of these two men, my ears have become sharper and my sight clearer. Since I dare not accept their advice on my own, I am presenting them to you, my ancestors" 孤之聞二子之言也, 耳加聰而視加明, 於孤不敢獨聽之, 薦之先祖.[93] The duke and the two advisors then ritually enter into an alliance, followed by the issue of orders on the basis of Guan Zhong's advice. Here, and more so in another version of these events as recorded elsewhere in the *Guanzi*, it is fairly clear that the duke presents to his ancestors the reforms proposed by Guan Zhong and Xi Peng, desiring to obtain their symbolic approval.[94] It is also possible that this procedure was already part of the alliance ritual, with Guan Zhong and Xi Peng taking an oath of loyalty to Duke Huan's lineage.[95]

An interesting interpretation of these events is included in a *Hanshi waizhuan* entry, which represents the version that Liu Xiang has mostly relied upon. The entire passage lists the three great fears that characterize 'enlightened rulers' (*ming zhu* 明主), and then demonstrate each by reference to a pseudo-historical account. Duke Huan and his advisors feature in the last example:

> In the past, Duke Huan of Qi obtained the assistance of Guan Zhong and Xi Peng and sat facing south. Duke Huan said: "Since getting these two men, my eyes turned more clear-sighted and my ears more perceptive. I dare not act alone, and [would like to] bring them before [you?] my ancestors." This is an example of [an enlightened ruler] who upon hearing the supreme way [of governance] is afraid that he would not be able to put it into practice.
>
> 昔者, 齊桓公得管仲隰朋, 南面而立, 桓公曰:『吾得二子也, 吾目加明, 吾耳加聰, 不敢獨擅, 進之先祖。』此聞至道而恐不能行者也。[96]

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[93] *Guanzi jiaozhu*, vol. 2, 10.514; translation slightly modified from Rickett, *Guanzi*, vol. 1, 381.

[94] The other version appears in the *Guanzi* "Ba xing" 霸形 and involves Guan Zhong alone, without Xi Peng. There Duke Huan says to Guan Zhong: "I have heard these three points you have made, Zhongfu (Guan Zhong), and I take them as my orders. [But] I dare not act on my own authority and would like to present them to the former lords [in the ancestral temple]." 寡人聞仲父之言此三者, 聞命矣, 不敢擅也, 將薦之先君. The ritual itself is not depicted, and what follows is the announcement of the new regulations. See *Guanzi jiaozhu*, vol, 1, 9.454; cf. Rickett's translation in *Guanzi*, vol. 1, 349.

[95] In a third version, in the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the ritual is not labeled 'oath of allegiance' 盟誓; we are told that Duke Huan ordered Guan Zhong (Yiwu 夷吾)—who arrived blindfolded to Qi, as a captive, shortly beforehand—to serve as his aide (夷吾佐予!), and Guan Zhong ritually accepted the charge. See *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, vol. 2, 24.1601 ("Zan neng" 贊能).

[96] This is an excerpt. The entire anecdote is comprised of three examples Confucius is said to have cited as illustrations for the three noble fears of an enlightened ruler (*ming jun* 明君). See *Hanshi waizhuan jishi*, 7.255 (without the textual emendations the editor has adopted).

The significant amount of information that is dropped out of this brief mention in the *Hanshi waizhuan* led commentators to supplement more details of this scene from the later *Shui yuan* adaptation, guided perhaps by the wrong assumption that the author-compilers of both works strived primarily for historical veracity. This is lamentable, since it obscures nuances of interpretation and rhetorical performance—in this case, by both author-compilers.

First, consider the *Hanshi waizhuan* version. It is possible that this elliptical text was intended to operate as an allusion, pointing contemporaries towards a corpus and a particular narrative that they knew well, with the reasonable expectation that they would supplement the missing information while processing its relevance for the new context. But this does not mean that there is no significance in the way the *Hanshi waizhuan* delivers these particular fragments of the complete narrative. Textual allusion nonetheless, meaning may be constructed by way of the *omission* of information. In the case before us, the omission of all that preceded the duke's statement, including any indication for the ceremonial context, transfers the emphasis from the particular reforms proposed by the two advisors to their own presence by the side of Duke Huan. It is no surprise, then, that James Hightower read Duke Huan's words as addressed directly to his advisors, expressing, perhaps, his dependence on their assistance: "'Since getting you two, my sight is the keener and my hearing the sharper. I dare not act alone (*du*).' And he introduced them to his ancestors."[97]

There is good reason, particularly in light of the earlier versions of this scene, to read Duke Huan's 'not daring to act on his own authority' (*bugan dushan* 不敢獨擅) as a formula that alludes to the convention of reporting major events and decisions at the ancestral temple.[98] *Du*, in this case, would point to the failure to seek the ancestors' prior approval, not the absence of ministerial guidance. And yet, in both the *Hanshi waizhuan* version and Hightower's translation the brevity of the text creates a sense of ambiguity with regard to this statement by Duke Huan. It generates the temptation to read it not as a conventional expression that announces the action that follows (i.e., the presentation of Guan Zhong and Xi Peng to the duke's ancestors), but as an emphatic conclusion to that which precedes it (i.e., the recognition of Guan Zhong and Peng Xi's vital importance for his perspicacity as a ruler). The authorial comment that summarizes this anecdote as a case of a ruler "who upon hearing the supreme way [of governance] is afraid that he would not be able to put it into practice" is also artfully ambiguous in this regard.

Now, the *Shui yuan* basically reproduces the *Hanshi waizhuan* anecdote, with some added details. In the translation below, I italicize those added details that are *not* drawn from the known earlier versions of the recounted scene and may therefore have been produced by Liu Xiang himself:

> In the past, Duke Huan of Qi obtained the assistance of Guan Zhong and Xi Peng and had them discuss their proposals and argue for their ideas. *During the court audience of the first month he ordered that the triple sacrifice of the Tailao be prepared [for the ritual ceremony in which he would] bring them (Guan and Xi) before his ancestors. [During the ritual,] Duke Huan stood facing west, while Guan Zhong and Xi Peng stood facing east. Duke Huan ritually announced:* "Since getting these two men, my eyes turned more clear-sighted and my ears more perceptive. I dare not act alone, and would like to present them to [you,] my ancestors." This is an example of [an enlightened ruler] who, upon hearing supreme advice, is afraid that he would not be able to put it into practice.

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[97] Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 237.

[98] See *Liji jijie* 禮記集解, compiled by Sun Xidan 孫希旦 (1736 – 1784) (Zhonghua shuju, 1989), vol. 3, 58.1415 ("Guan yi" 冠義): 不敢擅重事, 所以自卑而尊先祖也.

昔齊桓公得筦仲隰朋，辯其言，說其義。正月之朝，令具太牢進之先祖。桓公西面而立，筦仲隰朋東面而立。桓公贊曰：「自吾得聽二子之言，吾目加明，耳加聰，不敢獨擅，願薦之先祖。」此聞天下之至言而恐不能行者也。[99]

The prestigious Tailao 太牢 ceremony is not specified in the other, earlier versions, but perhaps more significant is the fact that, during the ceremony, Liu Xiang positions the ruler and his newly obtained advisors facing each other, to the west and to the east.

To assess the significance of this detail we may turn to another *Shui yuan* anecdote [JD20], in which Guo Kui (or Guo Wei) 郭隗 expounds to King Zhao of Yan 燕昭王 of the corresponding hierarchy between types of rulers (from emperor, to king, lord-protector, and ruler of a doomed state) and types of ministers (from teacher, to friend, honored-guest, and captive).[100] Guo Kui explains that by facing each of the four directions during court audience a ruler may (announce his self-perception vis-à-vis this four-fold typology and) attract the corresponding kind of ministers. Thus, he says,

Face west and treat [ministers] with the ritual procedures reserved for peers; draw them to you with [the appropriate attitude as displayed by your] facial expression; do not take advantage of your position in order to obtain ministers—and those of the quality of friends will arrive [to your court].

西面等禮相亢，下之以色，不乘勢以求臣，則朋友之材至矣。[101]

In the context of the exchange between King Zhao and Guo Kui, this is only the second best option, not as good as facing north and treating ministers as one's teachers (*shi* 師).[102] The discussion of senior ministers' status as the ruler's underlings, equals (modeled on the relation between friends), or even superiors (modeled on the role of teacher, or 'master'), dates back to the late pre-imperial period,[103] and is complementary to the continuous negotiation of the ruler's position and the scope of his personal engagement in state affairs. In Guo Kui's program, the coupling of the resulting typology with concepts of directionality in ceremonial settings produces a ritual technology for the enhancement of the court and the recovery of the state. If this, in turn, had informed Liu Xiang's imagination of the scene at the ancestral temple of Duke Huan [JD22], this would consist mainly in providing him a spatial language with which to symbolically assert the equal status of Duke Huan and his two ministers, Guan Zhong and Xi Peng.[104]

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[99] *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 1.50.

[100] For other versions of this typology see *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 43n8.

[101] *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 1.41.

[102] Note, however, that the text as reproduced above reflects emendations that are assumed to have been introduced into the received *Shui yuan* in post-Song recensions. To judge by citations of this anecdote in pre-Ming commentaries and collectanea, the original version had the directions of east and north reversed: facing north was prescribed for attracting 'friends' and facing east was prescribed for attracting 'teachers.' Modern editors appear to confirm the emendation on the basis of fragments of ritual procedures as preserved in other early sources, although this issue requires further examination. See *Shuiyuan jizheng* vol. 1, 46n13–15; and *Shuiyuan jiaozheng* 說苑校證, annotated by Xiang Zonglu 向宗魯 (1895 – 1941) (Zhonghua shuju, 1987, 2000), 16.

[103] Yuri Pines, "Friends or Foes: Changing Concepts of Ruler-Minister Relations and the Notion of Loyalty in Pre-Imperial China," *Monumenta Serica* 50 (2002): 35 – 74 (esp. 57 – 60).

[104] If we accept the supposedly older version that marks the west as the direction in which a ruler should face in order to attract 'teachers,' then the spatial arrangement of Duke Huan and his ministers in the temple would encode the latter's elevation, rather than equal status vis-à-vis the ruler. This conclusion may also be reached regardless of the Guo Kui anecdote. For the western seat, facing east, as the most honorable position in a ritual layout (and the eastern seat, facing

Liu Xiang would be then understood as giving a formalistic expression to a theme that is indeed present in two of the earlier versions of the same scene. The narrative in the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 "Zan neng" 贊能, for example, states simply that, after accepting Duke Huan's charge to be his aide, "Guanzi ruled the state of Qi and was successful in all aspects of state affairs." 管子治齊國, 舉事有功.[105] *Zhi* 治, "ruled," may also be translated "ordered," if we want to escape ambiguity with regard to the identity of the nominal ruler, who is, of course, Duke Huan. But the word choice seems deliberate and its implications should not be overlooked. It indicates that the ruler in effect, as far as determining state policies and managing state affairs, was Guan Zhong. In the *Guanzi* "Admonitions" we find another indication of this characterization of ruler-minister relationship, in an alleged excerpt from the protocol of the allegiance ceremony. Bowing twice with a kowtow, Duke Huan states emphatically that the words of Guan Zhong and Xi Peng (二子之言) have, so to speak, opened his eyes (耳加聰而視加明). In response, having reciprocated the duke's respectful gestures with their own bows and kowtow, Guan and Xi assure him: "[From now on,] it is as if you were king: these are not our words, your ministers, but your own royal instructions" 如君之王也, 此非臣之言也, 君之教也.[106] Thereupon, they take their oaths and issue official announcements of new regulations: regulations that were thought out by Guan and Xi but are now announced as the duke's orders.[107] This, it should be observed, is substantially different from the depiction of Zhong Shanfu, the Zhou king's 'throat and tongue,' in the ode cited in the *Hanshi waizhuan* version of the twelve-pastors anecdote. Rather than give voice to the king's instructions, Guan and Xi put words in the ruler's mouth. Rather than allowing him to speak through them, it is they who are permitted to speak through him.[108] This is a fundamental difference, which unfolds into two distinctive perceptions, or forms, of top-down representation: execution by proxies versus transfer of authority.[109]

The difference is crucial for understanding the rhetoric of the body paradigm precisely because often the latter's persuasive power depends on the former's obfuscation. We have seen such effective obfuscation of differences in *Xunzi* 12 and in Mei Fu's memorial, both of which make use of the eyes-and-ears metaphor by appealing to paradigms of execution, and at the same time infusing those with ideas that involve entrusting contemplation and design to the ruler's representatives. In Liu Xiang's "Way of the Ruler," as noted, the two applications of the eyes-and-ears metaphor are represented separately. The twelve pastors make the gaze of the Duke of Zhou reach everywhere within his realm by making accurate and timely reports to the throne, while the two ministers of Duke Huan make him

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west, as the most inferior), see Du Jiaji 杜家驥, "Zhongguo gudai junchen zhi li yanbian kaolun" 中國古代君臣之禮演變考論, *Zhongguo shehui lishi pinglun*, vol. 1 (Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1999): 255 – 269 (esp. 255 – 259). One should exercise caution, however, when drawing conclusions on the basis of this study alone, since the least ambiguous sources Du cites postdate the Han, at times by several centuries.

[105] *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, vol. 2, 24.1601.

[106] *Guanzi jiaozhu*, vol. 2, 10.514. Translation adapted from Rickett, *Guanzi*, vol. 1, 381.

[107] The following summary of the successful segment of Duke Huan's reign, and of Qi's ascendency as a leading power in Warring-States inter-regional politics, is comprised of several verb clauses without any specification of the grammatical subject. It may be reasonably assumed that it is Duke Huan who, for example, "instructs the people" 教人, but it is just as clear, here and afterwards in the narrative, that Guan Zhong, primarily, is the mind and the driving force behind all of Duke Huan's exploits and achievements. *Guanzi jiaozhu*, vol. 2, 10.514.

[108] While the above pertains to literary depictions, which allow a discussion in contrasting terms, the extent to which pre-imperial rulers and Qin-Han emperors had formulated their own official pronouncements is debated with intriguing vigor in modern Chinese scholarship. See, for example, Dai Guoxi 代國璽, "You 'ji wangyan' er 'dai wangyan': zhanguo Qin-Han renchen caozhao zhidu de yansheng" 由記王言而代王言: 戰國秦漢人臣草詔制度的演生, *Wen shi zhe* (*Journal of Chinese Humanities*) 351 (2015, no. 6): 90 – 101. Dai, in fact, enforces the above dichotomy on the historical reality as represented in the extant literature.

[109] See below, and in the "Introduction," pp. 11 – 12.

clear-sighted by directing his attention to problems and, furthermore, showing him the desired path of action. In the former case 'seeing' is knowing what transpires in the realm; in the latter, 'seeing' further means knowing what to do about it. And it is in the latter case, with the expansion of the metaphorical scope of 'hearing and seeing' as characteristic of the role of the ruler's aides, that we see a potential challenge to the ruler's singularity at the top of the body politic.[110] But as aspects of Liu Xiang's vision of rulership, these anecdotes as well demonstrate the fact that the eyes-and-ears metaphor may operate both in line with, and as an alternative to the head-and-limbs paradigm.

It is instructive, then, that authors addressing concerns over the potential rivalry between strong senior officials and the person on the throne, enlisted the limbs metaphor in their figurative arsenal. Some of these instances are brought together in the penultimate passage in Liu Xiang's "Way of the Ruler" [JD45]:

> A ruler must monitor his ministers and be more powerful than them; if private circles grow powerful, this is detrimental to the ruling house.[111] If the ruler will not subject them to supervision, the state will be in danger. Guanzi had said: "The power of authority cannot issue from two sources (and collide); governance cannot emerge from two gates."[112] This is why they say: "With a calf bigger than the thigh, one will have difficulty walking,"[113] and "with a finger bigger than the arm, one will have difficulty grasping."[114] When the trunk is small and the branches large, [the

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[110] It may be argued that the variations reflect the basic difference between a figure that the tradition has elevated to the level of a sage, like the Duke of Zhou, and a local leader, further removed from the idealized high antiquity, whose conduct before and after his collaboration with Guan Zhong (that is, after the latter's death) is depicted in unfavorable terms (e..g., *Guanzi jiaozhu*, vol. 2, 10.519 – 528). Therefore, it may be further objected, the equal status of Duke Huan and his ministers, or the latter's elevation to de-facto rulers, does not constitute a challenge to the hierarchical model articulated in the head-and-limbs paradigm, which itself reflects an ideal state of affairs, with a sage ruler at the top. This would be largely true, but would miss the point that both accounts are part of Liu Xiang's prescribed models of rulership which he submitted for Emperor Cheng's attention. In this view, the traditional evaluation of the respective figures is what allowed, rather than what determined the articulation of different visions of rulership.

[111] *Sheng* 盛, "prosperous," here seems to refer to the number of people who owe their loyalty to the ruler, or alternatively, to private cliques. In this sense, being 'prosperous' or 'proliferous' translates into political power, and hence my choice of translation. *Sheng* in this particular context operates similarly to *sheng* 勝, "win, defeat, overpower," as a comparison to the following excerpts from the *Guanzi* "Ming fa" 明法 suggests: "In what we call an ordered state, the way of the ruler is the most brilliant. In what we call a disordered state, the techniques of ministers prevail." 所謂治國者, 主道明也. 所謂亂國者, 臣術勝也. / "When that is the case, officials come to attach heavy importance to private interests and belittle the importance of state interests. Tens arrive at the gates of private residences and none arrive to the ruler's court. Hundreds consider the best interests of their own families, and none plans for the benefit of the state." 然則為人臣者重私而輕公矣. 十至私人之門, 不一至於庭. 百慮其家, 不一圖國. *Guanzi jiaozhu*, vol. 2, 15.913, 916. See also *Hanfeizi* 韓非子, "Yang quan" 揚權, another line of which is cited in the above passage by Liu Xiang (see note 98): "Eminent officials are a cause for concern when many gather at their gates." 大臣之門, 唯恐多人. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, vol. 1, 2.164.

[112] This is a direct quotation from the *Guanzi* "Ming fa," with one difference: "Ming fa" has *wei* 威 instead of *quan* 權. But the two in this case are synonymous. *Guanzi jiaozhu*, vol. 2, 15.916. The text that precedes the direct quotation in Liu Xiang's passage also seems to draw heavily on this particular *Guanzi* chapter, and I consulted it in producing the above translation, as noted in the previous footnote.

[113] In the *Hanfeizi* "Yang quan," a closely similar formulation appears as part of a rhymed text: "With a calf bigger than the thigh, one will have difficulty running; [but] if a ruler loses his god-like [awe], tigers will follow him from behind." 腓大於股, 難以趣走. 主失其神, 虎隨其後. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, vol. 1, 2.164.

[114] This figure appears, alongside a version of the calf-and-thigh analogy, in the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策, "Qin no. 3" 秦三: "I have never heard of a finger bigger than the arm, or an arm bigger than the thigh. If such a case exists, it is certainly a symptom of a grave illness." 臣未嘗聞指大於臂, 臂大於股, 若有此, 則病必甚矣. This is uttered by the Lord of Ying 應侯, who warns King Zhao 昭王 of Qin (r. 306 – 251 BCE) against letting various elements in and outside of his court

latter] cannot be properly employed.[115]

人君不可不察而大盛其臣下，此私門盛而公家毀也。人君不察焉，則國家危殆矣。筦子曰：權不兩錯，政不二門。故曰：脛大於股者難以步，指大於臂者難以把。本小末大，不能相使也。[116]

Elsewhere, the depiction of the dire implications of this kind of situation, in which the trunk is less powerful, or 'weighty,' than the branches, goes beyond a malfunctioning organism to the imminent danger of getting tipped over.[117] Note that when addressing this set of concerns, the sayings cited in this passage use the body paradigm for *countering* the claims we have so far seen it used to *support*. The organologic metaphors incorporated here are designed to illustrate not the point of mutual dependence but the dangers of lack of close supervision. They are invoked to warn not against the implications of monocratic rulership and lack of delegation but against excess or disproportion in the distribution of authority and power.

Furthermore, the allusions, in this passage, to the *Guanzi* "Ming fa" 明法 and the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子 "Yang quan" 揚權 direct readers to the voices in the tradition that advocated a system of promotions and punishments that would not be based on individual testimonies and hence affected by personal interests, but on clearly defined standards and regulations. These would, allegedly, enable the ruler to make decisions independently of the pressures and distortions of factional politics. This sense of independence is directly related to the contested notion of the ruler's 'singularity' (*du*) as the 'principal head' (*yuan shou*) of the body politic. In a scenario in which senior officials strive only to grow their own bases of support, the 'singularity' of the ruler—in this case most appropriately translated 'non-dependence'—appears as part of the prescription (as it does in the Shenzian insistence on 'observing' and 'hearing' with one's own eyes and ears) rather than a dire admonition (as in *Xunzi* 12).

Du as non-dependence is also prescribed in the opening passage of the *Shui yuan* [JD1], to which I now return. The ending lines of Master Kuang's advice to Lord Ping bring together the main figures

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to gain undue power and possession. *Zhanguo ce jianzheng* 戰國策箋證, annotated by Fan Xiangyong 范祥雍 (Shanghai guji, 2006), vol. 1, 5.334.

[115] The counsel of the Lord of Ying in *Zhanguo ce*, "Qin no. 3," includes a slightly different figure that takes the tree anatomy as the source domain. See ibid. Related figures based on human and tree anatomy are juxtaposed in *Huainanzi* 淮南子, "Shui shan" 說山 (末不可以強於本, 指不可以大於臂); and *Shiji*, "Biographies of Lords Weiqi and Wuan" 魏其武安侯列傳 (枝大於本, 脛大於股). Instead of 枝大於本, the *Hanshu* 漢書 version of the *Shiji* account has 支大於幹. *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋, edited by He Ning 何寧 (Zhonghua shuju, 1998), vol. 3, 16.1109; *Shiji* 史記 (Zhonghua shuju, 2013), vol. 9, 107.3429; *Hanshu* 52.2390. See also a fragment ascribed to Shen Buhai and cited in Herrlee G. Creel, "On the Origin of *Wu-wei*," in *What is Taoism? And Other Studies in Chinese Cultural History* (University of Chicago Press, 1970), 65.

[116] *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 1.85 – 86. This is an excerpt from a passage of the *Shui yuan* "Way of the Ruler" which in the *Shuiyuan jizheng* is numbered 45. Note that in at least one Ming edition, #45 further appears in continuation to passage #44 of the current edition, as part of the same passage. *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 85n1. This seems to be a deliberate editorial decision since #44 also draws heavily on the *Guanzi* "Ming fa."

[117] *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 3, 16.1109 (末不可以強於本, 指不可以大於臂. 下輕上重, 其覆必易). Note that the identity of 'up' and 'down' in these figurative constructions depends on whether the author thinks through the tree metaphor (with the trunk corresponding to the ruler's position) or the body metaphor (in which the ruler is analogized to the head). Compare to *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 85: "There has never been a case in which those below have attained [power] without those above having lost it first." 上不失而下得者, 未嘗有也. Liu Xiang allots a non-negligible space in his "Way of the Ruler"—especially its concluding portion—to passages dealing with concerns about increasingly powerful elements at court that are not guided by the ruler or the dynasty's best interests. See *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 1.85 – 87.

and notions touched upon so far, including broad observation, singularity, elevation, and supervision:

> He observes far and wide, stands alone (*du*) above all.
> With frequent scrutiny and review of accomplishments,
> he oversees the performance of the official ranks.
>
> 廓然遠見, 踔然獨立；屢省考績, 以臨臣下。

Helpfully, the figure of elevation (踔然) and singularity (獨立) does not remain unexplained, its import elucidated with citations from sections of the *Documents* already visited above: the last portions of the "Canon of Yao" (*kao ji* 考績) and the "Gao Yao mo" (*lü xing* 屢省).[118] The cited phrases, furthermore, put us right back at the heart of the classical paradigms of recruitment and ruler-minister relations. *Kao ji*, review of accomplishments, is what Shun is reported to have done every three years since the appointment of his twenty-two aides, which, as may be recalled, was announced by the *si mu* formula. Promotions and demotions (黜陟), the "Canon" indicates, were decided based on this periodic review. *Lü xing*, repeated inspection, is what Gao Yao encourages Shun to do in his dealings with his ministers-qua-limbs, right before he recites his first reciprocating verse. It is one of the conditions that make a ruler eligible to be depicted as a 'head' that is 'perspicacious' (元首明哉) and acts as leader to well-functioning 'limbs' (股肱良哉).

There is good reason, then, to read 'standing alone above all' (踔然獨立) as a positional figure that depicts the elevation of the head above the limbs and encodes the notion of non-dependence as outlined above. Preventing in this way the growth of political factions, and freeing oneself from the pressures of parties who strive to monopolize power, with no one whispering on his ear and pushing others out of his view, the ruler would be able to 'observe far and wide' (廓然遠見), as Mei Fu had hoped, getting the input and heeding the advice of officials within and without the central governance. So if, earlier in the passage, 'opening wide the ears and eyes in order to scrutinize the myriad regions' (廣開耳目, 以察萬方) invokes the twelve-pastors narrative and thus points to all that can be accomplished *due to* the help of official delegates, the misleadingly similar 'observing far and wide' points to what must be accomplished *despite* obstructions on the part of powerful officials at the central court.

This delicate balance of the poles of reliance (or dependence) on the one hand, and supervision (or independence) on the other hand, as well as the variation therein in applications of the figure of the ruler's gaze, will figure into the final analysis of this opening passage in the concluding section (1.3). But in order to do that, another question is due for consideration, concerning the one figure in Master Kuang's advice that has so far remained completely unaccounted for: how does the foregoing discussion relates to the figure of 'tranquility and non-action' 清淨無為? I now turn to answer this question while addressing current scholarship on the concept of *wu wei* 無為; arguing for its treatment, in the current context, as a body-based figure; and examining its relation to more radical visions of ruler-officials representation.

[118] *Shuiyuan jizheng*, 3n7; *Shangshu jinguwen zhushu*, 1B.72 and 2B.133.

1.2. Models of the Imperial Body

By "models of the imperial body" I refer to figures that, like the previously discussed body-organs metaphors, take the physical body of the ruler as their source domain, but whose symbolic structure is different. Whereas body-organs metaphors are grounded in perceptions of organismic structures and thus facilitate arguments that concern the relation between part and whole, the current set of figures depicts the physical body as a whole, addressing not matters of function but modes of operation. Specifically, these are depictions of bodily postures or physical states that negate action or agitation to differing degrees and often *stand in* for certain attitudes or systems of governance.[119] This symbolic function, however, has overshadowed important aspects of the use of these figures in the early political discourse. One of the goals of the following discussion is to direct attention to those regions in the discourse where figures of minimal action appear to transcend the realm of metaphor and claim direct import on the ruler's physical body.

This would be part of the main objective in this section: to understand the import of *wu wei* (lit., 'without action')—a key phrase in this discussion, and certainly the most contested one—in the opening passage of the *Shui yuan*. As in the previous section, I begin with passages from the *Shui yuan* chapter "Way of the Ruler" and follow some of the threads they provide in order to sketch the scope of the discourse and contextualize Liu Xiang's take on the matter. The benefit in doing so is the ability to examine Liu Xiang's employment of metaphors that concern the royal body vis-à-vis other formulations, which although support political visions different from his own, do it by appeal to the same classes of traditionally sanctioned figures.

First, however, a few preliminary comments are due with regard to the phrase *wu wei*. Scholars who have ventured to provide more or less comprehensive accounts of the various meanings of this term in pre- and early-imperial literature have all asserted a preliminary differentiation between its application to individuals' state of mind and its use for the designation of methods of rulership. One question on which there is no consensus concerns the chronological evolution of these two major strands in the use of *wu wei*. Attempts to address this question resulted in diametrically conflicting and equally contested accounts, from Herrlee Creel's strong conviction that "abstruse ideas (i.e., the enigmatic and paradoxical statements concerning *wu wei* as found in the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*) do not usually spring full-blown from the foreheads of their creators [but] have simpler beginnings," to Edward Slingerland's flat assertion that the application of *wu wei* to governmental methods was "parasitic" onto what he terms the "spiritual ideal."[120] Since I approach the topic through Han theories

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[119] To further illustrate this point, it may be helpful to consult Andreas Musolff's categorization of body-based metaphors of political entities in the Western tradition. Musolff's primary categories include (1) "Body (general)," (2) "Anatomy-Physiology," (3) "State of Health," and (4) "Body Aesthetics." The second category, which includes a sub-list of concepts such as arm, foot, belly, and head, may be said to correspond to the class of metaphors discussed in the previous section, "organs of the body politic." Musolff's fourth category, specifically the sub-concept "body appearance," is where we might place bodily figures of non-action. Note, however, two important differences: the source domain in Musolff's analysis is the concept of *a* body as opposed to, specifically, the *ruler's* body; and the target domain in his analysis is the 'nation' or 'state' as opposed to forms of rulership. Andreas Musolff, *Political Metaphor Analysis: Discourse and Scenarios* (Bloomsbury, 2016), 141 – 144.

[120] Creel, "On the Origin of *Wu-wei*," 56 (note that since Creel sees the political application of *wu wei* as the source for subsequent abstractions, he does not hermetically distinguishes between the state-of-mind *wu wei* and explicit applications of the phrase to governmental practices; ibid., e.g. 52 – 56); Edward Slingerland, *Effortless Action: Wu-wei as Conceptual Metaphor and Spiritual Ideal in Early China* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 6 ("parasitic"), 5, 9 ("spiritual ideal"), and 288n9: "Wu-wei in this sense (which we may refer to as 'institutional wu-wei') is completely divorced from any connection to a personal spiritual ideal, and should be distinguished from the concept that serves as the focus of this work." Slingerland's study and Creel's article (first published in 1965) may be marked as two extreme poles in this debate. The latter is complicated by at least four factors: the question of dating literary traditions such as those represented in the *Laozi* 老子,

of imperial rulership, the following analysis would naturally apply to uses of *wu wei* in the political discourse, suspending questions of chronology and evolution as much as possible.

Yet even within the political field, concerning theories of rulership and prescriptions for the supreme ruler, the variety of applications is noteworthy. Liu Zehua 劉澤華 has helpfully enumerated the various 'political' meanings *wu wei* has accrued by the mid-third century BCE, as can be observed in the encyclopedic compilation *Lüshi chunqiu.*[121] Among the concepts he recognizes as associated with the phrase *wu wei* in this voluminous work are (in separate cases, although not mutually exclusive): minimal interference in the work cycles and livelihood of the people; maximum reliance on the officialdom in matters of state; standardization of the operation of the administrative ranks (especially with regard to performance evaluation); keeping secret the ruler's own thoughts and inclinations on all matters (so as to prevent both fawning and subversion);[122] and personal moderation in terms of consumption and sensual pleasures. This list is not exhaustive, and certainly does not represent the particularities of all pre-imperial applications of *wu wei* to matters of governance, but it does demonstrate clearly that this level of concrete political discourse was part of the conceptualization of *wu wei* from a time at least as early as the mid-third century BCE.[123] As will be seen below, Han authors drew on some of these readings when interpreting what many take to be one of the earliest appearances of *wu wei* in the extant literature (more on dating below)—the depiction of Shun's rule in *Lunyu* 論語 15.5 ("Wei Ling gong" 衛靈公).

In light of such a variety of applications of a single phrase, readers should allow for the possibility that not only the field of reference (i.e., self-cultivation, rulership, or sometimes both) and the particular scenarios may change from one instance to the other, but also, in accordance with the former, the linguistic analysis of the phrase itself: whether a hyperbole, a metaphor, or an image that claims descriptive qualities.[124] As many scholars have noted, the binom *wu wei* literally means 'not

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Zhuangzi 莊子, and the Shen Buhai fragments; in some cases, enduring presuppositions with regard to the so-called schools of thought with which these traditions are usually identified; questions pertaining to philological method (e.g., whether inquiry should be restricted to explicit mentions of the phrase *wu wei* or extended by certain standards to related phrases and formulations); and personal convictions with regard to the order of precedence of the concrete and the abstract in the history of ideas (e.g., which creates the other in its image). In addition to Creel and Slingerland, see (and compare) the following accounts: Roger T. Ames, *The Art of Rulership: A Study in Ancient Chinese Political Thought* (University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 28 – 64; Arima Takuya 有馬卓也, "'Mu-i no chi' no riron kōzō" 無為の治の理論構造 (in three parts), *Kyūshu Chūgoku gakkaihō* 九州中國學會報 27 (1989): 21 – 41, *Kyūshu Chūgoku gakkaihō* 29 (1991): 1 – 21, and *Gengo bunka kenkyū* 言語文化研究 2 (1995): 49 – 76; Liu Zehua, *Zhongguo chuantong zhengzhi siwei*, 404 – 443; Mark Csikszentmihalyi, "Governing by Nonaction," in *Readings in Han Chinese Thought* (Hackett Publishing, 2006), 48 – 64; and Yuri Pines, *Envisioning Eternal Empire* (University of Hawaii Press, 2009), 90 – 107.

[121] Liu Zehua, *Zhongguo chuantong zhengzhi siwei*, 439 – 442.

[122] On this point with regard to the use of *wu wei* in the *Hanfeizi*, see Ames, *The Art of Rulership*, 47 – 53. On the same point with regard to the use of *wu wei* in fragments ascribed to Shen Buhai, see Creel, "On the Origin of *Wu-wei*," 66 – 67.

[123] Creel would push this further back, to the mid fourth century BCE, on the basis of his study of the Shen Buhai fragments. See Creel, "On the Origin of *Wu-wei*."

[124] Note that my use of the label 'body-based metaphor' is much narrower than Slingerland's employment, in his analysis of *wu wei*, of the category of conceptual metaphors as based on the realm of physical experience. Whereas the latter may encompass all lexical items that from the perspective of cognitive linguistics may be understood as the inevitable products of embodied minds (like "following / *cong* 從" and "relying on / *yin* 因"), the sets of figures I am concerned with here are literary metaphors that explicitly invoke the notion or image of the ruler's body. For this reason, I currently have no stake in the question whether or not every instance of *wu wei* is, in final analysis, body-based. For Slingerland's discussion of *wu wei* as a conceptual metaphor see Slingerland, *Effortless Action*, 10 – 12, 21 – 42. Note also that Slingerland predicates the labeling of *wu wei* as 'metaphor' on the gap between the literal negation of physical action and the actual reference to "the phenomenological state" of an agent who nevertheless acts (defined as such due to his focus on the set of applications many scholars have labeled "Daoist"). This brings him to refer (somewhat hastily) to "institutional" applications of *wu wei* as "literal" since the arguments they serve do negate (a certain class of) actions. Ibid., 10 – 11, 288n9, 290n27. This work

doing,' 'without action' or, by implication, 'doing nothing' whereas often in the literature it is pretty clear that what the phrase indicates is not abstinence from any action at all. The absurdity of reading the phrase literally has led translators to various renderings, such as "non-purposive activity," "effortless action," and "non-interference," all of which attempt to restrict the scope of action that the phrase rejects in order to make it sensible in the context of moral and political argumentations. And indeed, in many of the scenarios listed by Liu Zehua, *wu wei* may be best understood as a hyperbolic phrase which, nevertheless, refers to the absence of a *certain type* of 'doing' rather than complete inertness. In other cases, however—such as those standing at the center of the following inquiry—"not doing," while not categorically rejecting any physical action, does serve to limit a considerable scope of physical activity as an inherent part of the argumentation. However we prefer to historicize the evolution of this multivalent phrase, in one of the strands of its application—whether that be conceived as the trunk or a single branch—*wu wei* has been embedded in a discourse that concerns the ruler's body, and particularly, notions of idleness and immobility.

1.2.1. The ruler's body and the rhetoric of ease

A story that appears in several Han texts with minor differences, goes approximately as follows. The people of Yu 虞 and the people of Rui 芮 had a quarrel over a piece of land. Unable to settle the matter, their lords headed to see King Wen, whom they trusted to arrive at a fair resolution. However, as they reached the royal domain, they noticed that the common people give way and deference to officials, and officials yield to senior ministers.[125] This must mean, they concluded, that the king himself embodies ideals of deference and yielding in his own conduct. Filled with shame, and inspired by his example, they decide to let the matter rest, announce the disputed piece of land a neutral zone, and return each to his own domain without having seen the king. Upon hearing this, the *Shiji* version tells us, the various lords all exclaimed: "It must be that the Chief of the West (King Wen) is a ruler who has received [Heaven's] Mandate!" 西伯蓋受命之君.[126] In the *Shui yuan* and *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 versions, the praise for King Wen is further bolstered when put in the mouth of the great master, Kongzi 孔子 (trad. 551 – 479 BCE), and rephrased so as to spell out the ideal King Wen exemplifies. Specifically, in the *Kongzi jiayu*, King Wen is praised for not needing to issue orders and instructions in order to have the people follow his guidelines (不令而從，不教而聽).[127] In the *Shui yuan* as well, King Wen is praised for what he did *not* do, but instead of the particulars of the case, Liu Xiang emphasizes the underlying structure: rather than specify what kind of active intervention in the lives of his underlings the king could avoid due to the rectifying influence of his moral stature, Liu Xiang adopts formulations that exclude action *per se* and yet assert the accomplishment of the desired outcome [JD11]:

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of Slingerland's garnered not a few review articles addressing its methodology, out of which I would mention the review by Kwong-loi Shun in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 64.2 (2004): 511 – 516; and Chris Fraser, "On Wu-Wei as a Unifying Metaphor," *Philosophy East and West* 57.1 (2007): 97 – 106.

[125] In the Mao commentary to the *Odes* and, accordingly, the *Kongzi jiayu* (as well as, in an abbreviated form, the *Shiji*), the phenomenon described is even more pervasive, with tillers deferring to one another on the paths dividing their fields, travelers giving way to one another on the roads, the young assisting the elderly, and so forth. *Maoshi zhengyi*, vol. 3, 16.993 – 994; *Shiji* (1959), vol. 1, 4.117; *Kongzi jiayu tongjie*, 2.123 ("Hao sheng" 好生).

[126] *Shiji* (1959), vol. 1, 4.117.

[127] *Kongzi jiayu tongjie*, 2.123 ("Hao sheng").

不動 而 變，	Without moving he induced change;
無為 而 成，	Without doing he accomplished ends;
敬慎恭己 而 虞芮自平.	Circumspect and reverent he assumed a respectful demeanor, and the people of Yu and Rui have settled on their own accord.[128]

Liu Xiang's Kongzi does, in fact, two things. First, he provides an abstraction of the principle that gained King Wen the utmost praise: a *passive* approach that nevertheless *activates* change. Then, he offers a tangible image that represents this principle: a ruler, standing or sitting, in a reverential pose, which in and of itself triggers transformations in persons and regions beyond his physical reach. This image is inspired by the depiction of King Shun in the *Lunyu* (15.5 in the received edition), which has been in circulation in a form very close to the received edition at least since the early first century BCE:[129]

> The master said: "To do nothing and yet order the realm—is it not what Shun had done? For what did he do but assume a respectful demeanor and properly face south?"
>
> 子曰：「無為而治者，其舜也與？夫何為哉，恭己正南面而已矣。」[130]

Lunyu 15.5, like Kongzi's statement in the *Shui yuan* anecdote, opens with a general principle and proceeds with an illustrative image. In this case, however, no contextualizing narrative or further elaboration are provided that would help understand the relation between principle and image and their political import. In the case of the *Shui yuan* anecdote, the main thrust of the narrative concerns the transformative influence of moral exemplarity, and particularly, manifestations of deference and yielding. In this light, the reverent posture may be understood as both a metaphor for the king's gentle approach to governance and an instantiation of the particular socio-ethical values the narrative advances. Lacking such a context in *Lunyu* 15.5, it is not clear if it is, for example, the Zhou ritual system that is being upheld as the key for the proper operation of the human realm and the cosmos at large, or that the ritual posture is representative of something other than itself.[131] Furthermore, is

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[128] *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 1.22. On patterns of Kongzi sayings in the *Shui yuan*, see Michael Hunter, "Sayings of Confucius, Deselected," PhD Dissertation (Princeton University, 2012), 165.

[129] Tae Hyun Kim and Mark Csikszentmihalyi, "History and the Formation of the *Analects*," in *Dao Companion to the Analects*, edited by Amy Olberding (Springer, 2013), 22 – 23, 32. On date estimations of chapter 15 in the received *Analects* see ibid., 30 – 31. This passage now known as *Lunyu* 15.5 is believed by most to be part of a relatively late stratum in the *Lunyu*, although particular date estimations vary. Slingerland puts it in the early fourth century at the latest (*Effortless Action*, 44, 278, 290n25). E. Bruce Brooks and A. Taeko Brooks provide the latest estimation with a date of ca. 305 BCE: *The Original Analects: Sayings of Confucius and His Successors* (Columbia University Press, 1998), 234. In any event, the excavated edition known as the "Dingzhou 定州 *Analects*" (*terminus ad quem* 55 BCE) includes this passage, and a part of it is also cited, attributed to Kongzi, in the first chapter of the *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 ("無為而治者，其舜乎"), estimated by scholars to have come directly from Dong Zhongshu's 董仲舒 (ca. 195 – 104 BCE) hand. *Dingzhou Hanmu zhujian Lunyu* 定州漢墓竹簡論語 (Wenwu chubanshe, 1997), 70; *Chunqiu fanlu jiaoshi* 春秋繁露校釋 (Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2005), 1.29.

Sarah Allan points out that the primary reason for some scholars' conclusion that this is a later interpolation are (erroneous) presuppositions regarding the 'Daoist' origin of the term *wu wei*. Allan, *The Way of Water and Sprouts of Virtue* (SUNY, 1997), 80. Two things, however, can be safely assumed: that this particular formulation of King Shun's governance by *wu wei* has circulated as part of the collected sayings of Kongzi by Liu Xiang's time, and that it is one representation of various traditions regarding Shun's governance by minimal action, some of which date back at least to the third century BCE. See the discussion below.

[130] *Lunyu zhengyi* 論語正義, by Liu Baonan 劉寶楠 (1791 – 1895) (Zhonghua shuju, 1990), vol. 2, 18.615.

[131] Compare, for example: Ames, *The Art of Rulership*, 29; Slingerland, *Effortless Action*, 44; and Shun, "Review," 515.

the still posture a mere symbol or a part of a vision of rulership that addresses, in particular, the ruler's physical body?

The fact is that, regardless of the time of composition of the saying now known as *Lunyu* 15.5, there are attestations to several different traditions concerning Shun's passive governance that incorporate references to his physical body and physical presence. One such early tradition depicts him as idling away time by chanting odes and playing the *qin* 琴 zither, supposedly in his royal residence.[132] Another, dating at least to the early Western Han, stresses the fact that Shun had never left the confines of the palace halls.[133] At times combined with the former, many other Han comments on Shun's rulership by *wu wei* indicate his idleness by reference to his "flowing robes and folded hands" (*chui gong* 垂拱).[134] Interpretations vary as well. The *Shui yuan* anecdote that characterizes King Wen via Shun's model is representative of one line of interpretation, which stresses the pervasive effect of moral exemplarity.[135] Other Han authors have explained Shun's model by pointing out that he had retained without change the efficient governmental system set by his predecessor, Yao.[136] However, the most common Han interpretation of Shun's governance by non-action stresses his employment

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[132] Several early anecdotes related to Shun's history and moral character involve the *qin* 琴 (above, "zither") in one way or another. The particular tradition that depicts him as spending his days by strumming and singing and yet keeping the realm in good order is recorded in several texts that are believed to have taken form in the Han dynasty. Many of these are listed in Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 130n1–2. See also Csikszentmihalyi, *Readings in Han Chinese Thought*, 54n7. The earliest record of this particular tradition is perhaps a mention in the *Hanfeizi* (not among the few sections of this work that are suspected as later interpolations): "In the past, Shun strummed the five-stringed zither, sang the odes of the Southern Airs, and the world was well ordered." 昔者舜鼓五絃之琴, 歌南風之詩而天下治. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, vol. 2, 11.667 ("Wai chushuo zuoshang" 外儲說左上; mentioned again below); Loewe ed., *Early Chinese Texts*, 116. The most familiar example is probably the mention made in the *Xin yu* 新語 (2nd c. BCE). *Xinyu jiaozhu* 新語校注, compiled and annotated by Wang Liqi 王利器 (1912 - 1998) (Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 1.59.

[133] See, for example, the imperial rescript in *Hanshu* 56.2506; and *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 1.29 (both mentioned below).

[134] See, for example, Dong Zhongshu's response to the rescript mentioned in the previous note. *Hanshu* 56.2509. Michael Loewe considers the probability that Ban Gu's heavy editorial hand is responsible for some of the features of Dong's three responses, but nevertheless concludes that they are some of the most authentic expressions of the latter's views. Loewe, *Dong Zhongshu, a "Confucian" Heritage and the Chunqiu fanlu* (Brill, 2011), 121, 336. Somewhat similar to *chui gong* but less frequent in this context, is the phrase *chui yichang* 垂衣裳 ('letting the robes [upper and lower garments] hang down' or simply 'wear flowing robes'). The *locus classicus* of the application of *chui yichang* to King Shun is considered to be the latter's depiction (alongside Yao and Huangdi) as having governed the realm "wearing flowing robes," in the "Xi ci" 繫辭 commentary to the *Yi jing* 易經 (dated to no later than the early second century BCE). But while Wang Chong has glossed this use of *chui yichang* by reference to notions of non-action, the original context and the traditional commentary point in other directions. Compare: *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義 (Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999), vol. 1, 8.300 – 301; *Lunheng jiaoshi*, vol. 3, 18.781. Both *chui gong* ("letting the robes hang down and clasping the hands in front of the chest") and *chui yichang* are broadly used in early imperial texts, in applications to figures other than rulers, and cases well beyond the particular discourse under investigation. Note, however, that from the mid Western Han, when it comes to the discourse of rulership, *gong ji* often invokes Shun's ceremonial posture (*gong ji* 恭己, sometimes written 共己 or 拱己).

[135] See, for example, instances in the *Xin yu* and *Hanshi waizhuan*, both of which present (different) takes on the sense in which Shun's governance by *wu wei* consisted in setting an example for emulation. The *Hanshi waizhuan* uses the near synonymous binom *gua wei* 寡為, "does little," which in Liu Xiang's abbreviated version of the same anecdote is spelled out with the familiar *wu wei* (without, however, mentioning Shun's name). Note also that in the *Shui yuan* abbreviated version, the stress on moral exemplarity gives way to a focus on the avoidance of harsh regulations and heavy (labor and tax?) demands that would fail the people and cause them to become lawbreakers. *Xinyu jiaozhu*, 1.59; translated in Csikszentmihalyi, *Readings in Han Chinese Thought*, 53 – 57; *Hanshi waizhuan jishi*, 3.79 – 80; *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 1.3 [JD2].

[136] See, for example, *Chunqiu fanlu jiaoshi*, 1.29. This line of interpretation can also be traced elsewhere, at times alongside other explanatory models, e.g., *Hanshu*, 56.2518; *Fayan yishu* 法言義疏, annotated by Wang Rongbao 汪榮寶 (1878 – 1933) and edited by Chen Zhongfu 陳仲夫 (Zhonghua shuju, 1987), vol. 1, 6.125 ("Wen dao" 問道); *Lunheng jiaoshi*, vol. 3, 18.781 ("Ziran" 自然).

of able men as aides and officials in various capacities.[137] Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 195 – 104 BCE) has instantiated this line of interpretation in his claim that Shun "made Yu his advisor, relied on Yao's assistants (whom he retained in their positions), carried on Yao's governmental system, and was therefore able to order the realm while sitting with flowing robes and folded hands, doing nothing." 以禹為相, 因堯之輔佐, 繼其統業, 是以垂拱無為而天下治.[138] Furthermore, the chief compiler of the *Lunyu jijie* 論語集解, He Yan 何晏 (d. 249 CE), has made this line of Han interpretation into formal exegesis by pointing to the staffing of official positions as the reason for Shun's ability to rule by 'doing nothing' (言任官得其人, 故無為而治).[139]

Certainly, then, in pronouncement that stress employment and delegation, 'not doing' (*wu wei*) did not concern degrees of intentionality (or purposiveness) that accompanied actions, but pointed to the resulting freedom from the need to perform certain actions. For now, however, the question still remains whether references, within this discourse, to bodily states that reflect some restriction of physical activity, were primarily symbolic of non-interventional rulership, or had a more direct relation to physical action and to the ruler's physical body. The *Shui yuan* provides an entry point to this inquiry as well [JD14]:

> In the past, Yu-Shun had Yu on his left and Gao Yao on his right. That he did not step down the hall and yet the world was in order is the effect of employing capable persons.
>
> 昔者虞舜左禹右皋陶，不下堂而天下治，此使能之效也. [140]

In a slightly different version of this characterization of Shun's rulership—in the *Da Dai liji* 大戴禮記 (ca. 2nd c. CE) and *Kongzi jiayu*—Shun's abstinence from active participation in governance and, at least figuratively, any activity that requires physical mobility, is further stressed by substituting 'mat' for 'hall,' and turning *bu xia tang* 不下堂 ("not step down the hall") into *bu xia xi* 不下席 ("not step off the mat"). Shun, it is implied, could remain seated on his mat simply because there were others whose job it was to labor (*lao* 勞) on his behalf.[141] The opposite of 'labor' in this context is a notion of sagely idleness that had been part of the political discourse at least since the third century BCE.[142] Thus, in an imperial rescript issued in the early years of his reign, Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 141 – 87 BCE) regards to the association of Shun's delimited scope of activity with the notion of idleness (*yi* 逸) as an established tradition:

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[137] In addition to the examples embedded in the following discussion, see also: *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 12.841; *Da Dai liji jiegu* 大戴禮記解詁 (Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 1.3; and *Lunheng jiaoshi*, vol. 3, 18.781 ("Ziran"). Note that some of these instances, like some of the other Han readings listed in the previous notes, make reference to more than one explanatory model for Shun's governance through non-action.

[138] *Hanshu* 56.2508 – 2509. For traditions regarding Yao's aides see the anecdotes and commentaries in *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 1.25 – 26 [JD13]; and *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 12.841.

[139] *Lunyu zhengyi*, vol. 2, 15.615.

[140] *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 1.29.

[141] *Da Dai liji jiegu*, 1.3 ("Zhu yan" 主言); and *Kongzi jiayu tongjie*, 1.28 ("Wang yan jie" 王言解).

[142] See below, as well as Yuri Pines' brief review of "the concept of the ruler's relaxation," which he estimates "is not prominent prior to the fourth century BCE" but afterwards "becomes extraordinarily widespread, permeating the majority of political texts of the late Warring States period." Pines, "A Toiling Monarch? The 'Wu yi' 無逸 Chapter Revisited," in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu (Classic of Documents)*, edited by Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer (Brill, 2017), 374 – 376 (citation on p. 375; page numbers based on a pre-published draft).

They say that at the time of Yu Shun, he walked about in the upper deck, folded his hands, let his robes flow down, did nothing, and yet the world was in a state of harmonious peace. King Wen of Zhou, down until sunset did not find the time to eat, and [in his time] as well the world was in good order. Are these two models of rulership compatible? How should one assess the difference between [the model of] ease and [the model of] labor?

蓋聞虞舜之時，游於巖郎之上，垂拱無為，而天下太平。周文王至於日昃不暇食，而宇內亦治。夫帝王之道，豈不同條共貫與？何逸勞之殊也？[143]

The association of Shun's model with sanctioned notions of idleness receives a conspicuous expression in a *Xin xu* passage that brings together King Shun and Duke Huan of Qi—that is, the exemplar of bureaucratization in the *Documents*, and the overlord who entrusted his perceptive faculties to his senior advisors[144]—as historical examples of *wu wei* by force of delegation:

An officeholder turned to Duke Huan of Qi on some official matter.[145] Duke Huan told him: "Please speak with Zhongfu (Guan Zhong) about it." [On another matter] the officeholder again turned to Duke Huan and the latter said: "Please speak with Zhongfu about it." This occurred three times. Those attending upon the duke told him: "First approached, you referred the man to Zhongfu; a second time approached, you [again] referred him to Zhongfu—how easy it is being a ruler!" Duke Huan answered: "Before I obtained Zhongfu it was difficult. But now that I have him, what is there to do that is not easy?"

Therefore, a king labors (*lao*) at finding [the right] persons, and rests (*yi*) when he has obtained the worthy. Shun placed a multitude of highly capable persons in office, and then, letting his robes flow down, he assumed a respectful demeanor, did nothing, and the world was well-ordered. (…)

有司請吏於齊桓公，桓公曰：「以告仲父。」有司又請，桓公曰：「以告仲父。」若是者三。在側者曰：「一則告仲父，二則告仲父，易哉為君。」桓公曰：「吾未得仲父則難，已得仲父，曷為其不易也。」

故王者勞於求人，佚於得賢。舜舉眾賢在位，垂衣裳，恭己無為，而天下治。(…)[146]

In the omitted portion, Liu Xiang acknowledges the difference between the kind of help that would make someone an overlord (*ba* 霸), as in the case of Duke Huan, and the kind of help that would make someone a king. The point, however, is the common underlying principle, for the illustration of which he enlists yet another familiar figure from the pantheon of exemplary rulers—King Wen. Sealing the *Xin xu* passage is the famous couplet that concerns *his* 'ease' in governance:

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[143] *Hanshu* 56.2506

[144] See the previous section (1.1). On Shun of the "Canon of Yao" as a model of bureaucratic government, see also Martin Kern, "Language and the Ideology of Kingship in the 'Canon of Yao,'" in *Ideology of Power and Power of Ideology in Early China*, edited by Yuri Pines, Paul R. Goldin, and Martin Kern (Brill, 2015), e.g. 149. A revised version of Kern's article has been recently published in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy* (2017), but as of the present moment I have not yet gotten hold of it.

[145] Reading 吏 as 事. See *Xinxu jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 471 – 472.

[146] *Xinxu jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 4.471 – 473. The anecdote of Duke Huan is also told in the *Hanfeizi* and *Lüshi chunqiu*, and alluded to in the *Lunheng*. See *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, vol. 2, 15.881 ("Nan er" 難二); *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, vol. 2, 17.1076 ("Ren shu"); and *Lunheng jiaoshi*, vol. 3, 18.776 – 777 ("Ziran").

The *Odes* said: "In throngs are the many officers; relying on them, King Wen is serene." This is what it means.

《詩》曰：「濟濟多士，文王以寧。」此之謂也。[147]

At least on this occasion, then, Liu Xiang reads King Wen's *ning* 寧 not merely as a state of mind that corresponds to his confidence in the security of his reign (and certainly not as a transitive verb), but as parallel to Duke Huan's freedom from active management and King Shun's sagely idleness. In all those three cases, the argument goes, there was no need for rulers to be anxious and act on many fronts simply because there were others who did that for them. As noted earlier, it is not unambiguously clear what *ning* had meant for the authors of the respective ode, or what Shun's pose resembled in the minds that conceived *Lunyu* 15.5. It *is* clear that the *Xin xu* passage uses Shun's still posture as a vivid and authoritative illustration for the different notions of calm and ease (*yi* 易, *yi* 佚, *ning* 寧) that are here drawn together in order to make a case for the ruler's own benefit in the delegation of authority. The portion translated above equates the two by the force of juxtaposition:

(1)	(2)
故王者<u>勞於求人，佚於得賢</u>。	舜舉眾賢在位，<u>垂衣裳，恭己無為，而天下治</u>。

The first element in this equation had been a common adage, dating back at least to the mid-third century BCE, as can be postulated based on the following examples:[148]

Mozi ("Suo ran" 所染)	勞於論人，而佚於治官
Lüshu chunqiu ("Dang ran" 當染)	勞於論人，而佚於官事
Lüshu chunqiu ("Shi jie" 士節):	勞於求人，而佚於治事
Xunzi ("Wang ba" 王霸):	勞於索之，而休於使之
Xunzi ("Jun dao" 君道):	勞於索之，而休於使之
Hanfeizi ("Nan er" 難二):	勞於索人，佚於使人 [149]

The guarantee of 'ease'—for its different shades of meaning, from calm to comfort—was an important selling point for authors who attempted to convince rulers to embrace their vision of proper rulership: by employing tactics of administration, implementing standard regulations, or relying more heavily on

[147] *Xinxu jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 476.

[148] *Mozi jigu*, vol. 1, 1.65 (reading 論 as 掄, "to select"); *Lüshu chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 2.97, 2.109n31–32 (reading 論 as 論量, "to assess"), 12.629; *Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 7.515, 8.526; *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, vol. 2, 15.881. The relevant portions in the *Mozi* "Suo ran" (a chapter that pertains to the latest stratum of the *Mozi*, and dates to no earlier than the mid-third century BCE; Knoblock and Riegel, *Mozi*, 51) and *Lüshu chunqiu* "Dang ran" are identical with minor variations. The *Hanfeizi* "Nan er" (believed to have come from the hands of others than Han Fei: Loewe ed., *Early Chinese Texts*, 116) and the *Xin xu* passage, as noted earlier, are slightly different versions of the same anecdote. In addition to these early sources, see also *Han shu* 64B.2824 (勤於求賢, 而逸於得人); and the largely identical text in the *Da Dai liji jiegu*, 8.140 ("Zi Zhang wen ruguan" 子張問入官) and *Kongzi jiayu tongjie*, 5.263 ("Ru guan" 入官; 勞於取人, 佚於治事).

[149] This is, as noted above, a slightly different version of the Duke Huan anecdote as told in the *Xin xu*. In the *Hanfeizi*, the adage does not represent the narrator's conclusions but is part of Duke Huan's own words. It is then contested by the *Hanfeizi* authors. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, vol. 2, 15.881.

the performance and judgment of their official delegates.[150] Shun's figure and the traditions surrounding it have played a role in arguments supporting either of these stances, and may have largely taken form in the broader context of this debate. In any event, the juxtaposition in the *Xin xu* passage is a clear formal expression of the convergence, in particular, of three elements: the rhetoric of ease, the stress on extensive delegation, and the image of Shun's still posture.

That by the end of the Han his posture had turned a symbol of the paradigm of 'ease acquired through delegation,' and, furthermore, that this paradigm has shaped the interpretation of the image's original referent, is suggested by Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 (127 – 200 CE) commentary on the Major Ode "Bending Hill" 卷阿 (#252)—a royal encomium that by the Han came to be read as an exhortation to a ruler to rely on his officers. Commenting on the couplet "Free and unfettered you roam; content and at ease you rest" 伴奐爾游矣, 優游爾休矣, Zheng Xuan explains that these qualities are acquired due to the assignment of offices to capable persons, and seals the point with a citation of *Lunyu* 15.5. Having thus aligned the eulogized ruler's magnificent repose with King Shun's ceremonial posture and inscribed the import of the latter (as it came to be read by the late Han) onto the former, Zheng Xuan reiterates the equation by reading a sense of repose back into *Lunyu* 15.5: "It means," he says, "that [Shun] employed worthy men and was therefore at ease (*yi*)." 言任賢故逸也.[151]

It is the discursive space created by these three overlapping circles—the use of images of restricted motion or activity, efforts of persuasion in favor of extensive delegation of authorities, and the rhetoric of ease—that is of special interest for the current inquiry. Each of these had other manifestations, usages, and implications in the early and early-imperial political discourse, but it is in their overlap that Liu Xiang maneuvers, cautiously, as far as his selection of phrases and anecdotes that pertain to what I here term 'models of the imperial body.' It is also the space where these images cross the boundary between signification and description (or, perhaps more accurately, prescription), *and* converge with the organologic paradigm discussed earlier—as they do in the *Shui yuan* opening passage.

The transition from signification to description is observed most clearly in what is perhaps the culmination point of the rhetoric of ease: the casting of the advocated method of rulership as that which would guarantee not merely the comfort but the protection of the ruler's body from the 'wear and tear' that active, deeply involved rulership would make unavoidable.[152] The *Shui yuan* lets show the tip of this iceberg as well, in an anecdote (also recorded, with minor variations, in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Hanshi waizhuan*) that ties together, as cause and effect, the empowerment of segments in the body-politic and the health of the ruler's body-natural:

> Fu Zijian ruled over Shanfu. Singing and playing the zither, he (lit., his body) never left the hall and yet Shanfu was well-ordered. Wu Maqi, [his predecessor in office,] also ruled over Shanfu. He left to starlight and returned to starlight, not resting night and day. He did everything himself (lit., with his own body), and Shanfu was well-ordered. Wu Maqi asked Fu Zijian about it, and Fu Zijian

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[150] Scholars usually attend to arguments and formulae that pertain to what I term 'the rhetoric of ease' in the context of either works generally labeled *fa jia* 法家, or, particularly, the *Xunzi*. See Liu Zehua, *Zhongguo chuantong zhengzhi siwei*, 432 – 439; Pines, *Envisioning Eternal Empire*, 90 – 97; and, more recently, Loubna El-Amine, *Classical Confucian Political Thought: A New Interpretation* (Princeton University Press, 2015), 120 – 124. See also note 152.

[151] *Shiji zhengyi*, vol. 3, 17.1127.

[152] This step is taken by theorists of different political orientations throughout the third century BCE. Versions of this claim are present in texts such as the *Guanzi* "Ren fa" 任法, the *Hanfeizi*, and the *Xunzi*. Allyn Rickett estimates that the "Ren fa" chapter of the *Guanzi* was produced between the late fourth to the mid third century BCE. Rickett, *Guanzi*, vol. 2, 144. See, for example: *Guanzi jiaozhu*, vol. 2, 15.900; *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, vol. 2, 11.667 (mentioned below); *Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 7.495 ("Wang ba"), and vol. 2, 12.723 ("Zheng lun" 正論).

answered: "What I do is employ people; what you do is employ strength. He who employs strength labors hard (*lao*); he who employs people is at ease (*yi*)."

People thus called Fu Zijian a *junzi* (exemplary person).[153] He relaxed his four limbs, preserved his ears and eyes in perfect condition, retained a calm disposition, and the hundred offices were well-ordered.[154] That is simply due to his employing the system.[155] Wu Maqi was different. He harmed his natural endowment, exploited his affective dispositions, and feverishly issued instructions and edicts. Although [in his day, Shanfu] was well-ordered, he did not come up [to Zijian's] level.

宓子賤治單父，彈鳴琴，身不下堂而單父治。巫馬期亦治單父，以星出，以星入，日夜不處，以身親之，而單父亦治。巫馬期問其故於宓子賤，宓子賤曰：「我之謂任人，子之謂任力；任力者固勞，任人者固佚。」

人曰宓子賤，則君子矣，佚四肢，全耳目，平心氣而百官治，任其數而已矣。巫馬期則不然，弊性事情，勞煩教詔，雖治猶未至也。[156]

According to the *Shiji*, Fu Zijian and Wu Maqi were both disciples of Kongzi, and both, according to this anecdote, have ruled Shanfu with great success.[157] However, Wu Maqi used his own body to attend to things in person (以身親之), whereas Fu Zijian's body never departed from the safety of the hall (身不下堂). The former exhausted his physical and emotional capacities, whereas the latter relaxed his body and mind, keeping them intact, and delegating matters of governance to his officers. First thing of note is that the depiction of Fu Zijian's mode of rulership is heavily informed by traditions surrounding Shun's rule by non-action, including the restriction of his physical presence to the hall, and his singing and zither playing. Shun is, moreover, explicitly named in another account of Fu Zijian's rule over Shanfu, as recorded in the *Hanfeizi*. In this different but thematically parallel account, it is Fu Zijian himself who exhausts his body in caring for matters of governance, and it is a third disciple of Kongzi, named You Ruo 有若, who recommends to him an alternative in the form of Shun's model. King Shun, You Ruo says, sang and played the zither and yet the world was well-ordered. If Fu Zijian would employ techniques of governance, he continues, he will be able to have his "body [remain] seated in the hall" 身坐於廟堂之上, which would be advantageous for his own wellbeing yet will not adversely affect the order in the region under his rule. However, without such techniques, his body will wear away (*cui ju* 瘁臞, "turn weary and lean"), and to no avail.[158]

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[153] Kongzi labels Fu Zijian a *junzi* in *Lunyu* 5.3 ("Gongye Chang" 公冶長). For other anecdotes involving Fu Zijian (originally named Fu Buqi 宓不齊, styled Zijian), in the *Shui yuan* and elsewhere, see *Lunyu zhengyi*, vol. 1, 6.166. In addition, see *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, vol. 2, 11.667 (mentioned below).

[154] Alternatively, "the hundred offices ruled [in effect]." The *Lüshi chunqiu* version has 百官以治, which can be read as both "*in this way* the hundred offices were well-ordered" and "he ruled *through* the hundred offices." *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, vol. 2, 21.1452 ("Cha xian" 察賢).

[155] Compare to Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 64: "All he did was to make use of their numbers." Most commentators read 數 as 術, "techniques." I follow the latter.

[156] *Shuiyuan jizheng*, vol. 1, 7.411 ("Zheng li" 政理). See also *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, vol. 2, 21.1452 and *Hanshi waizhuan jishi*, 2.65 – 66.

[157] *Shiji* 67.2218, 2206. Compare to the *Hanfeizi* account of Fu Zijian's rule (mentioned below), and to the opening of the *Xunzi* "Jun dao" (*Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 8.526)—in both these cases, a ruler's tendency to attend to government matters in person is destined to failure in *every* respect.

[158] *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, vol. 2, 11.667. For a discussion of non-action in the *Hanfeizi* and its comparison to the *Xunzi* in this regard, see Pines, *Envisioning Eternal Empire*, 97 – 107.

Regardless of the differences between the 'techniques of governance' (*shu* 術) in the *Hanfeizi* account and the administrative techniques (*shu* 數) advocated in the *Shui yuan* version, both methods are portrayed as resulting in the unburdening of the ruler, both resort to tropes of physical idleness associated with King Shun, and both mark the alternative as detrimental for the ruler's own physical health. In such instances, then, the concept of governance through 'non-action' clearly implies a measure of *physical* inactivity that became part and parcel of a complete rhetorical program, far transcending the role of a mere metaphor. It facilitated the efforts of persuaders to link their vision of the body-politic to rulers' anxieties about their own bodies, and yoke those for their own purposes. The deterioration of rulers' bodies, undesired in itself, was, furthermore, a card at the hands of advocates of succession by abdication. The excavated "Tang Yu zhi dao" 唐虞之道 ("The Way of Tang [Yao] and Yu [Shun]"; *terminus ad quem* ca. 300 BCE), for example, argues that the sagely rulers of past ages, "when their four limbs grew weak and the powers of their ears and eyes faded, abdicated the realm and granted it to a worthy, then retiring to nurture their health." 四肢倦惰, 耳目聰明衰, 禪天下而授賢, 退而養其生.[159] What better way, then, to remain on the throne for a longer time and nurture one's body at the comfort of the palace halls than to transfer the burden of active rulership onto one's officials?

It is in this way that Fu Zijian is said to have been able to unburden his own four limbs (佚四肢) and keep intact the powers of his own ears and eyes (全耳目)—by transferring the obligation for their activation onto his aides, and substituting their limbs, ears and eyes for his own. This may serve to anticipate the meeting, in texts to be considered below, between models of physical idleness and metaphors of the organologic paradigm—that is, the two body-based metaphorical paradigms explored in these pages, each of which has served writers who emphasized aspects of the bureaucratization of monarchic governance. To see just how far this combined rhetorical construction could (but in the *Shui yuan* does not) go, it would pay to take another look at the *Xunzi* and consider some of the bold formulations of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (completed ca. 139 BCE) "Zhu shu" 主術 before concluding the discussion with Liu Xiang's own synthesis.

1.2.2 The road not taken

Consider the following passage from the *Xunzi* "Jun dao":

> Therefore, the Son of Heaven does not look but sees, does not listen but hears, does not contemplate but knows, does not move but reaps accomplishments. Like a lump of matter, he sits there alone,[160] and all under heaven follow him like one body (*ti* 體)—as the four limbs follow the mind's commands. This is what we call the Great Body (*xing* 形).

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[159] *Guodian Chumu zhujian: Tang Yu zhi Dao* 郭店楚墓竹簡: 唐虞之道 (Wenwu chubanshe, 2002), 26 – 27. See also Carine Defoort, "Mohist and Yangist Blood in Confucian Flesh: The Middle Position of the Guodian Text 'Tang Yu zhi Dao,'" BMFEA 76 (2004), 58 – 59; Pines, "Disputers of Abdication," 260 – 261; Sarah Allan, *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-Slip Manuscripts* (SUNY, 2015), 104 – 105.

[160] *Kuai ran* 塊然, lit. 'like a lump [of earth],' should be read with caution. The rendering of this phrase into English may introduce into the text certain denigrating tones that are not often there in the use of this binom. *Kuai ran* in the early literature is predominantly used to indicate a condition of being removed from a certain entity or texture, and thus a sense of solitariness, or, sometimes, aloofness. Here, the notion of being 'withdrawn'—physically, socially, and sensorially—is particularly relevant. For further consideration see the use of *kuai ran* or *kuai du* 塊獨 in, e.g., *Shiji* 126.3207, *Xinyu jiaozhu*, 2.118.

故天子不視而見，不聽而聰，不慮而知，不動而功，塊然獨坐而天下從之如一體，如四支之從心：夫是之謂大形。[161]

The apophatic language that dominates this passage brought John Knoblock to refer to it (down to "follow the mind's commands" 從心) as "mystical" and as "a rather complete statement of the Daoist-Legalist theory of the sage kings."[162] Whereas the cross-textual associations that underlie his judgment are certainly justified, as long as this observation remains unexplained it gives the impression of discontinuity between the Xunzian vision of rulership presented elsewhere in the chapter, and a "Daoist-Legalist theory" that somehow crept in.[163] Continuity is restored, however, once attention is directed not at distinctions between 'schools of thought' but at the rhetorical paradigms that they share. Notwithstanding the possibility of inter-textual or polemic overtones, the above string of apophatic expressions can be explained without any recourse to texts other than the *Xunzi* itself. Specifically, the rhetorical paradigms explored in the foregoing discussion give rise to such formulations by the very force of their inner logic.

This passage concludes a section in the text that concerns the proper standards for the definition and assignment of office. Stressing personal capabilities and professional experience as opposed to calculations of favor and personal interests, the authors note that "Men's (i.e., officials') hundred tasks are like the ears and eyes, the nose and the mouth—they cannot exchange offices." 人之百事, 如耳目鼻口之不可以相借官也.[164] When this principle is observed, they proceed, not only do all the affairs of the state are managed effectively, but the common people as well rest content each in his role. The result is that all in the realm emphasize capabilities and performance and none strives for personal gain. Thus, the ruler attains results merely by setting the process in motion, beginning with the correct assignment of responsibilities to his officials. Due to their proper administration and moral exemplarity, they serve as his proxies of universal transformation.

But being 'proxies' means that their achievements are ultimately ascribed to the one whom they represent. As recalled, "Working hard (*lao*) is the share of ministers; reaping accomplishments is the share of rulers." 臣有其勞, 君有其成功.[165] Kubo Ai 久保愛, therefore, has noted that, in the cited passage, the four expressions that negate activity and yet assert its outcome "mean that he (the ruler) does not do it himself; he relies on officials and thereby sees and hears." 言其不親躬之, 待官人而後視聽也.[166] To elaborate, the exemplary ruler, as demonstrated earlier, is often depicted as having entrusted his operative authorities to his underlings, as if entrusting them with the operation of his arms and legs, eyes and ears, mouth and tongue, and so forth. What they observe they report upwards, what they write down is pronounced as his word, and wherever they go is considered within his reach. That he can sit on his mat and relax his four limbs as did Fu Zijian, or stand with his hands folded as did Shun, is because *their* bodies labor on his behalf. So as long as the execution of monarchic authority

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[161] *Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 8.547.

[162] Knoblock, *Xunzi*, vol. 2, 323n82, and vol. 3, 349n4.

[163] To note one example, some of the exact expressions in the cited passage also appear in *Daodejing* 道德經 47, alongside the restriction of physical presence to the confines of one's four walls. *Daode jing zhushi* 道德經註釋 (Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 198.

[164] *Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 8.547.

[165] See "Introduction," p. 11n53.

[166] *Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 550n15. Eric Hutton displays a similar reading of this passage by referring the reader to the part of the "Jun dao" that casts three segments of the officialdom as the ruler's eyes and ears (cited and discussed here in the previous section). Hutton, *Xunzi*, 126n30. See also the "Jun zi" 君子 passage translated above, which may have informed Kubo Ai's commentary.

is cast in terms of physical functions, it ensues that the ruler does in fact 'see' without being engaged himself in observation, does 'hear' without himself listening, and so forth.

Elsewhere, the *Xunzi* explicitly binds this principle, articulated as it is in a bodily idiom, in a relation of mutual reinforcement with existing ceremonial and administrative procedures:

> His legs can walk, but he does not move forward without his assistants. His mouth can talk, but he does not announce decrees without his officials.
>
> 足能行，待相者然後進；口能言，待官人然後詔。[167]

These court procedures, in and of themselves, are no indication of any one approach to rulership as opposed to another, but here (and, later, in the *Huainanzi* and *Chunqiu fanlu* as well) they are interpreted via the hermeneutical framework of the rhetoric of ease:

> [Thus,] he does not look but sees, does not listen but hears, does not speak but [his words are] trusted, does not ponder yet knows, does not move yet reaps accomplishments. Thereby, he is perfected on every side.[168] Being the Son of Heaven, his authority is the weightiest, [but] his body is the most relaxed, and his heart is the most content. His intentions yield to nothing, [though] his body labors (*lao*) at nothing. His position of honor is unsurpassed.
>
> 不視而見，不聽而聰，不言而信，不慮而知，不動而功，告至備也。天子也者，埶至重，形至佚，心至愈，志無所詘，形無所勞，尊無上矣。[169]

In both these largely apophatic passages, it should be observed, there is nothing truly mystical—only an attempt to *mystify* the referenced state of affairs in order to bolster its attraction. This is done by translating the principle of representation—the ascription of action—into paradoxical and apophatic statements that depict the royal representee.[170] These efforts towards mystification, however, should not obscure the fact that, by the force of the same rhetoric, the ruler in his natural body is made to retreat in order to allow the "Great Body," the body-politic, to take (a properly functioning) form.[171]

This tactic is performed to the fullest in the *Huainanzi* "Zhu shu," which does not merely employ apophatic expressions but also makes the negation of the ruler's activity (in both the figurative and the political sense) its organizing principle. Scholars who have studied this chapter in particular, tend more than others to point out the audaciousness of the *Huainanzi*'s vision of imperial rule.[172] In this regard, the relation between "Zhu shu" and other chapters in the same work has not yet been

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[167] *Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 2, 17.965 ("Jun zi"). In addition, see (and compare): *Shenzi jijiao jizhu* 愼子集校集注, compiled by Xu Fuhong 許富宏 (Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 70 ("Yi wen" 逸文); *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 9.605 ("Zhu shu"); and *Chunqiu fanlu jiaoshi*, 6.371 ("Li he gen" 離合根).

[168] Reading *gao* 告 as *gu* 故.

[169] *Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 2, 17.965 ("Jun zi").

[170] See also "Introduction," p. 11.

[171] Regarding hybrid metaphorical constructions and the mixture, specifically, of government-as-ruler's-body and political-entity-as-body metaphors, see "Introduction," pp. 6 – 7.

[172] Albeit for different reasons, Roger Ames has characterized it with an "anarchistic spirit" and Paul Goldin pointed to what he takes to be its insidious and subversive qualities. The two studies differ in their methodological approaches but both (Goldin's to a greater extent) seem to identify uniquely daring qualities in this work that so many have regarded as merely 'eclectic.' Ames, *The Art of Rulership*, 64; Paul R. Goldin, "Insidious Syncretism in the Political Philosophy of *Huai-nan-tzu*," *Asian Philosophy* 9.3 (1999): 165 – 191 *in passim* (e.g., 181 – 182). On innovation in "Zhu shu" see also Arima, "'Mu-i no chi' no riron kōzō" (1991), 19 – 20.

sufficiently addressed, but at least as far as the idiom of the ruler's body, the "Zhu shu" would not fail those inclined to see in the *Huainanzi* an "insidious" use of otherwise conventional political tropes,[173] and perhaps even an audacious (if indirect) plea for a certain degree of imperial decentralization.[174] The discussion that follows speaks only to the former point, arguing that the amassing of tropes that pertain to the discourse of political *wu wei* is not merely 'syncretic' but results in a thorough nullification of the emperor's personal exercise of authority. In the realm of bodily imagery, this culminates in the figure of the impersonator of spirits (*shi* 尸)—a shell of a human body that is devoid of own personhood and serves to represent other, intangible entities.

Quite remarkably, the "Zhu shu" includes the great majority of tropes and emphases so far discussed, including reworked versions of the two *Xunzi* passages cited above.[175] It has its own version of the bureaucratization narrative—previously encountered in the *Shui yuan*, *Mozi* 12, and *Xunzi* 12 ("Jun dao")—reasoned through and surrounded by recurrent claims for the insufficiency of one person's capabilities.[176] It makes the point of relying on others' expertise via various formulations and analogies,[177] and stresses the differentiation between the roles of the ruler and his officialdom: the former remains at the back, 'vacant' and reliant on his officials (虛無因循, 常後而不先也), while they advance forward, attend each to his duty, and yield accomplishments (以立成功).[178]

But alongside the stress on the delegation of authority to officials, the "Zhu shu" is very suspicious of the motivations and biases of both ruler and officials, and therefore stresses the need to employ objective standards and regulations in the assessment of official performance and in the distribution of punishments and rewards more broadly.[179] The ruler is thus warned against relying on his own judgment on all matters (專用其心),[180] not only because it means relying on the wit of a single person, which is necessarily insufficient for the management of an empire, but also because he is all too human, and susceptible to biases that would prevent him from employing the "wisdom of all within the four seas" 海內之智.[181] He is therefore encouraged to "employ methods [of governance] and discard the human heart-mind" 任術而釋人心.[182] The requirement of the ruler to dispense with his human heart extends further, to abstinence from revealing one's likes and dislikes (好憎),[183] and to the suppression of the ruler's own desires for wealth and luxury lest these would result in an unsparing use of human and natural resources.[184]

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[173] Borrowed from Goldin, "Insidious Syncretism in the Political Philosophy of *Huai-nan-tzu*."

[174] For different, and to a great extent opposite assessments of the political vision of the *Huainanzi* see the following studies by Judson B. Murray and Griet Vankeerberghen. Murray, "The Liu Clan's 'Flesh and Bone': The Foundation of Liu An's Vision of Empire," in *The Huainanzi and Textual Production in Early China*, edited by Sarah A. Queen and Michael Puett (Brill, 2014), 291 – 325; Vankeerberghen, "The Discourse about Lords (*Zhuhou*) in the *Huainanzi*," in *The Huainanzi and Textual Production in Early China*, 326 – 350.

[175] *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 9.605, 614. Here, in the latter, *kuai ran* may be said to take on more of the depersonalized qualities implied by the rendering 'lump of matter.'

[176] Ibid., 634 – 635. This is an abbreviated reference to the narrative, which is also represented in the chapter "Xiu wu" 脩務: *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 3, 19.1318 – 1319. For the insufficiency of one's own capabilities and the necessity if reliance on others' strengths, see for example: *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 9.617, 624 – 627.

[177] Ibid., 628 – 629.

[178] Ibid., 635.

[179] Ibid., 621 – 622, 632 – 633.

[180] Ibid., 635.

[181] Ibid., 658.

[182] Ibid., 622.

[183] Ibid., 606, 620, 621.

[184] Ibid., 649-651, 685, 686 – 687.

The "Zhu shu," in other words, squeezes the notion of governance by 'non-action' to the utmost. A quick referral back to Liu Zehua's survey of the notions of *wu wei* governance that find representation in the entire compilation *Lüshi chunqiu*, would show that the authors of the single chapter "Zhu shu" incorporate each one of those without fail.[185] They require that the ruler would not impose demands on the populace, not intervene in the work of officials, not satisfy his own desires, not reveal personal dispositions, and, furthermore, not rely on his own skills or judgment in any matter related to state affairs. He is to cut off his own deliberations (滅想去意), "make 'do not know' his path, and 'what should be done' his treasure." 以不知為道, 以奈何為寶.[186]

In terms of the bodily idiom, this means that the ruler should "see with the eyes of all under heaven and listen with the ears of all under heaven." 以天下之目視, 以天下之耳聽.[187] The discussion earlier touched on the problematic of the metaphorical scope of the 'ears and eyes' in such formulations, which is at times limited to the facilitation of a proper flow of information upwards, and at other times extended to involve perception more broadly, and pertain to the design of state policy as well. In the "Zhu shu," this matter is not left for conjecture. The authors make clear time and again that what is to be delegated downwards are not only matters of execution but also matters of design. The ruler, in other words, is not only to rely on the 'accumulated strength' (*ji li* 積力) of others but also on the intelligence and wisdom of multiple aides (*zhong zhi* 眾智).[188] As earlier in the *Xunzi*, here again the figurative framework claims authority over the explication of court ceremonials, as the authors assign the royal cap a role in the inactivation of the ruler's own eyes and ears, and by extension, his perceptive faculties: "Thus, the kings of old wore caps with beaded strings at the front so as to veil their vision, and yellow straps of silk [hanging down on both sides,] blocking their ears, so as to obstruct their hearing." 故古之王者, 冕而前旒所以蔽明也, 黈纊塞耳所以掩聰.[189]

The "Zhu shu" authors, furthermore, do not fail to play the card of the preservation of the ruler's own body and wellbeing, warning against putting to work (*lao*) and thus exhausting (*jie* 竭) the ruler's own faculties: his "ears and eyes" 耳目 as well as "energy and spirit" 精神.[190] However, in "Zhu shu," the thorough denial of engaging the ruler's sensual and emotional dispositions does not leave space for the image of a Shun who spends his days singing and strumming the zither, enjoying the comfort as well as the safety of the palace. Instead, when the chapter does provide a positive description of the way of the ruler (as opposed to the predominant *via negativa*), it presents an instructive reworking of the still ceremonial posture:[191]

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[185] Indeed, the only interpretation of political *wu wei* that was prevalent in the Han and yet is largely absent from the "Zhu shu" is the transformative power of the ruler's *moral* exemplarity—perhaps because it puts undesired emphasis on the ruler's individual traits. To judge by Liu Zehua's review, it is not prominent in the *Lüshi chunqiu* as well. This point merits further examination.

[186] *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 9.671 – 672.

[187] Ibid., 656.

[188] Ibid., 627, 639.

[189] Ibid., 606 – 607. *Tou kuang* 黈纊: compare to "silk plugs" in Ames, *The Art of Rulership*, 168; and Major et al, *The Huainanzi*, 296. See also *Xinbian Yanzi chunqiu* 新編晏子春秋, edited by Wang Gengsheng 王更生 (Taiwan guji chuban gongsi, 2001), 606 ("Jinggong yu zhu duan…" 景公欲誅斷…); *Da Dai liji jiegu*, 8.141 ("Zi Zhang wen ruguan"); and *Kongzi jiayu tongjie*, 5.265 ("Ru guan").

[190] *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 9.665, 671.

[191] Conversely, the icon of the singing Shun and the figure of the impersonator advanced in the "Zhu shu" are juxtaposed elsewhere in the *Huainanzi*. See *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 14.1030 ("Quan yan" 詮言), and vol. 3, 20.1399 ("Tai zu" 泰族).

The way of the ruler is analogous to [that of] the impersonator of spirits at the *ling* star [sacrificial ritual]: he remains solemn and silent, and ominous signs and blessings ensue.[192]

君人之道，其猶零星之尸也，儼然玄默，而吉祥受福。[193]

Several elements make this analogy especially artful. First, it has structural correspondence to Shun's reverent posture—the emblem of one interpretation of *wu wei* governance, as established in *Lunyu* 15.5. The impersonator of spirits, like King Shun, is said to have merely attained a quiet and somber posture, himself not performing any other action, and yet yielding a positive outcome for the entire social entity. This depiction confirms to the picture portrayed in the Minor Ode "Chu ci" 楚茨 (#209), which has been read as a performance text of early ancestral ritual. Scholars who scrutinized this text have noted that the impersonator of the ancestral spirits remained silent throughout the ceremony as the details of the ritual communications were pronounced to the worshipers by the invocator (*zhu* 祝).[194] Lothar von Falkenhausen has suggested that this ode served as the "hypotext for much if not all the 'systematizing' description of ancestral ritual in the *San li* [三禮 (Three Compendia on Ritual)]," and noted that the *Zhou li* 周禮 draws a similar picture as far as what he terms "the division of labor" between the invocator and the impersonator.[195] This aspect, furthermore, is succinctly articulated elsewhere in the *San li*, where the division of labor is stated crisply: "The impersonator gives form to the spirits; the invocator communicates the ritual messages." 尸, 神象也. 祝, 將命也.[196] The *Huainanzi* reflects the same conception when, elsewhere, it makes clear that the impersonator's 'silence' is due to his abstinence from speech for the duration of the ceremony: the *shi* impersonator, it says, is "deeply silent, not uttering a word" 淵默而不言.[197]

As to his posture, the above sources usually depict the impersonator as seated in a reverent position throughout the ceremony, and instructed to rise up only at the conclusion of the feeding of the spirits.[198] Furthermore, the phrase "sitting like an impersonator" 坐如尸 is used in the *Liji* 禮記 to denote a reverent seated position that the text prescribes to refined persons on other occasions.[199] The *shi* impersonator, then, appears to have been perceived in the Han cultural imagination as a symbol for a silent and reverential posture. These aspects of the impersonator's ritual performance, together

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[192] Based on citations in later collectanea, He Ning has suggested that the three characters *er ji xiang* 而吉祥 are a result of successive mistakes in the textual transmission of the text. His reconstruction, however, seems highly speculative. See *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 631.

[193] *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 9.630 – 631.

[194] Falkenhausen, "Reflections on the Political Role of Spirit Mediums in Early China," 298. See also idem, *Suspended Music: Chime-Bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China* (University of California Press, 1994), 27 – 28; and Martin Kern, "*Shi jing* Songs as Performance Text: A Case Study of 'Chu ci' (Thorny Caltrop)," *Early China* 25 (2000), esp. 79n101, 84n118, 97 – 98. One may also consult the following study, which was not available to me by the time of submission: Michael Carr, "Personation of the Dead in Ancient China," *Computational Analysis of Asian & African Languages* 24 (1985), 1 – 107.

[195] Falkenhausen, "Reflections on the Political Role of Spirit Mediums in Early China," 297 – 298.

[196] *Liji jijie*, vol. 2, 26.720 ("Jiao Te Sheng" 郊特牲). The *Liji* probably took final form no earlier than the first century CE, and the dating of its separate chapters, or the material they draw upon, varies greatly. Loewe ed., *Early Chinese Texts*, 293 – 296. However, the continuity in the general depiction of the figure of the *shi* impersonator from the "Chu ci" up to the *Liji* (whether this is because the former was indeed the hypotext for the *San li* as Falkenhausen suggests, or for other reasons) appears to have some bearing on the cultural perceptions that underlie the construction of the *shi* analogy in the *Huainanzi*.

[197] *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 3, 20.1399 ("Tai zu").

[198] See, e.g., *Maoshi zhengyi*, vol. 2, 13.821 ("Chu ci"); and Sun Xidan's discussion in *Liji jijie*, vol. 2, 26.720 ("Jiao Te Sheng").

[199] See *Liji jijie*, vol. 1, 1.5 ("Qu li" 曲禮); and ibid., vol. 2, 30.834 ("Yu zao" 玉藻).

with his positioning in the "Zhu shu" formulation as the cause for the bestowal of good fortune, construct a suggestive parallel to Shun's still, reverential posture, as depicted in *Lunyu* 15.5.

Another factor that presumably made the analogy of the ruler to the impersonator legitimate and even attractive, is the fact that the latter—addressed in "Chu ci" with the honorific *huang* 皇 ('august')—had been treated with the utmost reverence by all concerned, including the reigning emperor himself.[200] Since the *shi* in an ancestral ritual was perceived to embody the spirits of the deceased dynastic ancestors and his role was performed by a descendent of the royal house,[201] it may be assumed that having his figure, in turn, represent the head of the dynasty in the "Zhu shu" analogy did not, in and of itself, strike any wrong chord with contemporary readers.[202]

The "insidious" use of this analogy in the "Zhu shu" is revealed when it is considered in the context of the entire chapter and alongside other *Huainanzi* references to the figure of the *shi*-impersonator. First, the immediate context of the *shi* metaphor in the "Zhu shu" is a rather developed argument that warns the ruler against unregulated distribution of rewards, promotions, and punishments. In essence, the claim is that the ruler should not judge by himself—on the basis of either his personal perception of what is to be approved or disapproved, or his desire to buy the allegiances of certain groups—who is to be rewarded and who is to be punished. This would only result in promoting the unworthy and punishing the upright, and thus in encouraging the pursuit of personal gain and corrupting honest men. Rewards and punishments should be distributed in light of deeds alone: actual accomplishments or real transgressions. There should be clear standards that will apply uniformly to all, and would not leave the judgment up to the ruler's 'rage' (*nu* 怒) or approbation.[203] The ruler, as noted earlier, is urged not to give expression to his thoughts and emotions, nor give them weight in decision-making. That is, according to the "Zhu shu," he is to support an independent system merely by serving as its human embodiment—just as the impersonator remains solemn, silent,

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[200] *Maoshi zhengyi*, vol. 2, 13.821, and in the *Liji* see, for example: *Liji jijie*, vol. 2, 36.968 ("Xue ji" 學記); *Liji jijie*, vol. 3, 38.1012 ("Yue ji" 樂記) and 47.1248 ("Ji tong" 祭統). The "Yue ji" is also incorporated in *Shiji* (1959), vol. 1, 24.1204 ("Yue shu" 樂書). For the "Ji tong," see also Michael Puett's reading and discussion in "The Offering of Food and the Creation of Order: The Practice of Sacrifice in Early China," in *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China*, edited by Roel Sterckx (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 85 – 86.

[201] Falkenhausen, "Reflections on the Political Role of Spirit Mediums in Early China," 297; and Puett, "The Offering of Food and the Creation of Order," 85 – 86. In addition, there is an unresolved debate as to whether, in earlier times, the Shang kings themselves served as spirit mediums in the ancient royal cult. It may be partly due to his position in this debate that David N. Keightley has rejected the view that the character *shi* 尸 appears in several oracle bone inscriptions. See Keightley, "The Making of the Ancestors: Late Shang Religion and Its Legacy," reprinted in *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*, edited by Henry Rosemont Jr. (SUNY, 2014), 201n97. See Falkenhausen's comments on this debate and his reformulation of the question regarding the religious role of the Shang kings, in "Reflections on the Political Role of Spirit Mediums in Early China," 279 – 280, 299 – 300.

[202] A factor I do not consider above but was conceivably related, in one way or another, to the construction of the impersonator analogy in the *Huainanzi* are the appearances of the *shi*-impersonator in the received *Zhuangzi*. Since recent scholarship has traced the compilation of the *Zhuangzi* to the court of Liu An 劉安 (179 – 122 BCE), chief author-compiler of the *Huainanzi*, the determination of direction of influence in this specific regard would require further scrutiny.

[203] *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 9.631 – 633. I believe that the idea of standards that would apply to all without any case-by-case modifications—a 'one size fits all' kind of system—is what stands behind the somewhat elusive formulation that closely follows the impersonator metaphor: "One person wears him like a cloak—and it is not too large; ten-thousand cover themselves with it—and it is not too small." 一人被之而不衷, 萬人蒙之而不褊. Ibid., 631. The figure of 'coverage' recurs in another articulation of the same argument elsewhere in the *Huainanzi*: "According with the standards and following the guiding lines, without inserting himself into matters, [he would be] like heaven and earth: there would be nothing that he would not cover and sustain." 放准循繩, 身無與事, 若天若地, 何不覆載. *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 14.1024 ("Quan yan").

and inexpressive while lending his human figure to formless spirits.[204]

In other words, what the figure of the impersonator makes available to the "Zhu shu" authors that is not there in the still posture of King Shun is the very concept of representation. As with the head-and-limbs paradigm, here as well it is the language of the human body that facilitates the articulation of notions of political representation—with one important difference. In the case of the limbs, eyes, and ears, the target of the metaphor and the topic of discussion are the type and implications of the representation of the ruler by members of the imperial bureaucracy (i.e., top-down representation). With the impersonator metaphor, the "Zhu shu" directs attention to the ruler not (simply) as representee but as himself representer. The ruler-qua-impersonator does not delegate the functions of his body organs to others, but lends his own bodily frame to someone or something other than himself.[205]

The conceptualization of the emperor as representer (as in casting him as the embodiment of an entire dynastic lineage or ruling house) is far from foreign to the early Chinese discourse of sovereignty. The ingeniousness of the impersonator metaphor, and what makes it the culmination of the apophatic thrust in the "Zhu shu," is the simultaneous casting of the ruler as *both* representer and representee, that is, one whose actions are at the same time 'not considered his own' (as in the Hobbesian depiction of the 'artificial person') *and* carried out by others (as in ascriptive representation).[206] The way in which the metaphor of the impersonator further accommodates the notion of the ruler as representee—meaning, not himself an 'actor' (one who acts)—is fully articulated in its elaboration elsewhere in the *Huainanzi*.[207] In the following passage, the operative aspects of the performance (of ritual, and by extension, rulership) are all entrusted to 'professionals,' i.e., persons in official capacities:

> The one occupying the highest position is like the impersonator [of spirits]; those responsible for the various offices are like the invocator and the butcher. The impersonator, even if he knows how to skin a dog or roast a pig, does not do it. And if he knows not—nothing is lost. As to the arrangement of the sacrificial stands and receptacles, and the proper sequence of the millet offerings, even if [the impersonator] knows these things, he does not train others in their performance. And if he knows not—no harm is done. [Thus,] one who does not know how to perform the role of an invocator, cannot serve as invocator, [but] there will be no harm if he would be the impersonator. [Likewise,] one who does not know how to ride a chariot cannot serve as a charioteer, [but] there will be no harm if he would be the rider on the left.[208] Therefore, the highest the position, the more idle (*yi*) the body that occupies it; and the greater the body, the fewer are his tasks.

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[204] Ames has characterized the ruler's role in "Zhu shu" as the "human embodiment" of a bureaucratic and legal system, independently of the impersonator metaphor: Ames, *The Art of Rulership*, 55, 59. Also applicable, and not coincidentally, is Pines' analysis of the *Hanfeizi*'s vision of rulership in terms of the personification of an impartial system and therefore the "depersonalization" of the ruler as its symbol. See Pines, *Envisioning Eternal Empire*, 105 – 106.

[205] Whether this 'other' is the lineage, the system of standards and regulations, the imperial institution, or the entire body-politic, is open for discussion, and emphases do vary throughout the entire compilation. See, for one example, Murray, "The Liu Clan's 'Flesh and Bone': The Foundation of Liu An's Vision of Empire," 307.

[206] See "Introduction," pp. 8 – 12.

[207] On representer as 'actor' see the "Introduction," pp. 8 – 12; and Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, 121.

[208] According to the commentator Gao You 高誘 (fl. 205 – 212), the position to the left of the charioteer was occupied by the ruler. *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 14.1030.

處尊位者如尸，守官者如祝宰。尸雖能剝狗燒鼠，弗為也，弗能無虧；俎豆之列次，黍稷之先後，雖知弗教也，弗能[無]害也。不能祝者，不可以為祝，無害於為尸；不能御者，不可以為僕，無害於為(佐)[左]。故位愈尊而身愈佚；身愈大而事愈少。[209]

As Hanna Pitkin has it, the implications of casting as experts those who *act for* oneself are clear: "if you have turned the job over to an expert, leave it to him."[210] This emphasis on the delegation—or, more aptly, the transfer—of responsibilities from ruler to officials is the main import of casting the former as the impersonator and the latter as the invocator and butcher. The ruler is thus made not only to allow others to speak *through* him (as the impersonator of spirits) but also *for* him (by means of the invocator), to the extent that "nothing emanates from his own person" 莫出於己.[211] Coupled, as in the concluding lines, with the rhetoric of ease and its promise for the ruler's physical wellbeing, this program leaves intact a glorious body as an empty shell. Furthermore, the composition, in the above passage, of otherwise familiar elements—such as the division of labor and the hierarchical distinctions between the impersonator and other functionaries—verges, in this particular case, on admitting that the reason for the insistence on the division of labor is the fact that the higher the position in the hierarchy, the greater the chances that its occupant would be partially or even utterly incompetent.[212] To minimize his personal impact, the ruler's operative responsibilities are minimized, or, at least in the realm of the metaphor, completely nullified. "The king," therefore, "'can do no wrong' because 'politically, he can do nothing at all.'"[213]

Of course, what appears to be a form of "usurpatory ventriloquism" would have lacked any rhetorical power if it were as bold as to be unidimensional.[214] The impersonator paradigm, like the "Zhu shu" as a whole, highlights the loftiness of the ruler-impersonator and his quasi-divine traits as much as it uses them to disinvolve him in everything mundane. What is worth noting is that, as in the case of the popular myth of the king's supernatural abilities (section 1.1), and the case of the *Xunzi*'s mystifying apophasis (earlier in the present section), here as well the deification of the Chinese ruler is performed in and through the implications of the act of representation and the ruler's unique place on either or both its sides.

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[209] *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 14.1030 ("Quan yan"). I follow the textual revisions suggested by Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744 – 1832) and Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821 – 1906), but not Jiang Lihong's argument, unconvincing in my mind, that *shen* 身 (in the last line) should be amended to *guan* 官. See ibid.

[210] Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, 135. For the insistence on the division of labor via the impersonator analogy see also *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 3, 20.1399 ("Tai zu").

[211] *Huainanzi jishi*, vol. 2, 9.606 ("Zhu shu"). See also ibid., 661 (莫從己出), where this principle is presented as the main essence of *wu wei* governance. This phrase aptly captures the end result of the dual emphasis, in "Zhu shu," on both systematization and delegation. Goldin, in his reading of the "Zhu shu," speaks in terms of the "suppression of private action" and comments: "Indeed, *wu-wei* had this connotation from its very beginnings, even in Shen Pu-hai—but *Chu-shu* raises the element of suppression to a new and perhaps unimagined level." Goldin, "Insidious Syncretism in the Political Philosophy of *Huai-nan-tzu*.," 171.

[212] Compare to the impersonator analogy in the "Yue ji," which combines the same two elements (i.e., the division of labor and hierarchical distinctions) to produce a different argument. *Liji jijie*, vol. 3, 38.1012 and *Shiji* (1959), vol. 1, 24.1204 ("Yue shu").

[213] Cited as a comment on modern British monarchy, in Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, 103. Pitkin's account of the discourse of British monarchy in particular and of forms of symbolic representation in general suggests many parallels to the language and vision of imperial rulership in the "Zhu shu." Ibid., 92 – 111 (esp. 102 – 103).

[214] For the concept of "usurpatory ventriloquism" in political representation see Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Harvard University Press, 1991), 211.

1.3. Conclusion: Master Kuang's Advice

The path of thorough denial of royal agency as exemplified in the *Huainanzi* "Zhu shu," including the derived avenues for the application and elaboration of figurative paradigms concerning the royal body, were known and available to Liu Xiang at the time of his compilation of the *Shui yuan* "Way of the Ruler" ("Jun dao"). And yet his use of these rhetorical tropes seems carefully controlled by the force of his selection and adaptation of anecdotes. This is especially evident in the opening passage of the "Way of the Ruler" [JD1], which, I have suggested, functions as a prefatory summary for the entire chapter and may have been composed by Liu Xiang himself.

Four out of the six couplets that comprise Master Kuang's prescription for ideal rulership in this anecdote depict aspects that, on the surface, pertain to the ruler's physical body: its state of in/activity, its perceptive faculties, and its positioning in the surrounding environment. But although they incorporate both organologic metaphors and figures of non-action—as do the *Xunzi* passages and the *Huainanzi* "Zhu shu"—the composition of these same discursive components therein is significantly different. I conclude the present inquiry by revisiting this particular construction, for two purposes: first, to demonstrate once again the broad scope of applications of royal-body metaphorical paradigms in the early imperial political discourse, and second, in order to show how far the arguments thus constructed are from stale formulae and empty speech. Indeed, it is the mastery of the figurative language that enabled the construction of accurate and subtle arguments.

"The way of the ruler is tranquility and non-action," says Master Kuang at the outset of his counsel for Lord Ping, invoking in this way the entire spectrum of interpretations and rhetorical elaborations reviewed above. What follows, however, serves to carve out certain aspects—namely, the selfless concern for the public good, and the delegation of authorities to worthy office holders—and not others. The proximity of the figure of physical inactivity (清淨無為) to the ruler's urgent effort to identify and employ men of merit (趨在任賢) brings to mind the common adage mentioned earlier, which casts the latter as the condition for the former. As slightly reformulated in yet another instance of this adage in the *Xunzi*: "[The enlightened ruler 明主] hastens to obtain men [for office]. Having done that, he himself (lit., his body) may remain at ease and yet his state would be well ordered" 急得其人, 則身佚而國治.[215] In the case of Master Kuang's advice, this common construction of cause and effect is woven together with the principle of public mindedness and reworked so that the desired effect is stated first, followed by the conditions for its accomplishment (see the text below). Regardless of these adjustments, the view of the broader discursive scope as sketched in the previous section helps position this utterance among others that resort to figures of stillness or ease in order to speak, specifically, of the delegation of authority to capable and trustworthy agents.

But whereas texts like the *Xunzi*, as demonstrated earlier, rely on the principle of the ascription of action in order to produce quasi-paradoxical strings of apophatic expressions, thereby stressing the passive role of the person at the top of the hierarchy, Master Kuang's depiction of the exemplary ruler is, from this point onwards, overwhelmingly kataphatic. If anything is denied of the ruler, it is the surrender of his power to other forces at court and the privilege of fading away from public life into a life of indulgence and pleasure:

人君之道, 清淨無為;	The way of the ruler is tranquility and non-action.
務在博愛, 趨在任賢;	His task is all-embracing care, and his urgent priority is
廣開耳目, 以察萬方。	employing the worthy.

[215] *Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 1, 8.526 ("Jun dao").

He opens wide his ears and eyes in order to scrutinize the myriad regions.

不固溺於流俗, 不拘繫於左右;
廓然遠見, 踔然獨立;
屢省考績, 以臨臣下。

He does not shut himself off and drown in worldly pleasures, nor does he let the people around him bind and restrict him.
He observes far and wide, stands alone above all.
With frequent scrutiny and review of accomplishments, he oversees the performance of the official ranks.

By now, the import of all the figurative formulations strung together in this passage should be abundantly clear, but it is worthwhile to take a step back and observe the linguistic surface—that is, the largely positive terminology used here to portray the exemplary ruler. The employment of royal representatives in the various localities, for example, could be referred to via the organologic paradigm both by noting that 'the ruler sees without watching' and 'accomplishes without moving' *or* by saying, as Master Kuang does, that "he opens wide his ears and eyes in order to scrutinize the myriad regions." Both formulations draw on the principle of delegating functions of the ruler's body to his representatives, and both capitalize on the principle of the ascription of action in attaching to the ruler the aura of the mystical or supernatural. But one highlights the abstinence from action whereas the other asserts intentionality and control. The choice made here is part of a consistent use, in Master Kuang's speech, of figures that connote a sense of singularity, breadth beyond physical and spatial limitations, and freedom from constraint, which together create a perfectly coherent picture of a potent ruler.

Behind figurative coherency, however, lie tensions that comprise a much less simplistic vision. The language is the language of the ruler's body-natural, but the conversation concerns the ruler's role vis-à-vis the rest of the body-politic, and as such it moves between notions of minimal interference and active supervision. Consider, for example, the relation between the two parts of Kuang's speech, which I have arranged above in two stanzas due to their structural parallelism: both are of the same number of lines, both open with the negation of burden or constraint, and both end with the imperative of scrutiny and observation. Yet, the referents—the object and the means—of the ruler's gaze in both cases are different. In the third couplet, which references, as noted above, the narrative represented in the twelve-pastors anecdote, the scrutiny of the myriad regions (以察萬方) can only be done with the mediation of the ruler's representatives in the various localities. In the sixth couplet, however, as elaborated earlier, the object of the ruler's gaze (以臨臣下) are the official ranks themselves. Thus, the first stanza casts the ruler as standing behind and seeing through the eyes of the assistants that surround him in every direction, whereas the second stanza extracts him from their grip and lifts him up to critically observe (*lin* 臨, "to observe from a high vantage point") the performance of his own proxies.

The tension between these two models is not insurmountable. Mei Fu, the late-Western-Han author of the earlier-cited memorialized complaint to the throne, has voiced similar wishes with regard to Emperor Cheng's performance, urging him to heed the advice of officials from wide circles but cautioning him against those who restrict his vision, his perception of events, and thus his personal impact on state affairs. Furthermore, the administrative reforms of 8 BCE aimed to correct the current state of affairs on both these fronts, namely, to diminish the power of the Wang family, some of whose members have held senior positions at court, but consolidate the power of others in the imperial bureaucracy. The emperor's own interest in these measures, it has been observed, was the assertion

of "his own status as the presiding executive at the apex of the entire bureaucratic structure."[216] Whether or not Liu Xiang's "Way of the Ruler," and the *Shui yuan* at large, were designed to support a similar vision is a question worth pursuing further, but the use of the royal-body idiom therein, as reflected in the prefatory anecdote in particular, certainly supports this possibility.

At the same time, it has been possible, throughout the entire inquiry in the present chapter, to follow threads that appear in the *Shui yuan* "Way of the Ruler" and yet lead to pronouncements of conflicting political visions. This is due to the fact—which I have strived to demonstrate in detail—that the idiom of the ruler's body, including applications of familiar concept-terms such as *wu wei*, facilitated the articulation of widely different political programs while retaining a great measure of intertextual coherency. This coherency unfolds only when the syntax is made into the object of scholarly scrutiny rather than particular expressions. It releases such expressions and rhetorical constructions from the delimiting bounds of classification by 'schools of thought,' and helps recover the specific target domains of formulations that, for the modern reader, give the false impression of dull platitudes.

What further unfolds when attention is directed to the metaphorical language of the ruler's body natural is the extent to which it is structured on and reflective of the concept of representation—particularly (even if not exclusively), the construction of the figure and role of the Chinese monarch, unlike the Hobbesian king, as primarily a representee. I have argued that the principle of the ascription of action, with the monarch as its addressee, underlies several forms of rhetorical mystification of the early Chinese ruler's figure and physical abilities—instances, perhaps, of a unique "metaphysiological" fiction of the royal body.[217] In as much as these are reflective of authors and statesmen's ingenious efforts to write their own place in the body politic *into* the ruler's body natural while guaranteeing the latter's aggrandizement, they may be regarded as aspects of a political theology (to borrow from Kantorowicz) of a monarchic government that was, nevertheless, arguably 'consultative' rather than absolutist. [218]

[216] Habberstad, "Recasting the Imperial Court in Late Western Han," 240.

[217] For the Tudor jurists' theory of the King's Two Bodies as a "metaphysiological" fiction, see the "Introduction," p. 1.

[218] On the evidence for and the research still required to ascertain the character of Chinese monarchies during the long four centuries of Han rule as predominantly 'consultative' as opposed to autocratic, see Michael Nylan, "Western Han Courts—Consultative or Absolute Monarchies?" paper delivered at the XIXth Conference of the European Association for Chinese Studies, Paris, 2012; and idem, "Introduction" and "Afterword: New Perspectives and Avenues for Future Research," in *Chang'an 26 BCE*, 35, 510. On consultative governance as determined by practical circumstances, see Giele, *Imperial Decision-Making and Communication in Early China*, e.g. 47 – 48.

Chapter 2
The Poetics of Praise: Cui Yin's "Four Panegyrics for the Imperial Tours"

In order to negotiate the character of monarchical rule, bureaucratization, and the extent of the ruler's personal involvement in governance and policy-making, early Chinese rhetoricians, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, resorted to the idiom of the ruler's body. More specifically, body-based metaphorical paradigms were often the way of authors and officials to write their desired role in the imperial governance *into*, so to speak, the body of the ruler with whom they asked to share sovereignty.[1] But what made the idiom of the ruler's body so apt for this purpose is the fact that it could just as easily write them *out*. The ascription of officials' actions to the ruler as representee, and with it, the apparent possession of supernatural powers or mystical qualities, is one class of examples for the aggrandizement of the ruler's body natural through and despite its reliance on the bodies and actions of his underlings.[2]

In the present chapter, I turn to another class of examples, this time focusing on one text in particular. Cui Yin's 崔駰 (d. 92 CE) "Four Panegyrics for the Imperial Tours" 四巡頌 demonstrates the way in which the perception of top-down representation and its conceptualization in bodily terms facilitated literary projects of imperial representation regardless, however, of the use of metaphorical constructions, and often in their absence. At the heart of the examples collected in section 2.4 below, there is no duality of vehicle and tenor, or source and target domains. Yet these examples as well demonstrate the way in which the celebrated body of the ruler—Emperor Zhang 章帝 (r. 75 – 88), in this case—was constructed by reliance on both the mediation and concealment of his official representatives. It is with their omission from the panegyrical narrative of the emperor's tours that his presence in the far reaches of the empire is further stressed and intensified, creating an impression of imperial omnipresence.

Before, however, examining this feature in more detail, two things are in order: a brief introduction of Cui's "Four Panegyrics," which has so far fallen under the radar of most early-China scholars, East and West, due to a long interruption in its transmission; and an examination of complementary aspects of Cui's panegyrical art as demonstrated therein. The complete, integrated analysis of Cui's panegyrical set concludes with remarks about the added value of praise poetry for the scholar of Chinese monarchy.

2.1. Introduction: Text and Context

In light of the prevalence, in Han political theory and rhetoric, of tropes of inaction and restriction of royal presence to the palace grounds,[3] it comes perhaps as no surprise that, in the realm of practice, the authority of the Han emperor was not established via an unambiguous culture of bodily display and peregrination—as has been the case, for example, with the roughly contemporaneous Seleucid kings.[4] Quite on the contrary, several scholars have observed an increasing emphasis on the ruler's

[1] Borrowing from Kathryn Banks' note of "the share in sovereignty of the 'limbs'" in her discussion of applications of the body metaphor in sixteenth-century France. Banks, "Interpretations of the Body Politic and of Natural Bodies in Late Sixteenth-Century France," 208.

[2] See the "Introduction" and chapter 1.

[3] See chapter 1, section 1.2.

[4] Paul J. Kosmin, *The Land of the Elephant Kings: Space, Territory, and Ideology in the Seleucid Empire* (Harvard University Press, 2014), e.g., 175–180.

invisibility in late Warring States (475 – 221 BC) and Han (206 BC–AD 220) sources. Mark Lewis' note, for instance, of the fixation of the emperor's place behind series of city and palatial walls,[5] dovetails, in this regard, with Michael Nylan's observation of a decrease in ventures of Han emperors beyond the confines of the capital, from early to late Western Han.[6]

But an equally noncontroversial fact is that, even thereafter, the imperial inspection tour (*xun shou* 巡狩/守) did not disappear from the cultural discourse or from Han emperors' agendas, even if their majority did not meet favorable circumstances for its enactment. Most famously, the first Eastern Han emperor, Guangwu 光武 (r. 25 – 57), like only two emperors before him, conducted a grand tour that culminated in the prestigious *feng shan* 封禪 rites.[7] His successors, Emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 58 – 75) and Emperor Zhang, are reported to have toured the empire several times,[8] some of which were celebrated in panegyrics (*song* 頌) attested in medieval collectanea and ascribed to well-known Eastern Han figures such as Ban Gu 班固 (32 – 92) and Cui Yin. Moreover, during Emperor Zhang's reign and under his supervision, the institution of the inspection tour was among the matters discussed in the famous classicists' conference of 79 CE, as recorded in the *Baihu tong* 白虎通 (Discussions from the White Tiger Hall).[9] And although the practice of *xun shou* declined, for the most part, after the reign of Emperor Zhang, the perpetuation of the imperial mode of traversing space as a cultural motif can hardly be denied, as has been demonstrated by studies that highlight the formative influence of imperial excursions on early-medieval religious and literary practices.[10]

This speaks for the fact that elements of concealment and display were both present and closely intertwined in early Chinese political theory, mythology, palatial architecture, and ritual protocols—as well as the practice and theorization of ancient institutions such as the imperial inspection tour. As a multivalent political, economic, martial, and religious event, the inspection tour was continuously negotiated by rulers and statesmen through official communications and other rhetorical avenues that voiced the latter's deep ambivalence towards the practice.[11] The respective chapter of the *Baihu tong*, which subdues the tour's inherent emphasis on imperial presence and display under multiple notions of deference and dedication—to heaven, to the dynastic ancestors, and to the welfare of the multitudes—is one instance in this ongoing discourse. It represents the official packaging into which emperors were expected to squeeze an age-old practice, which, however, was and remained established on the display of authority and power.

Cui Yin's panegyrical set, on the other hand, opens a window onto the full-blown vision of imperial mobility in the early Eastern Han. It is available for our scrutiny thanks to the re-discovery, in Japan, at the end of the 19th century, of partial copies of the only remaining collection that preserved

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[5] Mark E. Lewis, *The Construction of Space in Early China* (State University of New York Press, 2006), 114.

[6] Michael Nylan, "Beliefs about Social Seeing: Hiddenness (*wei* 微) and Visibility in Classical-era China," in *The Rhetoric of Hiddenness in Traditional Chinese Culture*, edited by Paula M. Varsano (SUNY, 2016), 64.

[7] Xing Yitian 邢義田, "Dong Han Guangwudi yu fengshan" 東漢光武帝與封禪, in *Tianxia yi jia: huangdi guanliao yu shehui* 天下一家: 皇帝官僚與社會 (Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 177 – 201.

[8] Three and seven times, respectively. See He Pingli 何平立, *Xunshou yu fengshan: fengjian zhenghi de wenhua guiji* 巡狩與封禪 – 封建政治的文化軌迹 (Qi Lu shushe, 2003), 235 – 236.

[9] *Baihu tong shuzheng* 白虎通疏證, edited by Chen Li 陳立 (1809 – 1869) (Zhonghua shuju, 1994), 6.288 – 301.

[10] Julius Nanting Tsai, "In the Steps of Emperors and Immortals: Imperial Mountain Journeys and Daoist Meditation and Ritual," Ph.D. diss., Stanford, 2003; and Harrison Tse-Chang Huang, "Excursion, Estates, and the Kingly Gaze: The Landscape Poetry of Xie Lingyun," Ph.D. Diss., UC Berkeley, 2010.

[11] For a review of the history of the practice and some of the related controversies and tensions, see Michael Chang, *A Court on Horseback: Imperial Touring and the Construction of Qing Rule, 1680 – 1785* (Harvard University Press, 2007), 34 – 48 (45 ff. on "touring as a point of monarchical-bureaucratic tension").

Cui's panegyrics intact—the 7th-century collection, *Wenguan cilin* 文館詞林 (J. *Bunkan shirin*).[12] Cut-and-patched fragments of the four panegyrics and their prefaces were transmitted through various medieval and late-imperial collectanea, including the Ming 明 reconstruction of Cui Yin's collected works, *Cui Tingbo ji* 崔亭伯集.[13] The report of their submission and favorable imperial reception in Cui Yin's biography was known to traditional commentators, who cited it occasionally, as well as various compilers, who included the circulating fragments under categories related to imperial processions in classified collections (*lei shu* 類書).[14] But the complete text of the four panegyrics appears to have been lost, together with the *Wenguan cilin*, by the early Song 宋 (960 – 1279).

As shall be seen below, while certainly aiming to conform to the program stipulated in the *Baihu tong* and to the values that it prioritizes, Cui's panegyrics were further shaped by the conventions that are bound with the chosen literary medium, the Han rhyme-prose (*fu* 賦), as well as by the ultimate goal of advertising the praise of the reigning emperor. They thus bring into play different elements and provide a richer view of the convergence of imperial mobility and textual representations of the imperial body. The present chapter thus aims to uncover some of Cui Yin's more ingenious strategies of imperial praise, with a focus on the construction of the figure of the touring emperor.

The primary methodology I employ in carrying out this task is a comparison of the historical records of Emperor Zhang's tours in the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of Later Han; a product of the 5th century, which is, nevertheless, based at least partly on Han sources) with their panegyrical retelling in Cui's work. As a result, not only the expected hyperbolic exaggerations stand out, but also overlaps, omissions, and additions that are shown below to have been the main pillars of Cui's poetics of praise.[15] These are presented below under three topics: the sequence of the four panegyrics in Cui Yin's series; the synthesis therein of various registers of imperial praise; and the literary representation of the performance of sacrificial rites in various locations.

2.2. Putting Praise in Order

The first thing that stands out when coming to compare the historical records and the panegyrical set is the fact that the order in which the four panegyrics appear in the *Bunkan shirin* is significantly different from the chronological order in which the respective tours are reported to have been carried out. According to the *Hou Han shu*, the first tour of the Yuanhe 元和 reign period (84 – 86 CE) was the tour to the south, the second to the east, the third to the north, and the fourth to the west. In the *Bunkan shirin*, however, the order of the commemorated tours is east-south-west-north (Appendix B, table no. 1). This discrepancy raises a number of questions: Whose hand reordered the commemorated tours—the author's or a later editor? Were the four panegyrics submitted together, as a set, or were they composed and submitted separately, close to the completion of each respective tour? If submitted

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[12] See Appendix A.

[13] Zhang Pu 張溥 (1602 – 1641), *Han Wei Liuchao baisan mingjia ji* 漢魏六朝百三名家集 (Taibei: Xinxing shuju, 1963), 133 – 134.

[14] For the passage, in Cui Yin's biography, that tells of the emperor's deep appreciation of his submitted panegyrics, see *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, compiled by Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445), in *Qian sishi* 前四史 (Zhonghua shuju, 1997), vol. 3, 52.452 – 453.

[15] It is not my intention, however, to posit an essential difference between historiography as "objective" versus praise poetry as a distortion of facts. On the contrary, I argue for a measure of continuity between these two literary genres. See chapter 3.

together, was their order the same as the order of their presentation in the *Bunkan shirin*? And, if reordered by the author/editor, what purpose did it serve?

The passage from Cui Yin's biography in the *Hou Han shu* that recounts the submission of these panegyrics to Emperor Zhang, can readily be understood as an indication of their submission as a set, a series of four, at one point in time:

> During the Yuanhe reign period… Cui Yin submitted the "Four Panegyrics for the Imperial Tours," thereby to proclaim the virtue of the Han.
>
> 元和中… 駰上四巡頌以稱漢德.[16]

But while the translation above reflects this interpretation, we may alternatively read *si xun song* 四巡頌 not as a title but as a summation of Cui Yin's submissions over the three years of the Yuanhe reign period (84 – 86 CE). In this case, the translation would read: "During the Yuanhe reign period… Cui Yin submitted four imperial-tour panegyrics, thereby to proclaim the virtue of the Han." The passage that includes this report seems to be mostly concerned with casting Cui Yin as a 'hidden dragon'—a rare but unrecognized talent—whose promotion to office was forestalled only by General Dou Xian's 竇憲 (d. 92 CE) bias and Emperor Zhang's death.[17] For this reason, it is conceivable that the line above would merely be an economical way to deliver the minimally required information; a cursory report of what in fact had been a sequential submission of four separate panegyrics, possibly following each of the Yuanhe tours.

Evidence for this practice can be found in Ban Gu's 班固 (32 – 92) biography:

> Every time [the emperor] conducted a tour of inspection, [Ban Gu] submitted [to the throne] a [corresponding] piece of panegyrical rhyme-prose.
>
> 每行巡狩，輒獻上賦頌.[18]

Cui Yin was considered Ban Gu's (less renowned) peer as an author of royal praise. More often mentioned alongside Ban Gu's name in this context is also the scholar and poet Fu Yi 傅毅 (ca. 40 – ca. 90/92).[19] An anonymous fragment preserved in the *Wenguan cilin* positions the three of them, together with the classical scholar and commentator Jia Kui 賈逵 (30 – 101), right at the midst of a vibrant literary culture centered on the court and state projects:

> The Jianchu reign period was an age teeming with literary talent and activity, carrying on and adding to the attainments of previous generations. Ban Gu handled ancient records, Jia Kui

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[16] *Hou Han shu*, 52.452.

[17] In the rest of the biography Cui Yin is depicted as a relentless critic against Dou Xian's conduct. He was finally assigned to a post in a remote location, resigned, and died at his home.

[18] *Hou Han shu*, 40B.1373.

[19] For a brief discussion of the relationship between Cui Yin, Ban Gu, and Fu Yi as students at the royal academy, see Lin Jiali 林家驪 and Sun Bao 孫寶, "Cui Yin si kao" 崔駰四考, *Zhejiang daxue xuebao* 43.6 (2013), 143 – 144. Note that the 12th c. compilation *Guwen yuan* 古文苑 ascribes a fragment of the "Panegyric for the Eastern Tour" (*Dongxun song* 東巡頌) to Fu Yi, with an acknowledgment by the commentator of its ascription elsewhere to Cui Yin. See *Guwen yuan*, *juan* 21, in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan, 1983), 1332.731b.

transmitted the old, Cui Yin commemorated campaigns,[20] and Fu Yi [panegyrized] imperial tours. Their literary work was glorious, with dazzling qualities for all to see.

建初郁郁, 增修前緒, 班固司籍, 賈逵述古, 崔駰頌征, 傅毅巡狩, 文章燦爛, 粲然可覩.[21]

This does not mean that Ban, Cui, and Fu each had an exclusive expertise in one particular subgenre, but rather that they all wrote about a range of court-related themes and submitted their work to the throne in response to special occasions and imperial commission. A measure of overlap in the remaining titles of their works testifies to this practice.[22] It would be plausible, then, to assume that Cui Yin operated as did Ban Gu with regard to the composition of tour panegyrics.

Better, however, would be to clarify the question at hand based on this presumed convention: If upon the completion of every successful inspection tour panegyrics were composed and submitted to the throne by members of the imperial academy, then to ask whether Cui's submission was sequential or a fourfold set, is in fact to ask whether this instance represents the rule or the exception. If indeed submitted as a set, then even prior to a consideration of the content of Cui's praise, we may already recognize, in the form itself, a claim for novelty and significance.

The question, then, still stands. A number of mainland-Chinese scholars appear comfortable with merging the two assumptions: the notion that panegyrics were composed right after the completion of an imperial tour, and the impression that Cui Yin's four tour-panegyrics were submitted together. In support of the former, they refer to the above cited line from Ban Gu's biography. In support of the latter, they invoke a commentary by Li Xian 李賢 (653 – 684), in which he mentions Cui Yin's submission of the "'Four Tours' and other praise pieces" 四巡等頌.[23] Together, these lead them to separate the time of composition from the time of submission, and attempt to recover the date of the composition of each of the four panegyrics according to the date of each commemorated tour in light of the *Hou Han shu*.[24] The resulting timelines they propose are possible but remain highly speculative. In addition, we may note that Li Xian's commentary does not necessarily reflect the reality of submission but merely indicates that the four panegyrics came to be conceived as a group by the Tang 唐 dynasty (618 – 907). And yet, to make things more ambiguous, in the *Bunkan shirin* (which

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[20] After joining General Dou Xian's retinue, Cui Yin wrote a number of poems commemorating military campaigns, none of which survived intact. See for example Zhang Pu, *Han Wei Liuchao baisan mingjia ji (Cui Tingbo ji)*, 126; and with annotations, *Quan Han fu jiaozhegn* 全漢賦校注 (Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe, 2005), 441 – 442.

[21] *Ricang Hongren ben Wenguan cilin jiaozheng* 日藏弘仁本文館詞林校證, edited by Luo Guowei 羅國威 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), 486. For a note on a dispute over the authorship of this fragment, see Lin and Sun, "Cui Yin si kao," 149n1.

[22] See Wang Dehua 王德華, "Dong Han qianqi fusong erti de hushen yu santi dafu de zouxiang" 東漢前期賦頌二體的互滲與散體大賦的走向, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 4 (2004): 7 – 8. See also Duan Lichao 段立超, "Shanggu songlei wenxue jingshen ji qi tilei tezheng" 上古頌類文學精神及其體類特征 (PhD diss., Dongbei shifan daxue 東北師范大學, 2007), 90 – 91, for a discussion of four different poems—by Ban Gu, Cui Yin, Ma Rong 馬融 (79 – 166), and Liu Zhen 劉珍 (d. ca. 126)—all titled "Panegyric for the Eastern Tour" (*Dong xun song* 東巡頌). For Ban Gu, Fu Yi, and Cui Yin as panegyrists at the service of the Eastern Han court of Emperors Ming and Zhang, see also David R. Knechtges, "To Praise The Han: The Eastern Capital Fu of Pan Ku and His Contemporaries," in *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China: Studies Dedicated to Anthony Hulsewé on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, edited by W. L. Idema and E. Zürcher (Brill, 1990), esp. 132 – 136.

[23] *Hou Han shu*, 3.160.

[24] See Duan Lichao, "Shanggu songlei wenxue," 95 – 96; Lin and Sun, "Cui Yin si kao," 141, 149 – 153; Fu Junlian 伏俊璉 and Yao Jun 姚軍, "Ricang Hongren ben *Wenguan cilin* zhong Liang Han wenxian jiazhi" 日藏弘仁本《文館詞林》中兩漢文的文獻價值, *Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan* 1 (2010), 3.

represents the Tang *Wenguan cilin*) they are not gathered under the joint title "Four Panegyrics for the Imperial Tours" (*si xun song* 四巡頌).

We may turn, then, to the organization of the fragments of the four panegyrics in received collectanea, such as the Ming-dynasty *Cui Tingbo ji* 崔亭伯集—a collection of Cui Yin's extant work as it was known to the compiler, Zhang Pu 張溥 (1602 – 1641), in the first half of the 17th century. In Zhang Pu's collection, the fragments are arranged in chronological order according to the dates indicated in the received text itself—in most cases, the prefaces.[25] The only difference between their sequence in the *Cui Tingbo ji* and the chronological order in the *Hou Han shu* as presented in Table no. 1, is the date and subsequent chronological location of the western tour. In the *Cui Tingbo ji*, the preface of the "Panegyric for the Western Tour" indicates that it took place on Yichou day, on the eighth month of the third year of the Yongping reign period 永平三年八月 (60 CE) 己丑. This would mean, however, that the emperor who undertook this tour was Emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 58 – 75) rather than Emperor Zhang. This was the supposition of Lu Kanru 陸侃如 (1903 – 1978), who asked, nevertheless, to amend the date indicated in the recorded fragment. The eighth month of the third year of Yongping, he argued, did not include an Yichou 己丑 day. Instead, he argued that the date should be amended to Yongping second year, eleventh month, Jiashen 甲申 day—the day in which Emperor Ming went on an inspection tour as known from historical records.[26] Lu Kanru was, however, apparently unaware of the 1969 Japanese edition of the *Bunkan shirin* (nor of its 19th c. precursors) and of the inclusion therein of Cui's complete set.

The date indicated in the preface of the panegyric for the western tour in the *Bunkan shirin*—Yichou day of Yuanhe third year eighth month—does correspond with a tour undertaken by Emperor Zhang to the western regions,[27] with one difference: the *Hou Han shu* has *yichou* 乙丑 as the day of the commencement of the tour, whereas the preface of the panegyric for the western tour has *yichou* 己丑. Since according to calendrical calculation only *yichou* 乙丑 is viable, the mistake is probably in the preface.[28] Nevertheless, the dating of the western tour in the preface of the *Bunkan shirin* is more sensible than the dating in the received collectanea and its thorough revision by Lu Kanru. Since Yongping 永平 and Yuanhe 元和 have graphic similarities, the path of least resistance would be to conclude that the date in the *Cui Tingbo ji* (永平三年八月己丑) is the result of a copyist mistake and should be amended according to the *Bunkan shirin* (元和三年八月己丑). As it appears, then, it is because the compiler of the *Cui Tingbo ji* did not have the *Bunkan shirin* at his disposal—and hence was unaware of the differences in dating and sequence—that when coming to present the panegyrics in the chronological order of the respective tours, he placed the western tour first rather than last (see Table no. 1).

In any event, the editorial decisions in both compilations cannot be relied upon in order to determine the original sequence and form of submission of Cui's four panegyrics. As reviewed above, the extant extra-textual evidence are inconclusive and only permit the assumption that Cui Yin's four panegyrics were all submitted before Emperor Zhang's death, possibly but not necessarily as a set,

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[25] Zhang Pu, *Han Wei Liuchao baisan mingjia ji*, 133–134.

[26] *Lu Kanru Feng Yuanjun heji* 陸侃如馮沅君合集 (Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2011), 10: 73.

[27] See Duan Lichao, "Shanggu songlei wenxue," 94.

[28] Lin and Sun, "Cui Yin si kao," 152. The correspondence between Emperor Zhang's western tour of Yuanhe 3 (86 CE) and Cui Yin's "Panegyric for the Western Tour" is the most problematic, but not indefensible. Duan further notes that neither the terse record in the *Hou Han shu* nor Cui's corresponding panegyric regard this tour as an "inspection tour" (*xun shou* 巡狩). Cui chose to panegyrize this imperial visit, he argues, in order to complete a set of four tours to the four directions. Duan, "Shanggu songlei wenxue," 94.

and that they came to be known and referred to together as a group. Soon after, they had dropped out of circulation (except for brief fragments), and were preserved, as it turns out, only in the court archives, where they were available for the compilers of the *Wenguan cilin*. It is there, in the complete text, that we find further corroboration for their submission as a set of four, and for authorial manipulation of the order of the tours disregarding matters of historical chronology.

The "Panegyric for the Eastern Tour" (*Dong xun song* 東巡頌) is the one to open the series in the *Bunkan shirin*. It is also the longest among the four, and in politico-religious terms the most significant, since it depicts Emperor Zhang's enactment of the prestigious pilgrimage to and ritual on top of Mt. Tai 泰—where Emperor Guangwu had performed the exalted *feng shan* rites almost thirty years earlier (56 CE). The fact, therefore, that the "Panegyric for the Eastern Tour" is the only one in the series to lack a formal preface, merits consideration. We may note, at this point, that the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (late 10th c.; *juan* 588) and subsequent collectanea preserve a brief text, titled "Memorial Presenting the Four Panegyrics for the Imperial Tours" 上四巡頌表, which purportedly represents the memorial Cui Yin had composed to announce the submission of his fourfold set to Emperor Zhang.[29] The memorial gained circulation through commentaries and received collectanea, and although not included in the *Bunkan shirin* alongside the panegyrics themselves, there is no positive reason to doubt its authenticity. Furthermore, regardless of matters of content, it is definitely reasonable to assume that Cui's submission was announced by a document of this sort. *Biao* 表 were a class of upward submissions, termed by Enno Giele "presentations," and were often accompanied by appended text that was submitted for the emperor's attention.[30] A scenario in which the "Panegyric for the Eastern Tour" was the first to follow a submission memorial of this sort may help to explain why it lacks an internal preface, since the memorial itself partially fulfilled prefatory functions.

Another peculiarity of the "Panegyric for the Eastern Tour" that may have explanatory value for the present purpose is its opening section. The panegyric opens with a general celebration of the Han restoration and of Emperor Zhang's reign, which in this scale is lacking from the other three panegyrics: [31]

> The third generation of the Han restoration—how august, how illustrious! Truly, he followed his predecessors, inherited the third mandate, and carried on their grand accomplishments.
>
> 伊漢中興三葉，於皇惟烈，允由厥倫，纘三命，胤洪勳。

The third generation of the restoration is Emperor Zhang, the third emperor of the Eastern Han. This opening line is followed by over 200 characters listing Emperor Zhang's deeds and achievements in the years that preceded the Yuanhe tours, including the classicist conference of 79 CE, the initiation of the "Quarter-Remainder Calendar" (*sifen li* 四分歷) in 85 CE, and the edict of the same year announcing the renewal of the imperial rites to the mountains and rivers. Also a part of the opening section is an enthusiastic celebration of Emperor Zhang's reinstatement of what was viewed as the ancient practice of royal touring as evidenced in the Classics (the "Eulogia" 頌 of the *Book of Odes* 詩經, and the "Canon of Yao" 堯典 of the *Venerated Documents* 尚書):

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[29] See also Zhang Pu, *Han Wei Liuchao baisan mingjia ji*, 133.

[30] Enno Giele, *Imperial Decision-Making and Communication in Early China: A Study of Cai Yong's* Duduan (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 129–150.

[31] Here and below, for full annotations to lines quoted from the "Four Panegyrics," please refer to the "Appendix: Complete Annotated Translation of Cui Yin's 'Four Panegyrics for the Imperial Tours.'"

> The "journey to the towering ridges" appears in the Eulogia; the tours to the high mountains appear in the Canon. "Periodically he passes through his lands," the people are that for which he labors.[32] Surely that is proper!
>
> 頌有山喬之征，典有徂岳之巡。時邁其邦，人斯是勤。不亦宜哉。

With this extensive praise of Emperor Zhang's reign in general and of the touring project in particular, the opening of the "Panegyric for the Eastern Tour" appears to function, thematically, like a grand preface for the series as a whole. From this perspective, the absence of a formal preface has internal justification.

These peculiarities of the "Panegyric for the Eastern Tour" may testify for its special position at the head of what indeed had been a fourfold panegyrical set. But what would have been the purpose, then, for altering the chronological order of the eulogized tours? The key for this question lies in the above allusion to the "Canon of Yao," or, more specifically, to the tour and rituals ascribed therein to the legendary King Shun 舜. Shun's prototypal tour to the sacred peaks of the four directions proceeded from east, to south, west, and north[33]—as do Cui Yin's panegyrics in the *Bunkan shirin*. Shun's tour is frequently cited as an ancient and prestigious precedent in support of the imperial institution of the inspection tour—as done, for example, in the aforementioned chapter of the *Baihu tong*.[34] For Cui Yin to imitate the sequence and directionality of Shun's tour in his rearrangement of the panegyrics and their detachment from historical chronology is to rewrite Emperor Zhang's touring project in cosmological terms and claim for it world-making significance. It is to take up a sequence of tours the rationality of which was determined by economic and political contingencies, and grant it a-historical value. Moreover, the cosmological resonance that the order east-south-west-north infuses is further amplified by its analogy to the order of the four seasons and directions in the "Monthly Ordinances" (*Yue ling* 月令) chapter of the *Record of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記)[35]—itself representing an organizing system frequently drawn upon in Cui Yin's four panegyrics.

To conclude, the accumulation of extra- and intra-textual evidence—though none conclusive in itself—strongly suggests the possibility that the order of the panegyrics in the *Bunkan shirin* roughly represents the form in which they were submitted, jointly, for Emperor Zhang's attention.[36] This possibility is worth engaging, for it would add a new dimension to the author's efforts—as demonstrated below—to pour historical facts into meaningful cultural patterns in order to enhance their significance.

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[32] *Ren si* 人斯 is a locution of the *Odes* and *Documents,* often meaning 'the common people.' The four-character line (人斯是勤) is either a quote of a text no longer extant, or an archaized poetic formulation of one of the threads that comprise the rhetoric of the inspection tour in the *Baihu tong*, i.e. casting it as orchestrated primarily for the well-being of the empire's subjects.

[33] *Shangshu yizhu* 尚書譯注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2000), 14.

[34] *Baihu tong shuzheng*, 290 (the mountains of the four directions, plus a fifth, are presented in the same order when their names are offered quasi-etymological explanations in the final section of the chapter: ibid., 299–300).

[35] *Liji jijie* 禮記集解 (Zhonghua shuju, 1989), vol. 1, 399 – vol. 2, 505.

[36] There is reason to believe, moreover, that—unlike the suggestion of the Chinese scholars mentioned above—the four panegyrics were produced in close proximity to one another with the intention of submitting them as a set (and not separately following each tour).

2.3. Registers of Praise

The divine nature of the ruler in early imperial China was construed in various, and at times seemingly incongruent ways. In addition to competing claims advanced by different interest groups at court, much of the diversity in the definitions of the ruler's relation to the divine—whether, for example, as a member of a divinely appointed lineage or a practitioner of self-divinization—is due to the particular discourse, and even literary genre, within which the emperor's sacredness was articulated. This does not mean, however, that we should expect a single coherent view of divine authority per textual source. The panegyric, in particular, is less guided by a desire to lay out a coherent ideology of kingship, and more occupied with the accumulation of superlatives. The following is a demonstration of the multiplicity of different registers of praise in Cui's work. I focus, for this purpose, on the "Panegyric for the Eastern Tour"—the first, the longest, and the grandest of the four panegyrics. As such, the "Eastern Tour" and its celebration of the royal rituals at Mt. Tai—the main sacred mountain—provide ample opportunities for examining Cui's strategies of praise.

In several respects, Cui Yin continues the efforts of Ban Gu, in the "Two Capitals Rhapsody" (*Liangdu fu* 兩都賦), to redefine imperial majesty by rejecting the extravagance associated with the Western Han (206 BCE – 25 CE) and stressing the accord with cosmic forces, classical precedents, and the needs of the common people.[37] The section dedicated for the Eastern Capital (Luoyang 洛陽, the capital of the Eastern Han) in Ban Gu's "Two Capitals Rhapsody" includes a terse and rather conventional reference to the inspection tour:

> Then, setting the Grand Carriage into motion,
> And following the imperial thoroughfare,
> He visited the four quarters on a tour of inspection,
> Personally viewing the holdings of the myriad states,
> Examining the range of his renowned teachings,
> And scattering august brilliance to illuminate darkness.[38]
>
> 乃動大路，遵皇衢，省方巡狩，窮覽萬國之有無，考聲教之所被，散皇明以燭幽。[39]

Cui Yin's challenge in his tour panegyrics was to expand this restrained description and magnify it in order "to proclaim the virtue of the Han," while not slipping into lavish depictions of extravagant processions and implications of imperial megalomania or explicit quest for immortality—all of which were denounced as the dishonorable legacy of the previous dynasties.

At the same time, however, the tropes that dominated literary representations of outstanding figures on transformative tours to the reaches of the realm—from "Far Roaming" (*Yuan you* 遠遊; ca. 130 BCE?) of the *Lyrics of Chu* (*Chuci* 楚辭) to Sima Xiangru's 司馬相如 (ca. 180–117 BCE)

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[37] As Wang Dehua sensibly notes, the eulogistic literary production in the early Eastern Han encompassed two major themes: the capital, and the tour of inspection. But since *fu* of the former type were recorded in the *Hou Han shu* and included in the *Wen xuan*, they attracted much more attention than the *fu* of the latter type, which circulated only in fragments—until the re-discovery of the *Wenguan cilin*. See Wang Dehua, "Dong Han qianqi fusong erti," 4.

[38] David Knechtges, trans., *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature, Volume One: Rhapsodies on Metropolises and Capitals* (Princeton University Press, 1982), 157.

[39] *Quan Hanfu jiaozhu* 全漢賦校注 (Guangzhou: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe, 2005), 496. Note that *you* 幽 (dim, quiet, hidden) also denotes the remote and unseen in the justification, in *Baihu tong*, of the need to have the emperor personally travel to the far regions of his empire: "道德太平, 恐遠近不同化, 幽隱有不得所." *Baihu tong shuzheng*, 289.

"Rhapsody of the Great Man" (*Daren fu* 大人賦)[40]—were such effective rhetorical devices as to be almost unavoidable in this context, both stylistically and conceptually. This is especially so for an author of a piece of rhyme-prose that aims to celebrate the successful completion of an imperial tour on a grand scale. Cui's depiction of the emperor's attainment on the eastern tour—for which he claims the significance and full implications of a tour that culminated in the *feng* and *shan* rituals—is therefore especially apt for examining his strategies in meeting this challenge.

I take on this task below, in two parts. First, I compare the imperial edicts issued around the tour, with their panegyrical representation.[41] Then, I analyze the passage in the "Eastern Tour" that reports of the highest accomplishment Emperor Zhang is said to have attained. As shall be demonstrated, Cui Yin manages to allude to prototypes of the cosmic tour while retaining the official rhetoric of the tour as formulated in the *Baihu tong*; to magnify the figure of the emperor and the scenes of the imperial procession while keeping them contained within the values of "Grand Purity" 太清.[42]

2.3.1 Echoing Emperor Zhang's Edicts

Emperor Zhang did not perform the exalted *feng shan* rites on Mt. Tai, as done by the founder of the Eastern Han, Emperor Guangwu. Both the *Hou Han shu* (including supplements) and the present panegyric, report only on the performance of the burnt offering *chai* 柴, the *wang* 望 ritual for the mountains and rivers, and the sacrificial rites at the ancestral temple. Cui Yin, however, in the typical hyperbolic mode of Han panegyrical rhyme-prose, strongly implies that the scale and significance of the emperor's attainments on this tour exceed even those of past rulers who are reputed to having performed the *feng* and *shan*. At the conclusion of the sacrificial activity, after praising the Han under Emperor Zhang as surpassing the three ancient dynasties (Xia 夏, Shang 商, and Zhou 周), he adds:

> Seek out and examine each of the former seventy-two [rulers who performed the *feng* and *shan*][43]—how are they sufficient to match his level?
>
> 搜歷往昔之七十二，彼曾何足與爭流。[44]

This celebratory overstatement concludes the depiction of the sacrificial activity conducted at the top and at the vicinity of Mt. Tai, the intermingling of men and gods, and the arrival of approving omens in the form of mythical birds that affirm the virtue of the emperor and the successful completion of the rites. Following this statement, is a depiction of the emperor's round of calls and banquets in the surrounding area, put in terms not of political convening, gift exchange, or extravagant celebrations but of deep contemplation at historically and culturally significant sites, and solemn

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[40] On issues surrounding the dating of the "Yuan you" and its relation to the "Daren fu," see the helpful review by Paul W. Kroll in "On 'Far Roaming,'" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116.4 (1996), 654.

[41] Note that in Giele's terminology 'edicts' serves as the umbrella term for downward communications from the emperor, whereas the class of *zhaoshu* 詔書, which seems to most closely correspond to the edicts cited below, are rendered 'instructions' (or 'announcements'). See Giele, *Imperial Decision-Making*, 201–202, 232–250, 259.

[42] The values of simplicity and non-intervention that are advanced in the "Eastern Capital Rhapsody" by Ban Gu: David Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, 146 L. 24, 147.

[43] *Shiji* 史記 (Zhonghua shuju, 1959), vol. 1, 28.1361 ("Fengshan shu" 封禪書); Mark E. Lewis, "The *Feng* and *Shan* Sacrifices of Emperor Wu of the Han," in *State and Court Ritual in* China, edited by Joseph P. McDermott (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 53, 53n4, 66.

[44] *Ricang Hongren ben Wenguan cilin jiaozheng*, 100.

musical performances of the most revered ancient repertoire. The final section of the "Eastern Tour" is a recapitulation, in an accelerated pace reminiscent of "Nine Songs" (*Jiuge* 九歌) meter,[45] of the entire journey and its accomplishments.

Not only the panegyrist, but the historian as well granted the eastern tour of 85 CE a place of importance, and recorded its route in length—including edicts that were issued by the emperor before, during, and after the procession. In fact, it is quite possible that such records were the main source of information for Cui Yin, who was in no political standing to join the emperor's entourage. In Table no. 2, I demonstrate that there is a great degree of correspondence between the edicts recorded in the *Hou Han shu* and Cui Yin's "Panegyric for the Eastern Tour," in terms of themes, language, and chronology. This feature may have value for our understanding of the production of panegyrics in early imperial China. Not entitled to join the emperor in his rounds, Cui may have had to rely on the information available in the imperial pronouncements, which were disseminated down to the various offices and localities.[46] Like Libanius (c. 314 – c. 392), his conceptual peer in ancient Rome, Cui may have conducted meticulous research in order to collect historical data for his encomiums.[47] Not less interesting, however, than the similarities between the imperial edicts and the corresponding sections in Cui's panegyric, are the differences between them. When these are examined together, they illuminate intriguing aspects in the art of the panegyrist.

Take, for example, the edict reportedly issued after the ceremonies on Mt. Tai had been completed, and the corresponding portion in Cui Yin's panegyric (last item on Table no. 2). On *bingzi* 丙子 day, on the second month of Yuanhe 2 (85 CE), after the completion of the sacrificial rituals at the Wenshang 汶上 Hall of Light (*Mingtang* 明堂), and before his visit to the state of Lu 魯, Emperor Zhang issued the following edict:

> On a tour of inspection to Daizong (Mt. Tai), I performed the *chai* ritual and the *wang* for the mountains and rivers, and conducted the sacrificial rituals at the [Wenshang] Hall of Light,[48] thereby to proclaim my ancestors' accomplishments. Climbing [mountains], crossing [rivers], hanging [with ropes],[49] surmounting impassable obstacles, and hurriedly running to the outer shrine,[50] all came to take part in the sacrificial ceremony: the descendants of the two previous

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[45] Here, hexasyllabic lines comprised of two trisyllabic lines joined together with the caesura *xi*兮. In most cases this allows two verbs per one hexasyllabic line (altogether 27 such lines)—hence the accelerated pace.

[46] For the dissemination of imperial edicts see Wang Guihai 汪桂海, *Handai guanwenshu zhidu* 漢代官文書制度 (Nanning: Guangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999), 153ff.

[47] "'In what I say now,' says Libanius (*Or.* 59.12b), 'I briefly imitate Thucydides. I have not accepted report without testing it, nor have I avoided the arduous side of investigating the truth in order to rush into what comes first to hand; I have studied the matter painfully and accurately, and I have good reason to be trusted.'" Donald Russell, "The Panegyrists and Their Teachers," in *The Propaganda of Power: the Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (Brill, 1998), 39.

[48] "Wenshang" is specified a few lines earlier, in the report of the emperor's route and activities up to the issuing of the edict: "On Renshen day, he performed sacrificial rituals for the Five Emperors at the Wenshang Mingtang." 壬申, 宗祀五帝于汶上明堂.

[49] For a particular location called *xuan du* west of Dunhuang, see *Hou Han shu jijie* 後漢書集解, compiled by Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842–1918) (Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 1.81b.

[50] The princes of the various domains are similarly described as hurrying to the ancestral temple to assist in a series of sacrificial rituals conducted by King Wu of Zhou, in *Shangshu yizhu*, 209 ("Wu cheng" 武成).

reigning houses;[51] the posterity of the Sage [Kongzi]; the guardian princes of the Eastern regions;[52] paternal uncles, brothers of every standing, young sons and grandsons [of the house of Liu];[53] variously ranking officials; and the various branches of the imperial clan; as well as people from the Yao and Huang domains (2000 and 2500 *li* from the imperial domain) and beyond in the four directions; from north of the desert and west of the Green Mountains (roughly the Pamir mountain range), such as those covered with beards.

The merits and virtue of the ancestors have extended to my own person. Although I am devoid [of merit] and possess many infirmities, I have inherited the venerable and the luminous. I [therefore] performed the ritual purification and presented the offerings with great humility and trembling.[54] Did the *Odes* not say: "If the lord receives blessings, disorder should quickly cease."[55]

Now that the calendric calculations are in proper order,[56] and the divine luminaries shine clear and bright, I would like the heart of the literati and officialdom to accord with mine and undergo self-renewal as one. I hereby announce great amnesty throughout the realm.

朕巡狩岱宗, 柴望山川, 告祠明堂, 以章[57]先勳. 其二王之後, 先聖之胤, 東后藩衛, 伯父伯兄, 仲叔季弟, 幼子童[58]孫, 百僚從臣, 宗室眾子, 要荒四裔, 沙漠之北, 葱領[59]之西, 冒耏[60]之類, 跋涉懸度, 陵踐阻絕, 駿奔郊畤, 咸來助祭.

祖宗功德, 延及朕躬. 予一人空虛多疚, 纂承尊明, 盥洗享鬳, 慙愧祗[61]慄. 詩不云乎: "君子如祉, 亂庶遄已."

歷數既從, 靈燿[62]著明[63], 亦欲與士大夫同心自新, 大赦天下.[64]

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[51] The contemporary understanding of the practice of honoring the descendants of the two previous dynasties is best represented in the *Baihu tong*, "San zheng" 三正 chapter. For a translation see Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po Hu T'ung* (Brill, 1949 – 1952), 2.552–553. For references in the *Liji* and *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 to this concept, see Wang Xianqian's commentary: *Hou Han shu jijie* 1.81b.

[52] Following Wang Xianqian: *Hou Han shu jijie* 1.81b. The phrase *dong hou* 東后, Lords of the East, is known from the account of Shun's tour to the sacred mountains. On his excursion to the east, after conducting the sacrificial rituals to the mountains and rivers, he is said to have held audience with the local princes—the Lords of the East: 肆覲東后.

[53] This list of relatives appears in the *Documents*, "Lü xing" 呂刑 (*Shangshu yizhu,* 400). Wang Xianqian notes that the reference here is to princes and lords of Liu descent: *Hou Han shu jijie* 1.81b.

[54] The *Wenguan cilin* has 慄慄 for 祗慄. The latter might be a variation of the former, which is the more common phrase and appears in several Han edicts in emperors' self-references, often with regard to their bearing in the ancestral temple. Another instance ascribed to Emperor Zhang appears in an earlier edict recorded in *Hou Han shu* 3.133.

[55] Mao #198, "Qiao yan" 巧言. I have adjusted the translation to the current appropriation of the line. Cf. Arthur Waley, trans., *The Book of Songs*, edited with additional translations by Joseph R. Allen (Grove Press, 1996), 179; and Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 commentary as cited in *Hou Han shu jijie* 1.81b.

[56] Li Xian 李賢 notes (*Hou Han shu jijie* 1.81b) that this is a reference to the "Quarter-Remainder Calendar" (*sifen li* 四分歷), which was instated in the second month of Yuanhe 2 (85 CE), shortly before Emperor Zhang left on his eastern tour to Mt. Tai (*Hou Han shu* 3.149).

[57] *Ricang Hongren ben Wenguan cilin jiaozheng,* 257: 彰

[58] Ibid.: 幼

[59] Ibid.: 嶺

[60] Ibid.: 懦

[61] Ibid.: 慄

[62] Ibid.: 曜

[63] Ibid.: 文

[64] *Hou Han shu* 3.149 – 150; *Ricang Hongren ben Wenguan cilin jiaozheng,* 257 (the appended note indicating that the text of this edict was not preserved elsewhere, is incorrect). The sentence that follows in the *Hou Han shu* is treated as part of

Under Cui Yin's brush, this event of great political and religious significance is depicted as follows:

> Then, the jade-holding lords all came to take part in the sacrificial ritual.
> From all around they gathered for an audience with the emperor at the edges of Mt. Tai, bearing ritual gifts and receiving imperial command.
>
> Thereupon, [the emperor] observed the procedure of the great ceremony, expanded the olden tracks, announced Double Brilliance, and glorified the two ancestors.[65]
>
> He performed the *chai* for the august on high, and the *wang*, in due order, [for the mountains and rivers]. He bowed to the hundred spirits and the divine ancestors.
> He made magnificent the fragrance of bright virtue, and the gods came descending, dim and hazy.
> Employing the outer ancestral temple, he sacrificed for his ancestors, leaning on the easeful excellence of his illustrious forefathers.
> He satisfied the heart of the [Heavenly] Emperors, and enticed the gods over; as they delighted in the splendid harmony that results from his numerous accomplishments.
>
> 於是執玉之君，咸來助祭。
> 周覲岱濱，抱禮受制。
>
> 遂案唐儀，恢舊跡，宣重光，章二祖。
>
> 柴皇穹於望秋兮，揖百靈於天宗。[66]
> 休明德之馥芬兮，神黼藹而來降。
> 假太廟而宗祀兮，依顯祖之從容。
> 厭帝心而媚神兮，歆庶績之穆雍。[67]

The two texts report of the same event with differing emphases. Emperor Zhang's edict elaborates in great length on the political significance of the great gathering of various divisions of the Han governance, the imperial clan, and local leaders, on the occasion of the ceremony at Mt. Tai. Cui Yin, for his purposes, gestures briefly towards this aspect and the scope of the great convention (in the first two lines), and chooses to elaborate not on the political significance of the event but on its cosmological implications. The dozen or so lines that immediately follow these verses detail the joyous intermingling of men and gods, the arrival of consecutive auspicious omens, the phoenixes, the

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the edict by Yan Kejun (following Ming and Qing collectanea) but not by the editors of the *Wenguan cilin*. It concerns exceptions for the amnesty and details of a tax relief.

[65] *Xuan chong guang* 宣重光 is borrowed from the *Documents,* "Gu ming" 顧命 chapter. There, it refers to the brilliance of kings Wen 文 and Wu 武 of the ancient Zhou dynasty (mid. 11th century–256 BCE). Commentators explain the 'doubling' of brilliance mostly in terms of accumulation, as the son (King Wu) both inherits and equals the brilliance of his father (King Wen). See Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu, *Shangshu jiaoshi yilun*, 4:1725 – 1726. In the present context, the father-son ancestors whose brilliance is accumulated may also be Emperors Guangwu and Ming—Emperor Zhang's grandfather and father. *Xuan* 宣 in "Gu ming" is glossed as *xian* 顯 (to display). Its translation here hinges on whether the three verbs in this line (恢, 宣, 章) refer to particular ritual procedures or represent an evaluation of Emperor Zhang's venerable performance of the said ceremony.

[66] 秋 read as 秩.

[67] *Ricang Hongren ben Wenguan cilin jiaozheng*, 100.

simurghs, and the multiple blessings that are announced with their appearance. The shift of gears, from a first-person statement of the emperor's own activities to a third-person report of the event as witnessed by its audience, allows the panegyrist to give a full account of the whole spectacle. After all, it is up to him to supplement the announcement of the performance of the rites with an indication of their efficacy. And so he does. After the communion with the gods of the mountain, the emperor is depicted as if merged with them, and familiar metaphors of imperial grace materialize into a description of an emperor on the verge of apotheosis:

> His steps filled the land, to and fro, as he surveyed the towering heights of the mountain ridges.
> Commanding the chariots, he established himself on high, and sent forth alpine rain clouds to spread down his grace.
>
> 步周流以容與兮，覽崢嶸之峻嵂。
> 制軒轅而立崇兮，發膚寸而播恩。[68]

Intriguing, however, is the fact that Cui Yin does not only ascend to a cosmological register in his depiction of the imperial rites, but also retains the stance of awe and humility that characterizes the imperial voice. Consider, for example, the following comparison.

Emperor Zhang's edict:	Cui Yin's rendering:
The merits and virtue of the ancestors have extended to my own person. Although I am devoid [of merit] and possess many infirmities, I have inherited the venerable and the luminous. I [therefore] performed the ritual purification and presented the offerings with great humility and trembling.	His highness admires the lofty with great humility; with silence, dark and quiet, he conducts himself. Thus awe-inspired, he is not at peace; dreading the great intricacy of the tasks at hand.
祖宗功德, 延及朕躬. 予一人空虛多疚, 纂承尊明, 盥洗享鬳, 慙愧祗慄.	上謙謙而祗聳兮，謐玄靜以自存。 茲業業而弗康兮，懼事事之孔艱。

In terms of the inner logic of the imperial cult, the projection of this demeanor on the part of the emperor in the course of the sacrificial rites was exactly that which ensured ritual efficacy in the form of world-encompassing blessings. In this sense, there is perfect continuity between the imperial speech and the panegyrical depiction of the ritual's outcome. But it is worthwhile to separate those two strands in Cui's work so as to recognize when he is reproducing the imperial image authored by edict writers, and when he drifts to regions to which he gains access only through the poetic medium.

At times, he does both in a single couplet. Such is, for example, his report of the great amnesty issued by Emperor Zhang at the conclusion of the rites:

[68] Ibid.

Emperor Zhang's edict:	Cui Yin's rendering:
I would like the heart of the literati and officialdom to accord with mine and undergo **self-renewal** as one. I hereby announce great amnesty throughout the realm.	Letting open Heaven's Enclosure, he revokes punishments; rinsing the Eaves and Pillars, he brings about **self-renewal**.
欲與士大夫同心**自新**，大赦天下。	解天牢以錯辟兮，洗宇宙而**自新**。

The thematic similarity, as well as the shared phraseology (*zi xin* 自新; see below) and the location of these pronouncements in the respective reports of the emperor's accomplishments surrounding the sacrificial rites, all suggest that Cui's couplet is indeed a poetic rendering of the announcement of a great amnesty. But with the poetic rendering, the sphere of action is doubled and thus magnified: the phrase "Heaven's Enclosure" (*tian lao* 天牢) is both a name of an astral constellation and a signifier of the capital prison.[69] Likewise, the phrase "Eaves and Pillars" (*yu zhou* 宇宙) spans a range of meanings from the physical eaves and pillars in early-Chinese architecture to the universal scope of synonymous phrases like 'heaven and earth.' Cui's lines can thus be read both as centered on the human realm and as affirming a universal transformation encompassing both the heavenly and the mundane.

On the one hand, then, Cui Yin augments the imperial report with a perspective peculiar for the panegyric. On the other hand, he scatters cues that tie his extraordinary depiction back to the concrete details of the event as known from imperial proclamations. The significance of this textual feature stems not so much from the possibility of tracing in the panegyric indications of events recorded in one particular edict by Emperor Zhang, as from the fact that these traces are easily identified due to the panegyrist's employment of key terminology known from the stock-language of imperial edicts in general. Many of the phrases that tie Cui's verses back to instances of imperial speech—which, in turn, is highly informed by the linguistic and ethical vocabulary of the *Documents* and *Odes*—recur in multiple Han edicts. The phrase *xian lai zhu ji* 咸來助祭 ("all arrived to take part in the ritual") appears in both Emperor Zhang's edict and Cui Yin's verse, but also in several reports of ritual events of great significance, such as Emperor Guangwu's *feng shan* inscriptions[70] and an edict by Emperor Ming that reports on a sacrificial ceremony at the Hall of Light in honor of his father and previous emperor, Guangwu (a ceremony that was followed as well by an announcement of a great amnesty).[71] The phrase *zi xin* 自新 ("self-renewal") is often used in imperial edicts in connection with the protocol that follows great ritual occasions and the issuing of great amnesties.[72] Self-declarations of humility and fearfulness are also common in edicts of this sort, as an indication for the emperor's awareness to the gravity of his position.[73] A combination of several of these components together can be found

[69] It appears in the *Shiji* treatise on astronomy and is later identified as a constellation of six stars in the vicinity of the Big Dipper. See *Shiji*, 27.1351; and *Jin shu* 晉書, chief compiler Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579 – 648) (Zhonghua shuju, 1974), vol. 1, 11.291 ("Tianwen shang" 天文上).

[70] *Hou Han shu*, 3165 ("Jisi shang" 祭祀上).

[71] *Hou Han shu*, 2.100. See also the Mingtang poem in Ban Gu's "Liangdu fu" (普天率土, 各以其職) in *Wen xuan* 文選 (Shanghai guji, 1986), 1.40.

[72] E.g., *Shiji*, 28.1398; *Hou Han shu*, 6.255 – 256.

[73] E.g., *Shiji*, 28.1398; *Hou Han shu*, 2.100; *Hou Han shu*, 3.133.

in more than one edict.[74] Whether or not Cui Yin had in mind the particular edict issued by Emperor Zhang upon completion of the ceremonies, he certainly appears to have been writing with a clear sense of how an edict of this kind would have sounded like. The themes, phraseology, and postures assumed by the emperor in this context would have been fully predictable, and hence reproducible.

Elsewhere in the panegyrics, the emperor's speech is not reproduced but insinuated, making space for a complete shift in sphere of action—from the mundane to the celestial—within only a few characters. On the first month of Yuanhe 2, the emperor issued an edict addressed to the Three Lords of the Executive Council (*san gong* 三公) requesting that they disseminate it to their subordinates and local leaders (first item on Table no. 2). The edict includes instructions for all the relevant officials to observe the regulations of the early spring and honor this time of budding and growth of all living creatures. These are in line with the proper procedures for the first and second month of spring as listed in the "Monthly Ordinances," and include an instruction to cultivate the seasonal crops and a prohibition of executions. In addition to this edict as recorded in the *Hou Han shu* prior to the eastern tour, the *Han Records from the Eastern Chamber* (*Dongguan Han ji* 東觀漢記) indicates that when Emperor Zhang went on spring excursions he instructed officials to observe the spring regulations and avoid felling trees when clearing paths for the royal chariots to pass.[75] According to the "Monthly Ordinances," prohibitions against cutting down trees were due in the first month of spring. In the following instance from the "Eastern Tour," Cui relies on the economy of the literary allusion in order to invoke the emperor's prompts and the system of the "Monthly Regulations" in two short lines:

He directed Gou Mang to calm his domain, and ordered Chong and Li to receive the spring.

勑勾芒使靖方兮，詔重黎以奉春。

Gou Mang 勾芒 and 'Chong and Li' 重黎 are all members of the celestial bureaucracy. Gou Mang is the god in charge of the spring season according to the system of the "Monthly Ordinances," and Chong and Li are known from the mythology as the celestial officials of the legendary emperor Zhuan Xu 顓頊.[76] Emperor Zhang's instructions to his senior ministers to pacify the land according to the procedures due for the season and to receive the spring properly, is thus encoded in allusions to the "Monthly Ordinances" and the god-officials. The verbs *chi* 勑 and *zhao* 詔 at the beginning of each line are explicit signifiers of imperial downward communication, and as such they position the eulogized emperor at the top of the heavenly bureaucracy. At the same time, however, by deifying the addressees of Emperor Zhang's commands, Cui is invoking a trope associated with Chu-style pieces of rhyme-prose that recount the ascension of a protagonist on a celestial, and often transformative, journey. The protagonists in these poems are often depicted as commanding an array of divine helpers who clear the road, carry out tasks, and accompany them on their journey. At once, then, by force of these tropes, Emperor Zhang's tour is accorded a cosmic scale and the anticipation of a climactic moment of transformation at the apex of the journey is building up. As demonstrated below, such a moment indeed arrives when Emperor Zhang's tour across the land is supplemented with a vertical axis, from down upwards.

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[74] In addition to Emperor Zhang's cited edict, see, e.g., *Hou Han shu*, 2.100.

[75] *Siku quanshu*, 370.82b.

[76] For three versions in the sources regarding the task and identity of Chong and Li, see Anne Birrell, *Chinese Mythology: An Introduction* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 91-95. See also Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds. *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 70.

2.3.2. Adding the Vertical Axis

"But I have not yet sufficiently glorified this scene" 然猶未足恢其場也, states the speaker in the "Panegyric for the Eastern Tour" after a depiction of the successful rituals and the emperor's round of calls in the surrounding area. With this interjection the author is signaling a transition to a different mode and a higher level of praise. The following two stanzas represent the ultimate culmination of the tour. In them, the emperor is depicted as soaring up and breaking beyond the confines of space and mortal time. Simultaneously, he ascends upwards to join Heaven, and returns backwards to a mythic time of decency and simplicity. The quality that most represents his person—his imperial virtue—is said to reach every place and every future generation. Thus, with multiple cues of temporal and spatial boundlessness, the author of these stanzas effectively evokes in his audience exactly that which might be expected of him to deliver in an encomium for an emperor traversing space on a tour of great cosmological significance—a climactic scene of transcendence beyond time and space:

Now he is about to:
Spread out into the pure and bright, set off by soaring aloft;
Go beyond the imperium's boundaries, and enter the great expanse;
Rise beyond the Eight Extremities, and fasten Heaven's Net.

Returning to the Heavenly beginning in Great Simplicity (*tai su*), he replicates He Xu's rigorous integrity.
Making plain (*pu*) his dispositions by way of 'non-action' (*wu wei*), he gradually advances the multitudes towards purity and simplicity.[77]
Expanding imperial virtue in the Boundless, he hands down accomplishments for over a hundred-million years.

方將布於皓皓，施乎翔翔。
越帝圻，入皇汪；
撩八極，而維天網。

反天元於太素兮，復赫胥之敦顓。
樸人情於無為兮，漸蒸庶於醇醲。
康帝德於罔極兮，踔億載而垂功。[78]

Several elements converge here that evoke in the reader associations of personal transformation and even immortalization. First, as noted above, the analogies between a piece of rhyme-prose that recounts the majestic tour of an emperor, and rhyme-prose in the Chu tradition that depict the cosmic journey of the protagonist, led Cui Yin to draw tropes from the latter, thus building an anticipation for a climactic moment of transcendence at the conclusion of the tour. Such is the ending, for example, of "Far Roaming":

Now I ranged and roamed the Four Wastes—
Sweeping in circuit to the Six Silences.

[77] Alternatively, "making plain human dispositions…" In other words, *ren* may refer either to the entirety of his subjects or to the emperor's person himself. On '*wu wei*' as 'non-action' see chapter 1, section 1.2.

[78] *Ricang Hongren ben Wenguan cilin jiaozheng*, 101.

I ascended even to the rifted fissures—
Descended to view the great strath.
In the sheer steepness below, earth was no more—
In unending infinity above, heavens was no more.
As I beheld the flickering instant, there was nothing to be seen—
Giving ear to the humming hush, there was nothing to be heard.
Gone beyond doing nothing (*wu wei*), and into utmost clarity,
Sharing in the Grand Primordium, I now became its neighbor.[79]

經營四方兮，周流六漠。
上至列缺兮，降望大壑。
下崢嶸而無地兮，上寥廓而無天。
視倏忽而無見兮，聽惝怳而無聞。
超無為以至清兮，與泰初而為鄰。[80]

Admittedly, Cui's emperor does not shed sensual perception and does not go 'beyond' *wu wei*; and the practitioner of "Far Roaming" does not discern 'Heaven's Net' above or the multitudes below. The differences between these two depictions of transcendence are multiple and significant. But in terms of poetic tropes—regardless of their distinct appropriation in each of the two pieces—a basic similarity stands out: both protagonists are said to break through spatial boundaries and return to a primordial state of purity at the culmination of a journey. Due to this similarity, Cui needs only gesture towards "rising beyond" and "returning" in order to invoke scenes of spiritual transcendence, cast the emperor as the protagonist of a transformative tour, and grant the great dynastic feat a dimension of a personal journey.

Furthermore, the particular terminology used to depict the culmination of the eastern tour sparks associations to a body of literature that gestures toward the sort of attainment envisioned in "Far Roaming" rather than the solemn ideologies of kingship that gained representation in formal edicts. Such is the following passage from the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (139 BCE) chapter "Quintessential Spirit" (*Jing shen* 精神):

Those whom we call the Perfected…
They cultivate what is inside and pay no attention to what is outside.
They illuminate and clarify Grand Simplicity (*tai su*); taking no action (*wu wei*), they revert to the Unhewn (*pu*).
They embody the foundation and embrace the spirit in order to roam freely within the confines of Heaven and Earth.
Untrammeled, they ramble outside this dusty world and wander aimlessly in their taskless calling.[81]

所謂真人者也… 治其內不識其外。明白太素，無為複樸，體本抱神，以游于天地之樊。芒然仿佯於塵垢之外，而消搖於無事之業。[82]

[79] Kroll, "On 'Far Roaming,'" 663 (and see p. 669 for detailed annotations).

[80] *Chuci zhushi* 楚辞注釋 (Hubei renmin chubanshe, Xinhua shudian, 1985), 459.

[81] John Major et al, trans., *The Huainanzi: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China* (Columbia University Press, 2010), 248.

[82] *Huainanzi jiaoshi* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1997), 2.747.

This passage shares with Cui's depiction of Emperor Zhang's attainment as many as three significant concept-terms: Grand Simplicity (*tai su* 太素), 'no action' (*wu wei* 無為), and 'the Unhewn' (*pu* 樸). It, too, presents a program of transcendence that is bound with a particular mode of spatial movement. But here as well, the appeal to the same culturally revered notions should not conceal from our eyes fundamental differences. The mode of spatial movement represented in "Quintessential Spirit"—aimless, unstructured wandering—stands in stark opposition to the elaborate imperial procession. The Perfected renounce the outside world; the emperor dominates it. This does not mean, however, that the emperor will not attempt to pose as one who has attained this level of spiritual attainment, nor that his panegyrist will avoid similar insinuations. Quite the contrary, this is exactly the rhetorical benefit Cui Yin derives when he manages to sow in the reader's mind analogies that are not fully pursued in the text itself.[83]

Finally, further contributing to the association of Emperor Zhang's attainment with different programs of transcendence is the place of the eastern journey and its ritual activities in the greater context of Mt. Tai cult—particularly the *feng shan* rites and related traditions of ascension and immortality.[84] As Howard Wechsler and Mark Lewis had observed, the Eastern Han official discourse of state cult reflects an attempt to incorporate the *feng shan* rites in a hierarchy of cultic activities to heaven and earth and disassociate them from Tai immortality cult.[85] But this does not mean that these associations were erased from the minds of the learned, and that the panegyrist could not draw from them rhetorical advantage.

At the same time, the "Eastern Tour" is centered on the terrestrial route of the emperor and does not incorporate full-blown depictions of heavenly flights, as does the "Rhapsody of the Great Man," for example. Both poems eulogize a reigning emperor by depicting a majestic journey, but unlike Sima Xiangru, Cui Yin's verses display a vigilant balance of registers of praise. To keep his emperor on the desired track of "Grand Purity," the author of the "Eastern Tour" weaves the tropes of the individual transformative journey and the terminology of spiritual attainment, with figures and terms most associated with the discourse of sovereignty. The emperor in the "Eastern Tour" 'goes beyond the imperium's boundaries' and 'rises beyond the Eight Extremities' not in order to escape the human realm but to 'fasten Heaven's Net'—to strengthen and enforce the world-ordering schemas associated with heaven.[86] Likewise, his 'return to the heavenly beginning,' once interpreted in the following line as the revival of an ancient model of leadership (He Xu), is similarly understood as a 'return' to, or the embodiment of foundational principles of rulership rather than a turning back to a state of non-differentiation. [87] And, ultimately, that which gains immortality are allegedly the emperor's

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[83] The program of self-cultivation advanced in the *Huainanzi* cannot be detached from its vision of emperorship, and the two share similar terminology as in the case of *wu wei*. Indeed, the distinction between these two layers of meaning are often not as straightforward as may seem at first glance.

[84] See Lewis, "The *Feng* and *Shan* Sacrifices of Emperor Wu of the Han," 63, 74.

[85] For a transition in the discourse of the *feng shan* cult from immortality to reports to heaven and earth, see chapter 9 of Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the T'ang Dynasty* (Yale University Press, 1985), esp. 175. For an account of the related historiographical attempt, in Eastern Han, to part from Qin and Western Han cult and push the *feng shan* to a secondary position, see Lewis, "The *Feng* and *Shan* Sacrifices," 67, 70.

[86] The trope of the net, or cords, in association with Heaven's patterning of the universe and the human realm, is familiar from early politico-cosmological texts (e.g., the Mawangdui 馬王堆 *Jiu zhu* 九主), which defined sovereignty in analogy to heaven. See, e.g., Wei Qipeng 魏啟鵬 "Qian Huang-Lao xingming zhi xue de zhengui yipian: du Mawangdui Hanmu boshu Yi Yin Jiuzhu" 前黃老形名之學的珍貴佚篇: 讀馬王堆漢墓帛書伊尹九主, *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 3 (1992): 330–339. See also *huang gang* 皇綱 and *diji* 帝紀 in Cui Yin's "Da zhi" 達旨: *Hou Han shu* 52.1710 – 1711.

[87] He Xu's name appears in a few texts that date to the Eastern Han and others that may contain earlier material. See *Han shu* 20.865; *Hou Han shu* 52.1710 (Cui Yin's "Da zhi"); *Yue jue shu* 越絕書, compiled by Wu Ping 吳平 (fl. 40) and

accomplishments and not his own person.[88]

In other words, the stanzas concluding the "Eastern Tour" do portray a state of transformation, but rather than the salvific transformation of the protagonist, it is the collective transformation of the whole realm. At the same time, however, the semblance of a transcendental climax of a personal journey by force of the tropes employed and the concepts evoked, remains rhetorically forceful despite its logical exclusion. Due to the anticipation of such a climax in a depiction of a protagonist's motion through space that is so intimately bound with the display and accumulation of power, images such as 'rising beyond the Eight Extremities' and 'returning to the beginning of heaven' are fully registered despite, and alongside, their qualifications in the lines that follow. The apparent contradiction between the impersonal and the personal senses of the *topos* of permanence is irrelevant for the panegyrist, who trades in amassing superlatives.[89] Thus, on the one hand, the emperor is portrayed as the embodiment of a genealogical line and thus a link in a chain of dynastic longevity; and on the other hand, as treading the path for heavenly ascension and for the attainment of personal immortality. The panegyrist can and does utilize multiple registers of praise simultaneously, explicitly using the canonical color palette to draw the portrait of an exemplary emperor, a shepherd to the multitudes, while implicitly ascribing to him the aura of the protagonist of a transformative journey.

In conclusion, the "Panegyric for the Eastern Tour" weaves together registers of praise that are derived from different textual traditions, including the *Documents* and *Odes* as often drawn upon in imperial edicts, and Chu poetic traditions of heavenly journeys. Cui Yin appears to have knowingly echoed not only the events surrounding the tour as attested in Emperor Zhang's edicts but also the themes and linguistic formulas observed in Emperor Zhang's pronouncements and other recorded edicts of the early Eastern Han. The combination of this feature with strategies of glorification—such as the setup of the macrocosmic scale and the evocation of the transformative journey—is rhetorically significant. By embedding the magnificent descriptions of the climactic moments of the ritual and its aftermath in the general structure of a real or presumed imperial edict, the author of the panegyric grants his portrayal of the events the authority of a first-hand report, while at the same time enriching the concrete account with value and interpretation that can only be asserted via literary devices. The panegyrist provides the emperor with a medium through which his (perceived) speech can be transposed to a poetic register that allows his activities to take on full macrocosmic significance, which,

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Yuan Kang 袁康 (fl. 40), in *Ershiwu bieshi* 二十五別史 (Qi Lu shushe, 2000), vol. 6, 11.59; Wang Shumin 王叔岷, *Zhuangzi jiaoquan* 莊子校詮 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiu suo, 1988), 340, 360 ("Ma ti" 馬蹄 and "Qu qie" 胠篋). If the content of the received "Qu qie" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* is the same as the one mentioned in *Shiji* 史記 (Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 63.2143 – 2144, then we may determine that He Xu was perceived as one of the prominent figures of high antiquity at least as early as the second century BCE. By the time of Sima Biao 司馬彪 (ca. 240 – ca. 306), He Xu came to be perceived as one of the legendary emperors of high antiquity (*shanggu diwang* 上古帝王), and by the Tang some have come to identify him particularly with Yandi 炎帝—a suggestion rejected by Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 (1844 – 1897). See Wang Shumin, *Zhuangzi jiaoquan*, 342n5 and 360n1. In any event, whether a ruler of the tier of Shennong 神農 or an exemplary clan head, by the time of Cui Yin He Xu's name came to be identified with notions of an ideal primitivistic society with humble material possessions and minimum aspirations for any form of accomplishment, whether cultural or personal—characteristics that ensured its harmonious existence.

[88] Significantly, this is the sense of longevity and permanence celebrated in the final verses of several of the *Anshi fangzhong ge* 安世房中歌, which, Kern argues, aligns with the terminology and themes of Zhou liturgy [*Documents, Odes*, and bronze inscriptions; see Martin Kern, "In Praise of Political Legitimacy: The Miao and Jiao Hymns of the Western Han." Oriens Extremus 39.1 (1996): 44, 46–47]. In these verses, however, Kern finds an "explicitly impersonal sense of the *topos* of permanence" (47), whereas in the "Eastern Tour" the explicitly impersonal is at the same time implicitly personal.

[89] For the conflict between these two senses of permanence, see ibid., and Martin Kern, *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-Huang: Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Imperial Representation* (American Oriental Society, 2000), 145.

in turn, is further magnified by aesthetic pleasure. In this sense, the successful panegyrist, more than simply the mouthpiece of the reigning power, is co-creator of its projected image.

2.4. Imperial Emotions and Invisible Bodies

One of the features that sets the "Four Panegyrics for the Imperial Tours" apart from rhyme-prose of fantastic journeys, the capital, and royal hunting—from which it nevertheless derives clear influence—is a manifest and consistent effort to follow closely a historical sequence of events. I have argued above that the panegyrist does not merely provide a description but 'co-authors' the events and their implications, alongside authors of imperial pronouncements. And yet, a certain level of correlation between the panegyrical depiction and the object of its praise as known outside of the panegyric, is a condition for its success, and thus an important characteristic of Cui's panegyrical set. This feature facilitates the comparison, in this final section, between the historiographical and the panegyrical representations of the events associated with Emperor Zhang's Yuanhe tours. The focus of the comparison in this section are questions pertaining to the emperor's physical presence in the regions he is reported to have visited, as opposed to representation by official delegates. It revolves, in other words, around the relation between the imperial body natural and the collective body politic. I show that Cui's way of ascribing to the elaborate bureaucratic effort that was the imperial procession the semblance of a personal journey goes through an expansion of the emperor's presence in the landscape via several poetic strategies.

First, let us look at the geographical scope of the emperor's travels. Here as well, the eastern tour is the most apt for demonstration, since its route is recorded in the greatest detail in the "Annals of Emperor Zhang," in *Hou Han shu*. According to the "Annals," Emperor Zhang left the capital for his eastern tour on the day *bing chen* 丙辰—the 53rd day in the sexageneric cycle—and returned to the palace on *yi mao* 乙卯—the 52nd day of the next cycle (a curiously round number of 60 days). Furthermore, indications of place names in the "Annals" allow us to reconstruct a rather expansive and winding route, which begins with a departure from Luoyang, the capital, towards the eastern regions, and ends in a return through the Taihang mountains 太行山 that lie to the north of the capital.

As impressive as the tour appears to have been according to the "Annals," the geographical scope sketched in Cui Yin's "Panegyric for the Eastern Tour" appears even greater (Appendix C, Map no. 1). Significantly, Cui Yin expands the scope not by fictionalizing the emperor's tour but by tracing his gaze, narrating his thoughts, and referring to cultural heroes and historical events via the geographical coordinates associated with them. Thus, for example, his gaze is said to have reached the easternmost boundary of the realm, the Yellow Sea ("He looks down to the blue sea, and turns his chariot back" 瞰滄海而旋車); and as far straight-north of Luoyang as Gaodu and Zhangzi ("He views the district of Gaodu; gazes towards Zhangzi" 臨高都兮, 眺長子). Likewise, the speaker's hyperbolic praise takes the emperor back in time, to Juntai, a site southeast of Luoyang, which is associated with the rise of the legendary Xia dynasty ("equals Juntai" 侔鈞臺); and the emperor's reverent thoughts of his dynastic legacy carry him further to the southeast, to Gaixia, where Liu Bang 劉邦 (r. 202 – 195 BCE) defeated Xiang Yu 項羽 (d. 202 BCE) almost three centuries earlier ("He glances towards the site of victory at Gaixia" 睨垓下之制勝). Other such instances break beyond the scope of the appended map, as far west as Qishan 岐山 (west of both Luoyang and Chang'an) and as far south as Mt. Kuaiji 會稽山. Cui Yin's traveling emperor, then, is made to cover great distances, if not with the wheels of his chariot then through his gaze, his thoughts, and his alleged historical peers.

I will return to another important aspect of the narration of the emperor's thoughts and feelings below. For now it should suffice to note that these serve to mark the emperor's presence in the inspected regions, in the absence of references to his body as situated in the landscape. Not a single reference is made to his outward appearance—his robes, his chariot, or anything that would outline the boundaries of his physical presence. Much is said, however, about his noble ruminations and about his quasi-material virtue (*dé*), which takes the form of different diffusing substances (it flows, it rains, it shines, and so forth). Nothing, then, is said which will limit the emperor's presence to his physical body and mark him as separate from the human and natural landscape, making him a mere detail in the entire spectacle. Much effort is put into dimming such boundaries, blending the emperor into his surroundings, or, perhaps more aptly as will become clearer below, collapsing his environment into his royal, encompassing presence. References to the many officials, nobles, and army divisions that comprise the imperial procession usually appear, if at all, at the beginning of the panegyric, in the context of the departure from the capital. But as the journey proceeds, the magnificent entourage—the numerous chariots, banners, and armed men—all fade into the background, and what we hear of are mostly the emperor's progress and his ritual accomplishments. The cumulative result of these features befits the figure of the early-Chinese emperor as designed by its architects: despite—or due to—the invisibility of his physical body, his presence turns omnipresence.

But there is more to Cui Yin's rhetorical strategies than the interplay of concealment and omnipresence. In the following demonstration I focus on two such strategies. One is the full employment of the principle of the ascription of action, so that the emperor's proxies become subsumed in the person of the emperor. The other is the distillation of ancestral ritual performances into knowable affective attitudes. Table no. 3 presents a comparison of the historical records of Emperor Zhang's routes and actions in the *Hou Han shu*, with the corresponding parts of the tours as depicted in Cui Yin's "Four Panegyrics for the Imperial Tours." It highlights those instances in which actions performed by the emperor's messengers in the "Annals" end up ascribed in the panegyric to the emperor himself, as well as cases in which the performance of ancestral ritual as reported in the "Annals," is indicated, in the panegyric, by reference to the emperor's emotions.

I begin with the northern tour of Yuanhe 3 (86 CE), at the top of the table. The first entry from the "Annals" indicates that the emperor visited Zhongshan Kingdom and sent an emissary to the Northern Summit, Mt. Heng 恆, to present sacrificial offerings on his behalf. The "Panegyric for the Northern Tour," however, twice lists the rituals for the Northern Summit as part of the activities undertaken by the emperor—in the preface, and in the main body of the panegyric. Heng Mountain, as Map no. 2 illustrates, is situated to the north of Hutuo River, in the northwestern part of Zhongshan Kingdom. There is no indication in the historical records, however, that the imperial procession ever crossed the river from south to north. Most probably, the emperor himself had reached as far as the southern tip of Zhongshan Kingdom, on the southern bank of Hutuo River, and sent his representative further north, as reported in the "Annals." Under the brush of the panegyrist, however, the concept of representation as 'making present' is exploited to the full, creating the impression that the touring emperor had reached farther north than he actually did.

The second instance of the northern tour concerns the offerings made in honor of the emperor's father and grandfather, the two previous emperors of the Eastern Han, at their birth place. Note that according to the "Annals," the emperor personally performed the rituals at Yuanshi, but the offerings to the deceased Emperor Guangwu at Gaoyi were performed by the county's Magistrate under imperial orders. In the panegyric, however, the rites at Yuanshi and Gaoyi are celebrated together, in a single couplet, whose implied subject is the emperor. The Magistrate of Gaoyi, who performed the rite on the emperor's behalf, although present in the historian's record, is absent from the panegyrist's rendering. As the representative's actions are ascribed to the emperor without any mention of the

former's mediation, the nominal turns literal, and the proxy is effectively subsumed in the person of the emperor whom he represents.

Note, in addition, that, in the panegyric, the rituals for Emperor Zhang's ancestors at Yuanshi and Gaoyi are encoded in the language of filial affections—delight, respect, and longings. The display of proper emotions during the performance of ancestral ritual is stressed in traditional ritual theory as a measure for the sincerity of the filial son in the performance of the ritual, and hence even a formal requirement. "The Meaning of Sacrificial Rites" (*Ji yi* 祭義) of the *Record of Rites*, for example, stresses the importance of the display of both pleasure and reverence in one's postures and facial expressions in different parts of the ritual. An expression of pleasure is said to be an indication for the son's love of his parents, and a respectful demeanor an indication of his reverence. Thus, "a sacrifice performed by a filial son can be known" 孝子之祭可知也: by observing his actions and demeanor at the ancestral temple, spectators can gain knowledge of the propriety of his thoughts and emotions.[90] The celebration of the ancestral sacrifices in the panegyric for Emperor Zhang is formulated based on these assumptions. To say that the emperor "delighted in the birth of sages in Yuanshi" and "showed reverence" at Gaoyi, is to say that he performed the sacrificial rites for his ancestors in Yuanshi and Gaoyi, and to further indicate his proper expression of filial sentiments. In other words, the fact of the visibility and cognizance of the emperor's emotions bespeaks his exemplary ritual performance.[91]

We see, therefore, twice in a single couplet (欣元氏之育聖兮, 肅高邑之登皇), the affirmation of the successful outcome of mediation by way of eliminating the very means of mediation: (1) the task of the emperor's representative is complete with the attribution of his acts to the object of representation; and, (2) the successful expression of dispositions through ritual performance is asserted via the exclusive announcement of the underlying affects. Both the envoy and the ritual are vehicles of representation, the one giving presence to another human being (or a collective entity) and the other giving form and thus presence to abstract ideas. And in both cases in the text under consideration, we find that the *literary representation* of the successful *act of representation* consists in editing out the very presence of the vehicle (the mediating element)—be it the emperor's representatives or the very fact of the ritual performance. Incidentally, this is much in line with the approach to signification as articulated in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, in the oft-cited figure stating the instrumental relation between the fish-net and the captured fish: "The fish trap exists because of the fish; once you've gotten the fish, you can forget the trap" 荃者所以在魚, 得魚而忘荃.[92] In the ideal picture of the panegyric, 'fish traps' are indeed forgotten and the figure of the emperor comes to fill the whole frame.

We may further note that Cui's narration of thoughts and emotions as indications of ritual performance does double duty. In addition to serving as proof for the propriety and efficacy of the ritual performed, it allows the author to assume the position of an omniscient narrator and deliver his report of royal ritual activity in the form of an account of the emperor's inner life during a solitary excursion. This effect is well demonstrated in a passage from the "Panegyric to the Southern Tour"—Emperor Zhang's tour to the south in 84 CE. Note that the southernmost point mentioned in the "Annals" report of the procession's route is Jiangling, on the northern bank of the Yangzi River (Map no. 3). The "Annals" further reports that governors to the east and to the south of Jiangling were

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[90] *Liji xunzuan* 禮記訓纂, annotated by Zhu Bin 朱彬 (1753 – 1834) (Zhonghua shuju, 1996), vol, 2, 47.706.

[91] For an analysis of ancestral rites, in particular, that is very much along the lines of expressive theories of ritual, see Kwong-loi Shun, "*Ren* 仁 and *Li* 禮 in the *Analects*," in *Confucius and the Analects: New Essays* (Oxford University Press, 2002), 65 – 66. See also Angela Zito's emphasis on expression and manifestation in her discussion of ancestral ritual, in *Of Body and Brush*, 130, 200 – 201. However, traditional Chinese theory of ritual certainly advanced functional interpretations as well. For a general overview, see Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, 24 – 25.

[92] *Zhuangzi jijie* 莊子集解 (Sanmin shuju, 1963), 244; Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (Columbia University Press, 1968), 302.

instructed, by imperial orders, to perform sacrificial rites in their regions, on behalf of the emperor. Thus were the governors of Changsha and Lingling issued an edict instructing them to make offerings to ancestors of Emperor Zhang—three generations of Liu family members, descendants of Emperor Jing 景帝 (r. 155 – 127 BCE) of the Western Han, who belonged to the ruling class in the area about two hundred years earlier. This means that, just like Hutuo River in the northeast, the Yangzi River marks the farthermost point of the emperor's physical travel. It is through his proxies that his presence is extended further, south of the Yangzi.

The panegyrist, in turn, is likewise very clear regarding the emperor's halt on the bank of the Yangzi. His treatment of the scene, however, merits examination. In the preface of the "Southern Tour," and again in more detail in the body of the text, the emperor is depicted as gazing south and south-east of the Yangzi River, towards sites associated either with cultural heroes or with branches of the Liu family, and "sighing in admiration" (*tan* 歎). He inscribes his presence in the landscape with his gaze, which scans the land back and forth: far south towards Jiuyi Mt., far east towards Kuaiji Mt., and straight south again, towards Changsha. Though too far to be within actual reach of his vision, these culturally strategic sites are being claimed by the all-penetrating gaze of the emperor, who further incorporates them into his cultural possession and dynastic legacy by means of the accompanying mental reflections and affective responses.[93]

But are these mere thoughts and feelings? Based on the previous instances examined, is it possible that the gazing, chanting, reflecting, and sighing on the bank of the Yangzi encode the performance of rituals or their delegation to representatives south of the river? We can only answer these questions as far as the "Annals" provide the required information—as in the case of the offerings for the Changsha ancestors. At least in this case, we may determine that the emperor's admiring sigh encodes not only ancestral ritual but one that was performed via proxies—the governors of Lingling and Changsha. In one brushstroke, then, Cui Yin erases the existence of proxies *and* translates the performance of ritual into thought and affect. The result of this measure—which highlights its value as a praise strategy—is the transformation of a series of political and administrative procedures that involve many members in the bureaucratic apparatus, into a single poetic scene of observation and rumination by a single actor, the emperor.

We may now go back to the instances of the eastern tour which earlier helped demonstrate the expansion of the tour's geographical scope (Map no. 1). As can be seen in Table no. 3 (two last items), some of these have parallels in the "Annals" account that reveal further more invisible proxies. The "Annals" are very clear, for example, about the identity of the agents who performed the rituals at the Divine Terrace and in Dingtao—the emperor's emissaries. In the panegyric, at least in the case of the Divine Terrace, the act is ascribed, instead, to the emperor himself. It is highly possible, then, that in various other cases in the "Four Panegyrics for the Imperial Tours," the author's depictions of the emperor's gaze, his thoughts about sites of cultural and historical significance, and his reverent affections, are not completely fiction based on contemporary perceptions of the emotional constitution of an ideal emperor, but deliberate adaptations of ritual and bureaucratic measures, of which the author had learned from edicts and protocols that were at his disposal but are not available to us today.

Whether more pervasive or limited to the instances gathered in Table no. 3, these strategies of praise—the subsumption of proxies into the imperial body and the distillation of rituals as affective attitudes—fit well in the panegyrist's larger project of glorification, which hinges on close proximity

[93] For the posture of the imperial gaze as a trope in medieval Chinese excursion poetry, see Huang, "Excursion, Estates, and the Kingly Gaze," esp. chapter two ("Excursion and Imperial Impersonation"). For an analysis of the imperial gaze in the context of imperial ceremonies in modern Japan, see T. Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (University of California Press, 1996), chapter three, "Fabricating Imperial Ceremonies."

to historical events on the one hand, and on their recasting and amplified interpretation on the other hand. We have seen how the panegyrized tours correspond to the Yuanhe tours as recorded in the "Annals," but when reordered invoke the seminal tour of legendary King Shun and thus have Emperor Zhang approximate his tier. We have seen how the emperor's edicts are echoed in Cui Yin's poetic depictions for both their phraseology and set of values, but at the same time are interwoven with insinuations of virtues that transfer his actions to a celestial sphere. We have seen, furthermore, how both the adoption of tropes of the heavenly flight and the encoding of ritual activity as mental and affective experience grant the execution of an imperial inspection tour the appearance of a solitary journey that culminates in a spiritual attainment. Finally, and perhaps most strikingly, we have seen how the emperor's proxies turn invisible in the transition from the records of the historian to the verses of the panegyrist, as part of the latter's orchestration of imperial omnipresence.

This integrated analysis complicates the characterization of Cui's work as "an aestheticized description based on historical facts" 本於史實的藝術化描述.[94] It demonstrates that the panegyrist does a great deal more than simply report of historical events in verse: he designs, defines, and grants value to the emperor's actions. He serves, furthermore, as the bell that announces the imperial procession by enlarging the scope of its audience and extending the duration of its impact—thus serving himself as a proxy and a means for the emperor's omnipresence. This means, however, that majesty in this scale is only available to the emperor in the designs of his encomiasts. As Louis Marin has incisively observed with regard to the king's (Louis XIV) portrait:

> How, then, is representation the satisfaction of the desire for the absolute that animates the essence of all power, if it is not by being the imaginary substitute for this satisfaction, that is, by being its image? The portrait of the king that the king contemplates offers him the icon of the absolute monarch he desires to be, to the point of recognizing and identifying himself through and in it at the very moment when the referent of the portrait absents himself from it. The king is only [a] true king, that is, monarch, in images. They are his *real presence*.[95]

Following Marin's incisive reversal of absence and presence, image and reality, we may note that in a panegyric, as in a portrait, a ruler can envision his own majesty in clear lines and striking colors as do not exist apart from it.

And here lies the value of the imperial panegyric for scholars of early Chinese monarchy and political theory. For the image that represents 'the monarch as he desires to be'[96] and as he is imagined by his encomiasts, cannot be understood as separate from broader contemporary perceptions. The emperor as depicted by Cui Yin is thus a worthy reminder of the complementarity, in early Chinese political thought, of tropes of withdrawal from active governance and images of omnipresence and omnipotence. Furthermore, if these represent "two conflicting impulses" in the early imperial rhetoric,[97] then it is worth noting that both found support in the same conceptual infrastructure, as two sides of the same coin. The construction of Chinese emperorship via the concept of ascriptive representation was, in this sense, double edged—and hence doubly effective—facilitating both the

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[94] Lin and Sun, "Cui Yin si kao," 150.

[95] Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King*, translated by Martha M. Houle (University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 7-8 (italics in the source).

[96] That is, either the way he wishes to be seen, or the way he wishes to become—Jack W. Chen had argued that the two coincide. See his extension of an observation by Paul Zanker, in *The Poetics of Sovereignty: On Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2010), 48–49. For the emperor as the primary audience for the panegyric *fu* 賦 (prose poem), see also ibid., 270.

[97] Yuri Pines, *The Everlasting Empire: the Political Culture of Ancient China and Its Imperial Legacy* (Princeton University Press, 2012), 46.

articulation of appeals for extensive delegation of royal authority, and the production of images of absolute power.

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Appendix A: The *Wenguan cilin* (J. *Bunkan shirin*) and Cui Yin's "Si xun song"

The *Wenguan cilin* was an imperially commissioned Tang 唐 collection of poems and prose, compiled under the direction of Xu Jingzong 許敬宗 (592 – 672), and submitted to the throne in Xianqing 顯慶 3 (658 CE).[98] Reduced from 1000 *juan* in Tang bibliographical catalogues to one *juan* (of *shi* 詩 alone) in the Song history bibliographical catalogue, it is believed to have gradually disappeared in the interval.[99] In the 19th century Chinese scholars came to realize that parts of the *Wenguan cilin* were preserved in archives, monasteries, and private collections in Japan, and these began re-entering China starting with the *Isson sōsho* 依存叢書 (compiled by Hayashi Jussai 林述齊 [1768-1841]), which included four *juan* of the *Wenguan cilin* (#662, 664, 668, 695) and served as the basis for the *Yueya tang congshu* 粵雅堂叢書—block-printed in China in 1853. Following the publication of the *Yueya tang* and into the first half of the 20th century, more and more new *juan* (or complete versions of previously partial *juan*) that were identified as pertaining to the lost *Wenguan cilin* were collected in Japan, brought back to China, and published in collections of differing degrees of circulation (the more familiar are the *Guyi congshu* 古逸叢書 of 1884, and the *Shiyuan congshu* 適園叢書 of ca. 1916). The most complete edition to date is the 1969 publication of the Japanese Committee for the Study of Ancient Texts 古典研究会, the *Ei Kōnin bon Bunkan shirin* 影弘仁本文館詞林 (total of 30 *juan*),[100] which served as the base edition (*diben* 底本) for the Zhonghua recension of 2001.

The series "Si xun song" appears in *juan* 346 of the *Bunkan shirin*. Together with another five pieces, it makes up the "Xun xing" 巡幸 section. The first item in this section is the "Shi mai" 時邁 of the *Odes* Eulogia (Mao 毛 #273)—which is also cited in Cui Yin's "Eulogy for the Eastern Tour" (as elsewhere in the received literature) as a classic representation of the esteemed royal tour.[101] The second to fifth items are Cui Yin's four panegyrics for Zhangdi's tours to the east, south, west, and north. Following are two other Eastern Han pieces titled "Dong xun song" 東巡頌: the complete text

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[98] The summary of the textual history of the Tang *Wenguan cilin* and the Kōnin *Bunkan shirin* is based, for the most part, on Luo Guowei's introduction to the Zhonghua recension (*Ricang Hongren ben Wenguan cilin jiaozheng*, 1–10) and Xu Yunhe's 許雲和 "Ricang Hongren ben *Bunkan shirin* yu Tang xiu *Wenguan cilin*" 日藏弘仁本 '文館詞林' 與唐修 '文館詞林', *Dongshan daxue xuebao* 51.5 (2011): 55–63. Luo Guowei's review is mostly focused on the stages by which the various *juan* re-entered China. Xu Yunhe discusses the context and detail of the compilation of the Tang anthology, its transmission to Japan (and Korea), and the problems presented by its complex textual history.

[99] Catalogues as late as the Ming dynasty still include articles related to the *Wenguan cilin* and ascribed to Xu Jingzong, but these, Luo argues, were probably derived from yet other catalogues, and their authors most probably did not witness the listed texts themselves. He cites evidence that Yang Yi 楊億 (974–1020), co-compiler of the *Ce fu yuan gui* 册府元龜, was not aware of the existence of the *Wenguan cilin* even as a lost work, and takes this to support the conclusion that it fell completely out of circulation by the early 11th century. See *Ricang Hongren ben Wenguan cilin jiaozheng*, 2–3. For further bibliographical evidence see Xu Yunhe, "Ricang Hongren ben," 55.

[100] *Bunkan shirin: ei Kōnin bon* 文館詞林: 影弘仁本 (Tōkyō: Koten Kenkyūkai, 1969). Appended to the facsimile reproduction of the compiled manuscripts are: a detailed discussion by Abe Ryūichi 阿部隆一, photos of hand-written and curved copies, and tables of the various manuscripts, extant *juan,* and storing institutions.

[101] *Ricang Hongren ben Wenguan cilin jiaozheng*, 99.

ascribed to Ma Rong 馬融 (79–166) and previously known only from fragments, and a previously unknown text ascribed to Liu Zhen 劉珍 (active 2nd c.), contributor to the *Dongguan Han ji* 東觀漢記.[102] The final two items concern tours that took place in the Later Wei 後魏 (386–534) and the Liu Song 劉宋 (420–479).

Juan 346 was first brought back to China by Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1839–1915) and published in 1893. It enjoyed some degree of circulation when incorporated, in 1916, in the collectanea *Shiyuan congshu*,[103] together with the other then-extant *juan* of the *Wenguan cilin*. At the end (or back?)[104] of this *juan* in the manuscript reproduced in the *Ei Kōnin bon Bunkan shirin* (as in the case of several other *juan*), is an inscription that indicates the date of its production: Hongren (J. Kōnin) 弘仁 14 (823 CE). Whether it was copied in China or Japan, and wherefrom (i.e., the Chinese original or a copy, and of what date) is a matter of some disagreement, but most scholars appear to trace all the Japanese copies of the various *juan* of the *Wenguan cilin* to a single Hongren *zu ben* 祖本.[105]

The Kōnin *Bunkan shirin* and the Han-dated compositions included therein have been evaluated as highly reliable versions of the equivalent parts of the Tang *Wenguan cilin* by all the scholars whose work I have consulted so far. Arguments to this effect include a consideration of the preservation of Tang taboo characters and special characters instated by Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705).[106] The handful Chinese scholars who examined the *Bunkan shirin* celebrate it as a valuable addition to the work of Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762–1843), *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文, for allowing the addition of hitherto absent or fragmented works as well as the collation of already extant pieces. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the *Bunkan shirin* versions are not always, or not in every respect, superior to parallel versions preserved in later-produced, widely circulating Chinese collections. The Tang *Wenguan cilin* was a work of many hands,[107] and the Kōnin *Bunkan shirin* have circulated in Japan through several copies over more than a millennium. The text we have at hand still includes not a few mistakes, duplications and omissions,[108] and its historical value would be best assessed on a case-by-case basis.[109]

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[102] It has been argued that these two pieces were written in commemoration of the same 124 CE eastern tour by Emperor An 安帝. See Duan Lichao, "Shanggu songlei wenxue," 90.

[103] See *Wenguan cilin huike nian juan* 文館詞林彙刻廿卷, *Shiyuan congshu* di san ji 適園叢書第三集 (n.i., 1914).

[104] It is hard to tell from the *Bunkan shirin* facsimile reproduction (see p. 106).

[105] But see Xu Yunhe, "Ricang Hongren ben," 57.

[106] See, e.g., Fu Junlian and Yao Jun, "Ricang Hongren ben *Wenguan cilin* zhong Liang Han wenxian jiazhi," 1 – 4 (p. 3 for the taboo and special characters). See also Xu Yunhe, "Ricang Hongren ben," 56 – 57.

[107] See Xu Yunhe, "Ricang Hongren ben," 58 – 59.

[108] See, e.g., Fu Junlian and Yao Jun, "Ricang Hongren ben," 4; and Xu Yunhe, "Ricang Hongren ben," 62.

[109] For further references to editions and studies of the *Bunkan shirin*, see David Knechteges, ed., *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: a Reference Guide,* vol. 2 (Brill, 2013), 1351 – 1353.

Appendix B: Tables

Table no. 1

The numbers on the left column (1–4) represent the order of the panegyrics in the *Bunkan shirin*. The letters in the middle column (a–h) represent the order of the tours as reported in the *Hou Han shu*, "Annals of Emperor Zhang." The third column from the left indicates the dates of the tours as noted in the panegyric prefaces, whereas the first column from the right indicates the year and month as reported in the "Annals."

Bunkan shirin "Four Panegyrics for the Imperial Tours"			*Hou Han shu* "Annals of Emperor Zhang"		
			a	幸偃師(等)	建初 7 (82 CE) 八月 (m. 8)
			b	西巡狩 (west)	建初 7 (82 CE) 十月 (m. 10)[110]
			c	東巡狩 (east)	建初 8 (83 CE) 十二月 (m. 12)[111]
2	南巡頌 (south)	元和 1 (84 CE)	d	南巡狩 (south)	元和 1 (84 CE) 八月 (m. 8)[112]
1	東巡頌 (east)	no preface (85 CE)[113]	e	東巡狩 (east)	元和 2 (85 CE) 二月 (m. 2)[114]
4	北巡頌 (north)[115]	元和 3 (86 CE)	f	北巡狩 (north)	元和 3 (86 CE) 正月 (m. 1)[116]
3	西巡頌 (west)	元和 3 (86 CE)	g	幸安邑，觀鹽池 [117]	元和 3 (86 CE) 八月 (m. 8)[118]
			h	南巡狩 (south)	章和 1 (87 CE) 八月 (m. 8)[119]

[110] *Hou Han shu*, 3.144.

[111] Ibid., 3.145.

[112] Ibid., 3.147.

[113] No preface, but the events leading up to the tour, as well as the activities depicted in the eulogy, fit closely with the *Hou Han shu* record of the tour of 85 CE.

[114] Ibid., 3.149. The *Hou Han shu* biography of the prince of Dongping 東平王 indicates the date for the imperial visit in the course of an eastern tour as Yuanhe 3 (86 CE) rather than 2 (85 CE): *Hou Han shu* 42.1442; *Dong Han huiyao* 東漢會要 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 53. The *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Jiulong: Zhonghua shuju, 1971), 1.1502, however, relates the same anecdote as part of the tour of 85 CE.

[115] There are several discrepancies between the preface in the *Bunkan shirin* and the preface that was preserved in the Chinese collectanea, including eighteen characters that appear in the latter but not in the former.

[116] *Hou Han shu*, 3.154.

[117] He Pingli 何平立 does not include this tour in his list of Emperor Zhang's inspection tours, possibly due to the terseness of its record in the *Hou Han shu* and the fact that it does not refer to this particular tour as a *xun shou*. It may also be assumed that the possibility of including it in the list did not arise for He Pingli since he did not employ the "Si xun song" among his sources. He does, however, seem to be mixing up the date of this tour and the route of the tour of 87 CE. See He Pingli, *Xunshou yu fengshan*, 236.

[118] *Hou Han shu*, 3.156.

[119] Ibid., 3.157.

Table no. 2

	Hou Han shu, "Annals of Emperor Zhang"		"Panegyric for the Eastern Tour"	
Shortly before the eastern tour	元和 2 正月 Yuanhe 2 1st month	又詔三公曰：「方春生養，萬物孚甲，宜助萌陽，以育時物。其令有司，罪非殊死且勿案驗，及吏人條書相告不得聽受，冀〔以〕息事寧人，敬奉天氣。。。	L. 17 – 19	遂璇時機衡，定歷文。 指孛鳥以為正兮，甄玄扈以司分。 勑勾芒使靖方兮，詔重黎以奉春。
	元和 2 二月 Yuanhe 2 2nd month	甲寅，始用《四分歷》。 (not an edict)		
	元和 2 二月 Yuanhe 2 2nd month	詔曰：「今山川鬼神應典禮者，尚未咸秩。其議增修群祀，以祈豐年。」	L. 14	唯岳禮久而不脩，此神人之所庶幸，海內之所懷思。
During the eastern tour	元和 2 二月 Yuanhe 2 2nd month	詔曰：「三老，尊年也。孝悌，淑行也。力田，勤勞也。國家甚休之。其賜帛人一匹，勉率農功。」	L. 38	裒胡耇之元老兮，賞孝行之畯農。
	元和 2 二月 Yuanhe 2 2nd month	詔曰：「朕巡狩岱宗，柴望山川，告祠明堂，以章先勳。。。咸來助祭。。。予一人空虛多疚, 纂承尊明, 盥洗享鷹, 慙愧祗慄. 。。。亦欲與士大夫同心自新。其大赦天下。。。」	L. 43 – 68	於是執玉之君，咸來助祭。周覲岱濱，抱禮受制。 。。。 假太廟而宗祀兮，依顯祖之從容。 。。。 上謙謙而祗聳兮。。。懼事事之孔艱。 。。。 解天牢以錯辟兮，洗宇宙而自新。

Table no. 3[120]

	"Annals of Emperor Zhang"	"Four Panegyrics for the Imperial Tours"
北 N.	戊辰，進幸中山，遣使者祠**北嶽**。 On *wu zhen* day, [the emperor] proceeded to grant a visit to Zhongshan Kingdom, and sent an emissary to make sacrificial offerings for the Northern Summit (Heng 恆 Mt.).	乃東巡狩。出河內，經青兗之郊，迴輿冀州，遂禮**北岳**。(preface) Thereafter, he headed east on a tour of inspection. He went out of Henei, passed through the outskirts of Qingzhou and Yanzhou, turned the carriages back to Jizhou, and then performed the rites for the Northern Summit (Heng Mt.).
		遂造呼池而迴冀域兮，禮**恒岳**而紆衡陽。 Thereafter, he arrived at Hutuo River 滹沱河 and turned to the area of Jizhou; he conducted the rites for Heng Mt. and followed the winding road of/to *heng yang* (?).
	癸酉，還幸**元氏**，祠光武、顯宗於縣舍正堂；明日又祠顯宗于始生堂，皆奏樂。三月丙子，詔**高邑**令祠光武於即位壇。 On *gui you* day, [the emperor] headed back to visit Yuanshi county. There, at the main hall of the county lodge, he made sacrificial offerings to Guangwu and Xianzong (Emperor Ming). The following day, he made offerings to Xianzong once again, at the Hall of Birth. In both cases he had ritual music performed. On the third month, *bing zi* day, [he] issued an order to the Magistrate of Gaoyi county to make sacrificial offerings to Guangwu at the Accession Platform.	欣**元氏**之育聖兮，肅**高邑**之登皇。 尚二后之神宇兮，飾珪璧而虞虔。 享隆孝思之聖憤兮，采雅頌而著章。 He delighted in the birth of sages in Yuanshi, and showed reverence to Gaoyi, for raising up an emperor. He venerated the temples of the two sovereigns, decorating them with jade and precious stones, thereby displaying his delight and respect. He presented the deep filial longings that are the sage's burden, and had a selection of Elegantia and Hymns performed, thereby making [their virtue] known throughout.
南 S.	冬十月己未，進幸江陵，詔廬江太守祠南嶽，又詔**長沙**、零陵太守祠**長沙**定王、春陵節侯、鬱林府君。 In the winter, tenth month, *ji wei* day, [the emperor] proceeded to grant a visit to Jiangling county. [He] issued an order to the governor of Lujiang commandery to make sacrificial offerings to the Southern Summit (Huo 霍 Mt.). He further issued orders to the governors of Changsha and Lingling to make sacrificial offerings to King Ding of Changsha (Liu Fa 劉發, son of Emperor Jing 景帝 of Western Han; r. 155–127 BCE), Noble Jie of Chongling (son of King Ding; d. 120 BCE), and the Governor of Yulin (Liu Wai 劉外, grandson of King Ding, and great grandfather of Emperor Guangwu; d.u.).	遂南巡楚，略江川以望衡山，顧九疑，歎虞舜之風。(preface) Thereupon [the emperor] headed south on a tour of inspection to Chu. Looking over the river and streams (the Yangzi and its branches), he performed the *wang* for Heng 衡 Mountain. Looking towards Jiuyi Mountain, he sighed in admiration for Shun's legacy.
		臨大江而永望兮，泝岷山之洪流。瞰九疑與會稽兮，詠虞夏之遺基。想伯舅於山陰兮，歎烈祖於**長沙**。 Looking over the Great River (Yangzi) and gazing afar steadily, he traced the great currents coming from Min Mountains. Looking towards Jiuyi and Kuaiji mountains, he chanted praise for the relics of Yu (Shun) and Xia (Yu the Great). He reflected on the nobles of Shanyin, and sighed in admiration for his ancestral line from Changsha.

[120] This table includes examples from all but the western tour. The reason is the terseness of the existing record in the *Hou Han shu* "Annals of Emperor Zhang," which does not allow a fruitful comparison to the "Panegyric for the Western Tour."

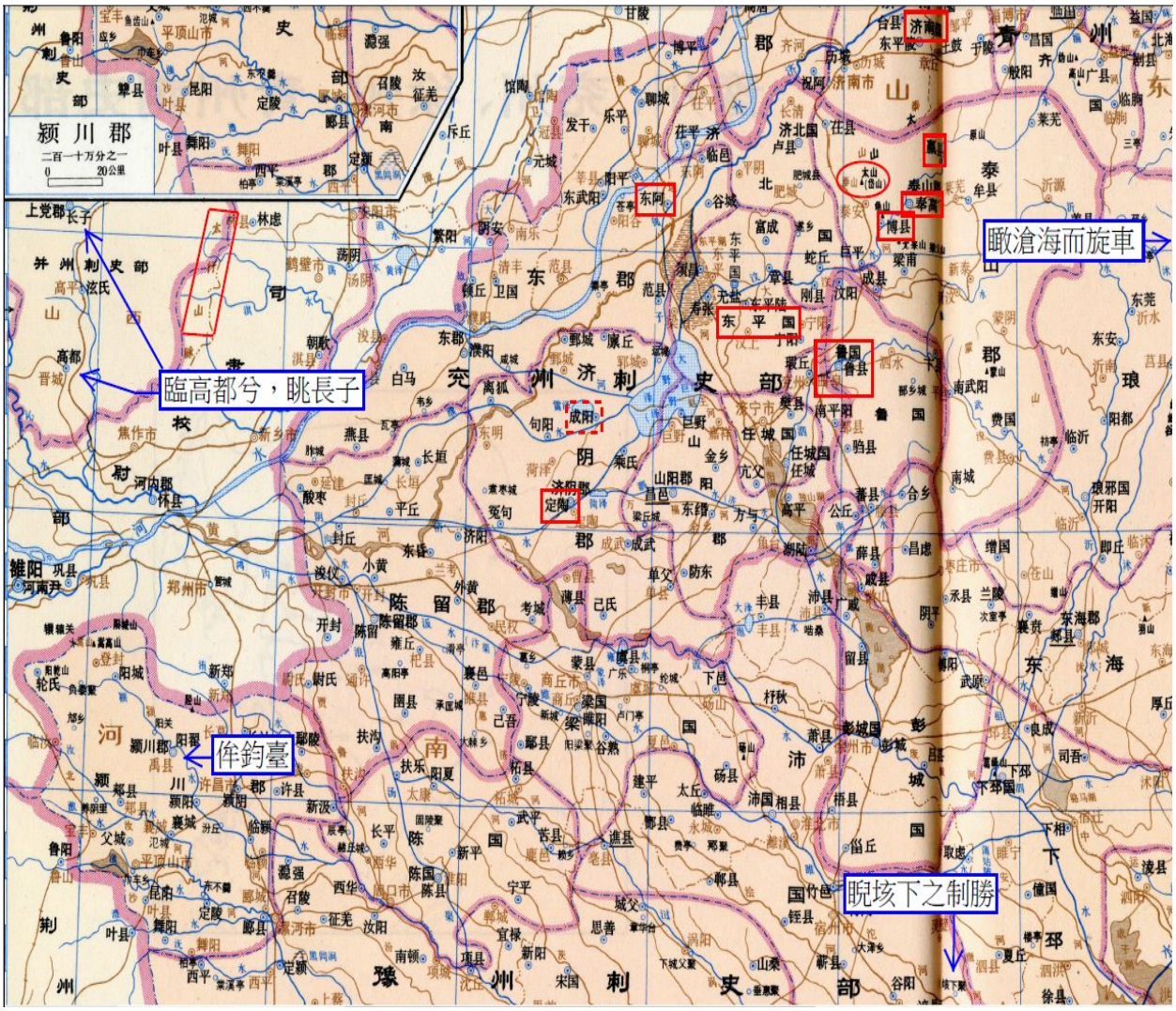
	使使者祠唐堯於成陽**靈臺**。 He sent an emissary to make sacrificial offerings for Tang Yao at the Divine Terrace in Chengyang.	祀帝堯於**靈臺**兮，瞰禹迹於唐丘。 He offered sacrifices for Emperor Yao at the Divine Terrace; and viewed Yu's tracks at the Great Mound (in Kuaiji?).
東 E.	甲午，遣使者祠**定陶**太后、恭王陵。 On *jia wu* day, he sent an emissary to make sacrificial offerings at the burial mounds of the Empress Dowager of Dingtao and King Gong of Dingtao (Fu Zhaoyi 傅昭儀 and Liu Kang 劉康, grandmother and father of Emperor Ai 哀帝 of the Western Han, r. 7 – 1 BCE).	睨垓下之制勝兮，經漢元於**定陶**。 He looked towards the site of victory at Gaixia (where Liu Bang defeated Xiang Yu); and passed[121] through the sites of Han ancestry at Dingtao.

[121] In light of the analysis above, and the use of the verb *ni* 睨 (look askance) in the preceding parallel line, it is possible that *jing* 經 (pass through) refers not to the procession or the emperor's body but to his gaze.

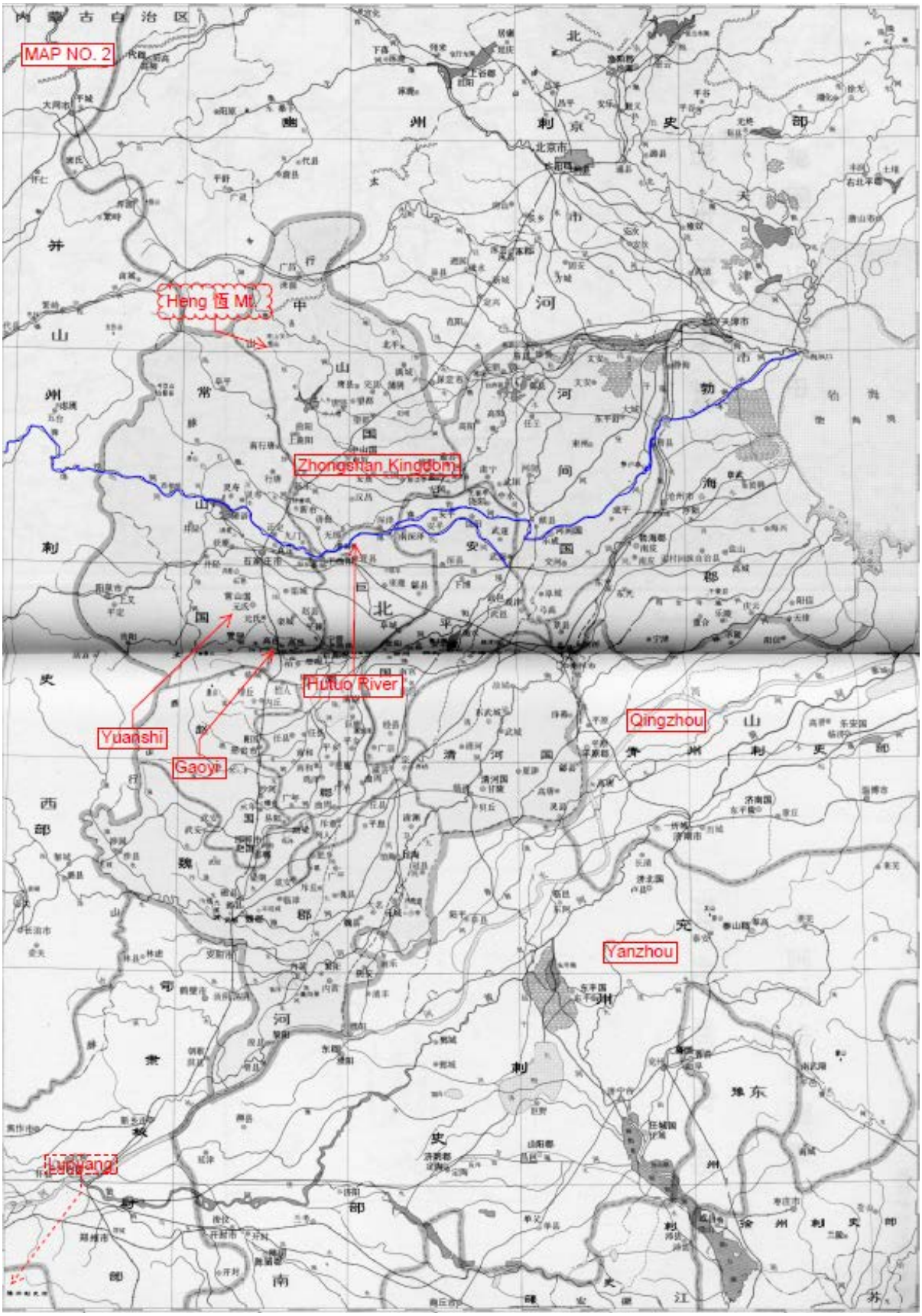
Appendix C: Maps[122]

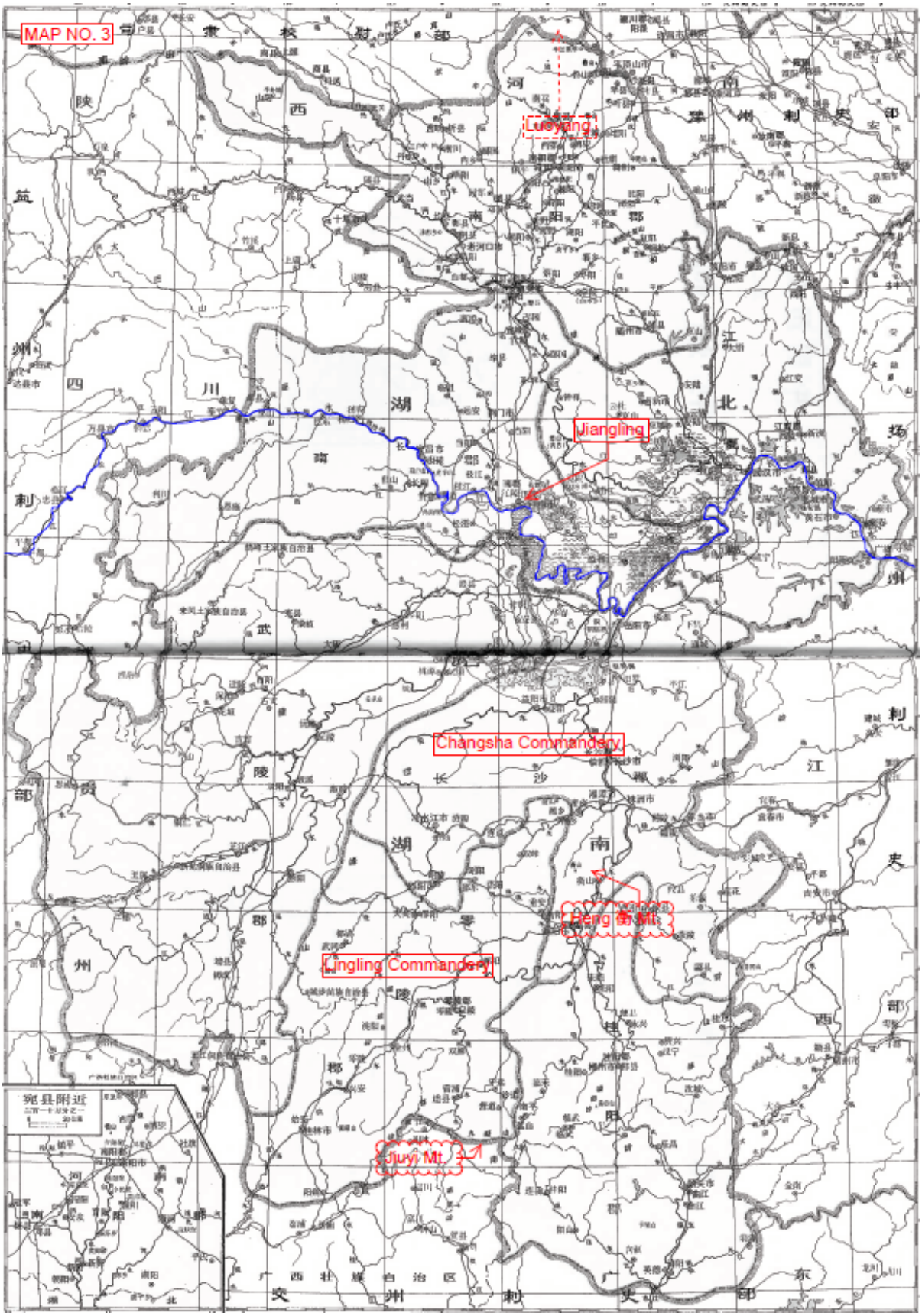
Map no. 1

The red frames mark place names indicated in the "Annals" account of Emperor Zhang's eastern tour of 85 CE. Many of these appear, or are alluded to, in the "Panegyric for the Eastern Tour" as well. The blue text-boxes, however, indicate places mentioned in the panegyric which do not correspond to the "Annals" route. In the text-boxes are citations from the "Eastern Tour," translations of which are provided in the course of the argument above.



[122] All the appended maps are based on Tan Qixiang's 譚其驤 *Historical Atlas of China* 中國歷史地圖集 (Xinhua shudian Shanghai faxingsuo, 1982 – 1987).


MAP NO. 2
Heng 恒 Mt.
Zhongshan Kingdom
Hutuo River
Yuanshi
Gaoyi
Qingzhou
Yanzhou
Huguang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Chapter 3
Praise and Paratext: Ban Gu's *History of the Han*

In his well-known study of the Qing emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (r. 1735 – 1796), over four decades ago, Harold Kahn has drawn attention to the need to discern between "the brush-and-ink creature of the historians and the flesh-and-blood maker of history"—a feature that continues to complicate the study of Chinese monarchs and monarchy to this day.[1] One aspect of this challenge is the requisite, noted earlier, of knowing the particular make-up of our primary sources—the traditions, conventions, practices, and perceptions that informed their language and design—specifically, concerning patterns of written imperial representation in historiographical sources.[2] This chapter broaches the subject by examining one of several points of contact between the literary strategies of the panegyrist, as discussed in the previous chapter, and the art of the historian.

I argue that knowledge of the poetics of praise is instrumental to the study of early imperial historiography. Far from being an isolated venue of imperial flattery, the Chinese panegyric was an integral part of imperial cultural production, and a pursuit of literati like Ban Gu 班固 (32 – 92), who were involved in both historiographical and panegyrical projects.[3] Masterfully conversant in all registers of imperial rhetoric, Ban Gu had employed each as he saw fit, and the hermeneutical implications of this fact must be taken into consideration. This is not, by any means, to dismiss the value of Ban Gu's work for the modern historian, as has been argued in the past. As opposed to the assumptions of some of the traditional and modern scholars of Chinese history cited below, I argue that the blurring (or absence) of strict generic boundaries in the work of the traditional historiographer, once observed and taken into account, is not an obstacle but a vehicle for textual and thus also historical analysis.

In what follows, I tentatively confine the discussion to what I term the 'paratext' of Ban Gu's *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han): the chapter-ending *zan* 贊 (variously translated as 'personal comment,' 'appraisal,' 'appreciation,' and 'eulogy') and the synoptic verses that came to be known as *shu* 述 (more on this term below).[4] Moreover, I focus on a selection therefrom that pertains to the

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[1] Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes*, 3; and see also Christian de Pee, Review of *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China* by Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Maggie Bickford, eds., *China Review International* 4.2 (2007): 417 – 423.

[2] "Introduction," p. 4.

[3] See, for example, David R. Knechtges, "To Praise the Han: The Eastern Capital *Fu* of Pan Ku and His Contemporaries," in *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China: Studies Dedicated to Anthony Hulsewé on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday* (Brill, 1990), 118 – 139; Wang Dehua 王德華, "Dong Han qianqi fusong erti de hushen yu santi dafu de zouxiang" 東漢前期賦頌二體的互滲與散體大賦的走向, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 4 (2004): 4 – 13 (esp. 6 – 10); Anthony E. Clark, *Ban Gu's History of Early China* (Cambria Press, 2008), e.g. 184 – 185.

[4] The so-called *shu* are the synoptic verses collected in *juan* 100B of the *Hanshu*. *Zan* are appended at the end of 79 out of the 100 chapters that comprise the *Hanshu*. See Pu Zaiyu 朴宰雨, *Shiji Hanshu bijiao yanjiu* 史記漢書比較研究 (*Zhongguo wenxue*, 1994), 212. Pu counts 82 out of 100 chapters (based on the Zhonghua shuju edition), but notes that in 3 out of the 82 the appraisal is not prefixed with *zan yue* 贊曰 but with an ascription of the evaluation to Ban Biao 班彪 (3 – 54). Ban Gu was the first to name the historian's chapter-ending comments '*zan*,' for which the common translation 'eulogy' is not entirely accurate, and by some scholars straightforwardly anachronistic. Certain commentators and modern scholars have challenged the characterization of *zan* by Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465 – ca. 522), author of the *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍, as a derivative "branch of *song* (hymn, eulogy, or panegyric)" (頌家之細條) and as originally eulogistic in essence (本其為義, 事生獎歎). *Wenxin diaolong yizheng* 文心雕龍義證 (Shanghai guji, 1989), 348, 349. Xi Wenqian 郗文倩, for example, pursuing further an earlier argument by Liu Shipei 劉師培 (1884 – 1919), suggests that the *zan* of the Han period, from the Mawangdui 馬王堆 *Yi zan* 易贊, through the appraisals inscribed on paintings and portraits (*hua zan* 畫贊), down to the short verses accompanying ritual wedding gifts, functioned, first and foremost, as distilled explanations, introductions, and summaries of the text or the object to which they were appended. The function of praise, she argues,

imperial chronicles, examining the language and literary strategies employed in the sections designated for concise, memorizable appraisals of the reigns of individual Han emperors. I argue that these reflect a conscious effort towards positive depictions not due to fear of censure but due to principles of compartmentalization that characterize the overall arrangement of the *Hanshu*.[5]

The chapter-ending evaluations in the work of Ban Gu and his followers are usually understood in the context of a long tradition of evaluative remarks in works of history, from the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 "*Junzi yue* 君子曰" ("The noble man says," and its variants), through the concluding remarks in Sima Qian's *Shiji* 史記 (*Taishigong yue* 太史公曰, "The Senior Archivist says"), to various other versions in the subsequent histories that largely followed this format.[6] By the time Fan Ye 范曄 (398 – 446) wrote his *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han), the chapter-ending *zan*—originally a prose evaluation that is separated from the main narrative with the phrase *zan yue* 贊曰 ("The appraisal says…")—came to take the form of encomiastic tetra-syllabic verse, whereas the prose evaluation was given a designated place in the penultimate textual unit, separately labeled *lun* 論 ("disquisitions"). Although the standards and literary style of the evaluative remarks had changed through the ages and from one author to another, by the time the Tang 唐 historian Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661 – 721) had composed his *Shitong* 史通 ("Comprehensive Account of Historiography")—a guide and critique of historical composition in China from the pre-imperial era up to his own time—*lunzan* 論贊 (disquisitions and appraisals) had become the general designation of this feature in traditional Chinese

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came to overshadow the explanatory function under the influence of Han usage of pictorial representations (with their appended *zan*) for the purpose of commemoration and exhortation to moral excellence. This evolutionary narrative reverses Liu Xie's understanding of the 'proper' (*zheng* 正) and the 'modified' (*bian* 變) forms of *zan* as a literary genre, the roots of which he traces back, as aforesaid, to the eulogistic *song*. Xi Wenqian, "Handai tuhua renwu fengshang yu zanti de shengcheng liubian" 漢代圖畫人物風尚與贊體的生成流變, *Wen shi zhe* 文史哲 2007, no. 3: 86 – 93; and idem, "Zanti de zheng yu bian—jian tan *Wenxin diaolong* zanti yuanliu lun zhong cunzai de wenti" 贊體的正與變—兼談文心雕龍贊體源流論中存在的問題, *Wenyi yanjiu* 文藝研究 2014, no. 8: 62 – 73. The relation, however, between the Han *hua zan* and the appraisals concluding historiographical accounts (*shi zan* 史贊) from Ban Gu onwards is yet to be fully illuminated, and it is possible that by transitioning from 'eulogy' to 'appraisal' in the translation of the latter we are missing again an important aspect of its organizing principles.

[5] Xu Fuguan 徐復觀 (1903 – 1982) is one of several scholars who have stressed the weight of imperial censure among the factors that shaped the arguably laudatory tone of imperial representation in the *Hanshu*. Xu Fuguan, *Liang Han sixiang shi* 兩漢思想史 (Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1980), vol. 3, 483. But see ibid., 487ff., where Xu notes features of the arrangement of Ban's history which may be explained through the principle of compartmentalization.

[6] Lu Yaodong 逯耀東, "Shizhuan lunzan yu *Shiji* 'Taishigong yue'" 史傳論贊與史記太史公曰, *Xin shixue* 3.2 (1992): 1 – 34 (esp. 6 ff.); Wan Guangzhi 萬光治, "Handai songzan mingzhen yu fu tongti yiyong" 漢代頌贊銘箴與賦同體異用, *Shehui kexue yanjiu* 1986, no. 4: 99 – 100; Xu Xingda 余行達, "Lun *Zuozhuan* 'Junzi yue'" 論左傳君子曰, *Guji yanjiu* 1998, no. 1, 54; Kai Vogelsang, "Some Notions of Historical Judgment in China and the West," in *Historical Truth, Historical Criticism, and Ideology: Chinese Historiography and Historical Culture from a New Comparative Perspective*, edited by Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer et al (Brill, 2005), 145; David Schaberg, "Platitude and Persona: *Junzi* Comments in *Zuozhuan* and Beyond," in *Historical Truth, Historical Criticism, and Ideology*, 179. For the formula as it appears in the *Zuozhuan* in particular, see also Pu Weizhong 浦偉忠, "Lun Zuozhuan 'junzi yue' de sixiang" 論左傳君子曰的思想, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 46.2 (1990): 63 – 71; and Eric Henry, "'Junzi yue' versus 'Zhongni yue' in Zuozhuan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 59.1 (1999): 125 – 161. Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661 – 721) provides a partial list of the different phrases that preceded evaluative remarks from the *Zuozhuan* to post-Han, pre-Tang 唐 (618 – 907) historical works. With two exceptions, these are works that were not admitted to the list of the standard histories, either because they were superseded by others or because, like Ge Hong's 葛洪 (284 – 364) *Bao pu zi* 抱朴子, they were not dynastic or political histories. See Liu Zhiji, with commentary by Pu Qilong 浦起龍 (1679 – 1762), *Shitong tongshi* 史通通釋 (Taipei: Jiusi chubanshe, 1978), 4.81. For a comprehensive list of the phrases that open historical evaluations in the standard histories, up to the history of the Ming dynasty (1368 – 1644), see the table in Song Xi 宋晞, *Zhengshi lunzan* 正史論贊 (Zhonghua wenhua, 1954 – 1960), 3 – 7.

histories throughout.[7]

As the following review demonstrates, Ban Gu's appraisals met with some suspicion from Western scholars early in the twentieth century, whereas Fan Ye's eulogies were flatly denounced by Chinese scholars at least as early as the seventh century. In both cases, this was due to strict, over-defined, and by now mostly outdated standards of historiography: the expectation for objectivity on the one hand, and the valorization of brevity and generic boundaries on the other hand. The analysis of Ban Gu's paratext will facilitate a reevaluation of these previous assessments.

3.1. Assessing Appraisals: A Review

'As remote as the heavens are from the earth,' 'divided not by a narrow isthmus but by a mighty wall'—these are some of the figures that writers, from the Roman Empire to early modern France, had employed in order to register their perception of an antithetical relation between history and the panegyric. Such strong statements appear mostly in the context of prescriptive formulations of what constitutes good historical writing. It is there that the difference between praise pieces and historical accounts is asserted in terms of wide gaps and impassable barriers. The figure of the mighty wall was drawn by Lucian (125 – 180) in his satirical admonition "How to Write History." Lucian explains: "the encomiast's sole concern is to praise and please in any way he can the one he praises, and if he can achieve his aim by lying, little will he care." But history, he warns his readers and future writers, "cannot admit a lie, even a tiny one, any more than the windpipe, as sons of doctors say, can tolerate anything entering it in swallowing."[8] Upon reading Lucian's assertion that the lifeline of panegyrics—lies and falsehoods—would suffocate anything aspiring to be history, Jean Racine (1639 – 1699) scribbled in the margins of the text: "Le panégyrique et l'histoire sont éloignés comme le ciel l'est de la terre."[9]

Such assumptions about what constitutes 'history' as opposed to eulogistic genres appear to have informed evaluations of early Chinese historiography on the part of scholars who, in the 1940s, attended to the presence therein of *zan* appraisals—particularly, in Ban Gu's *Hanshu*. In his elaborate defense of the credibility of traditional Chinese histories, Homer Dubs has found it essential to argue that the appendage of "eulogies" (*zan*) to historical records does not detract from the objectivity of the historical work that contains them. On the contrary, he suggests, the very fact that these passages are separated so markedly from the historical narrative testifies to the historian's self-consciousness

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[7] The ninth chapter (fourth *juan*) of the received *Shitong* is dedicated for the discussion of *lun* and *zan*. See Liu Zhiji, *Shitong tongshi*, 81 – 87. In this chapter, as elsewhere up to and including modern studies in Chinese, the phrase *lunzan* is applied across the board and retroactively, even to the work of authors who chose to introduce their historical evaluations and summaries with different phrases (such as *Taishigong yue* in the *Shiji* and *ping yue* 評曰, "[my] evaluation is as follows," in the third-century *Sanguo zhi* 三國志). In another chapter Liu Zhiji also uses the reversed compound *zanlun* 讚論 / 贊論: ibid., 168, 169. For the establishment of *lunzan* as a literary category in traditional classifications, see Zhao Caihua 趙彩花, *Qian sishi lunzan yanjiu* 前四史論贊研究 (Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 18 – 23.

[8] Lucian, "How to Write History," trans. by K. Kilburn, in *Lucian*, with an English translation by A. M. Harmon (William Heinemann LTD and Harvard University Press, 1959 – 1967), 6: 11.

[9] Jean Racine, *Oeuvres complètes* (Gallimard, 1980), 2: 201. The edition I consulted identifies this statement as a comment that was written in the margins of a text by Lucian. A. Thomas Downing adds that it was a text copied out by Racine. According to Orest Ranum it is Racine's copy of the Lehmann edition of 1615. To judge by the content of the comments that immediately follow the cited annotation, the annotated text is none other than Lucian's "How to Write History," and this particular annotation was attached to Lucian's contrastive comparison of history and the panegyric. Ranum's study of Racine's work confirms this, and puts it in the context of Racine's "steady preoccupation with the distinctions between panegyric, poetry, and history" and his "commitment to write history without flattery." Downing, *Aesthetics of Opera in the Ancien Régime, 1647-1785* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 68; Ranum, *Artisans of Glory: Writers and Historical Thought in Seventeenth-Century France* (University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 303 – 304.

and his observed distinction between "eulogies" and "factual accounts." Dubs further notes:

> These interpretative and evaluative judgments were highly prized. Collections of them were made. But they were not considered the really important feature of history proper, which was confined to a recital of objective events.[10]

His article, "The Reliability of Chinese Histories," was a response to an article by Clyde B. Sargent published in the same journal two years earlier under the title "Subsidized History." In it, Sargent denies Ban Gu's *Hanshu* the value of a proper historical work, arguing that it is rather a biased compilation of documents edited so as to reflect the orthodox evaluation of past events, in support of the Liu 劉 imperial house. One of the arguments Sargent advances against the historicity—which for him means objectivity—of Ban's work is indeed the insertion of his "personal comments" (*zan*).[11] "Some of these," he says,

> represent unmistakable attitudes that grossly conflict with the materials to which they relate, occasionally completely reversing the impression on a reader that the documents themselves suggest. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that the compiler was without attitudes, prejudices and convictions, or that these do not show up in the records. And a student must be on guard for these.[12]

According to Sargent, then, the presence of the *zan* in Ban's work exposes his personal bias and casts suspicion on his historical narrative as a whole.[13] This is why Dubs, on his part, vehemently reasserted the nature of Ban's history as "a recital of objective events," and for this purpose played down the value of the *zan* and stressed the confinement of formal praise to the margins of what should rightfully be called a 'history.' The *zan* "did not belong to what was considered history," he says, and hence "were usually kept brief."[14]

Rather than rehearse refutations of the presuppositions of both scholars in this debate—regarding

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[10] Homer H. Dubs, "The Reliability of Chinese Histories," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 6.1 (1946): 30. P. van der Loon has reiterated this argument (with no mention of Dubs) in "The Ancient Chinese Chronicles and the Growth of Historical Ideals," in *Historians of China and Japan*, edited by W. G. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank (Oxford University Press, 1961), 29. His, however, is a little more nuanced statement, acknowledging subjectivity in the selection of "facts" apart from the evaluations, and observing lack of pure objectivity in historical writing in general, regardless of time and place (see also ibid., 24, 30). For premodern collections of historical eulogies and evaluations, see Hans Bielenstein, *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty* (Stockholm, 1953), 16.

[11] Dubs seems to mock Sargent for his allegedly imprecise reference to *zan* as "personal comments" rather than "eulogies," which Dubs considers a "stock phrase" for this purpose. Dubs, "The Reliability of Chinese Histories," 39n69; and idem, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* (Waverly Press, 1938-55), 1:146n8. Elsewhere, Sargent reasonably explains his reservations concerning the translation of the historical *zan* as 'eulogy,' although in his study of Wang Mang's 王莽 (45 BCE – 23 CE) biography he does make this compromise. See Clyde Bailey Sargent, "Wang Mang: A Translation of the Official Account of His Rise to Power as Given in the *History of the Former Han Dynasty*," PhD diss. (Columbia University, 1947), 181.

[12] Clyde B. Sargent, "Subsidized History: Pan Ku and the Historical Records of the Former Han Dynasty," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 3.2 (1944): 132.

[13] Lü Shihao 呂世浩, in his *Cong Shiji dao Hanshu—zhuanzhe guocheng yu lishi yiyi* 從史記到漢書: 轉折過程與歷史意義 (Taiwan daxue chuban zhongxin, 2009), is similarly critical of Ban Gu's work. On pp. 306 – 325 he compares Sima Qian's evaluative remarks in three selected sections of the *Shiji* to Ban Gu's *zan* in the corresponding chapters of the *Hanshu*, claiming to thus reveal ideological differences between the two authors.

[14] Dubs, "The Reliability of Chinese Histories," 29 – 30.

the definitions of 'history' and 'truth,' and the relation between them[15]—we might complicate this last statement by Dubs by contrasting it with the self-testimony of a Chinese historian. In a letter ascribed to Fan Ye, author of the *Hou Han shu*, he comments on his accomplishments in this historical project and notes:

> The *lun* I attached to the various biographies all display refined thought and deep meaning. I restricted their length, in order for them to have a conclusive tone. As for the *xu* (introductions) and *lun* [in the joint biographies]—from "Scrupulous Officials" down to those on the six barbarian tribes—my writing style in these passages is free and unrestricted.[16] In our world [of letters], these are of true novelty. Combined together, they often do not pale before [Jia Yi's 賈誼 (201 – 169 BCE)] "Faults of Qin." When I compare them to Ban Gu's work, I certainly do not feel any shame.[17] (…)
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> The *zan* are the part of my work that represents the finest deliberation: not a single word is there in vain, there is no end to ingenious turns of phrase, and it combines together different styles. I myself, therefore, am not sure how to call them (i.e., his '*zan*'). When this work circulates, there must be those who will know to appreciate them.[18]
>
> 吾雜傳論, 皆有精意深旨. 既有裁味, 故約其詞句. 至于《循吏》以下及《六夷》諸序論, 筆勢縱放, 實天下之奇作. 其中合者, 往往不減《過秦》篇. 嘗共比方班氏所作, 非但不愧之而已. (...)
>
> 贊自是吾文之傑思, 殆無一字空設, 奇變不窮, 同合異體, 乃自不知所以稱之. 此書行, 故應有賞音者.[19]

Clearly, Fan Ye had taken pride in his *lun* and *zan*, and saw in them an integral part of his historical

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[15] For comments on the debate between Dubs and Sargent, see A. F. P. Hulsewé, "Notes on the Historiography of the Han Period," in *Historians of China and Japan,* 40 – 41; and Albert Dien, "Historiography of the Six Dynasties Period (220 – 581)," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, Volume 1, Beginnings to AD 600*, edited by Andrew Feldherr and Grant Hardy (Oxford University Press, 2011), 509 – 510. The divide between Sargent and Dubs corresponds to two views in the sinological world of the 20th century, as characterized by Kai Vogelsang. In response to the moralistic bent of the early Chinese works of history, one type of responses implied that "the greatest Chinese works of history are not history at all," whereas the other (including Dubs) sought to differentiate between the historian's narration of facts and his passing of judgement. Vogelsang thus provides the larger context of this debate, namely, the critique of Chinese historiography in an age of historical realism. See Vogelsang, "Some Notions of Historical Judgment in China and the West," 143 – 175 (esp. 147 – 149). Another helpful entry point to the discussion of history and truth with reference to the Chinese tradition is Anthony E. Clark, "Reflections on the Han View of Truth and Historicity with a Translation of Ban Biao's 'Essay on Historiography,'" presented at the 2006 AAS Southeast conference, http://www.uky.edu/Centers/Asia/SECAAS/Seras/2006/Clark.htm, accessed November 17, 2015. Vogelsang's essay does the important service of redirecting the sinological discussion towards an alternative, and arguably more productive line of inquiry: the analysis of historical writing as literary artifact (see esp. pp. 158 – 169). For earlier articulations of this approach in the larger context of world history, see Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki, eds., *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).

[16] See Ronald Egan, "The Prose Style of Fan Yeh," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 39.2 (1979): 341n8.

[17] Earlier in the same letter, Fan Ye says of Ban Gu's work that his chapter-ending *zan* almost do not provide any analytical insight (後贊於理近無所得). *Song shu* 宋書, compiled by Shen Yue 沈約 (441 – 513) et al. (*Zhonghua shuju*, 1974), vol. 3, 69.1830.

[18] Compare to Egan, "The Prose Style of Fan Yeh," 341 – 342.

[19] *Song shu*, vol. 3, 69.1830 – 1831. And also, slightly abbreviated, in *Nan shi* 南史 (comp. 659), compiled by Li Yanshou 李延壽 (7th c.) (*Zhonghua shuju*, 1975), vol. 2, 33.855.

project.[20] But more importantly, perhaps, the historian's demonstration of his aesthetic skills in the space of the appended comments can be viewed as standing in direct continuity to the demonstration of his broad scholarship and moral acumen.

The demonstration of intellectual competence, argues David Schaberg, was requisite for the traditional historical composition. Directing attention to the textual and inter-textual functions of the rubric of the appended comments, Schaberg has read it as trace and evidence of the origin of Chinese historiography in anecdotal, mostly didactic lore. In this regard, he suggests, history is not different from what came to be regarded as the genre of "masters" (*zi* 子) texts.[21] This is significant, since from the perspective Schaberg represents—and in diametrical opposition to Dubs' dismissal of the part of the evaluations in "history proper"—not only are these a defining component of the early histories, but also the source of the historian's authority and thus of the authority of his work as a whole:

> [I]n historical works that self-consciously looked to the *Zuozhuan* as a precedent, new personae and rhetorical functions—the remark of the Grand Scribe or the chapter-closing encomium (*zan* 贊), which followed and governed a whole biography or chapter, not merely a single anecdote—asserted even more forcefully the presence of an author-teacher whose learning justified his way of narration.[22]

In view of Sargent and Dubs' assessments of Ban Gu's *zan* about six decades earlier, Schaberg's may be understood as *zan*'s rehabilitation. It represents a global transition among scholars of history from the rigid grid of falsehood and objectivity to the panorama of literary analysis. But what should still be accounted for is the format—not merely the rubric—of the historian's comments, which has been a target of Chinese scholars' critique from the medieval to the late imperial period. The Tang historian and critic Liu Zhiji voiced the most elaborate and straightforward critique of this kind.[23] His account of the evolution of *lunzan* situates it within further contextual circles in addition to the didactic appraisal, such as versified summaries and praise genres. More specifically, as will be seen below, Liu Zhiji traces back Fan Ye's versified *zan* not to Ban Gu's *zan* and Sima Qian's evaluative comments—which he would have done, it may be assumed, regarding Fan's prose-written *lun*—but to the list of

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[20] For this point see also Egan, "The Prose Style of Fan Yeh," 346. Two things, however, should be noted in this regard. First, the Qing scholar Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842 – 1918) had speculated that Fan Ye's original intention was to have the *zan* collected in a separate volume—in the spirit of Sima Qian and Ban Gu's list of contents in the last *juan* of their works. Liu Xiaodong 劉曉東 reasonably refutes this supposition on several grounds, citing Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727 – 1814) in support of the conclusion that the idiosyncratic format of a *lun* followed by a *zan* in separate chapters represents Fan Ye's original design. See Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581 – 645), with discussions by Liu Xiaodong, *Kuangmiu zhengsu pingyi* 匡謬正俗平議 (Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1999, 2000), 5.115 – 116. The above cited passage from Fan Ye's letter supports Liu Xiaodong's conclusion. Another thing to keep in mind, which does not detract, however, from the point of Fan Ye's approach to his appended *zan*, is the possibility that some of them were not solely of his own creation: Bielenstein, *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty*, 16n2; B. J. Mansvelt Beck, *The Treatises of Later Han: Their Author, Sources, Contents, and Place in Chinese Historiography* (Brill, 1990), 21. For modern discussions and evaluations of Fan Ye's *lunzan* see Bai Shouyi 白壽彝, *Zhongguo shixueshi lunji* 中國史學史論集 (Zhonghua shuju, 1999), 140 – 145; and Qu Lindong 瞿林東, *Zhongguo shixueshi gang* 中國史學史綱 (Beijing chubanshe, 1999), 242 – 249. For earlier, both premodern and modern, positive evaluations of the literary merit of Fan Ye's prose see Egan, "The Prose Style of Fan Yeh," esp. 343n8.

[21] Schaberg, "Platitude and Persona: *Junzi* Comments in *Zuozhuan* and Beyond," 177 – 178.

[22] Ibid., 179.

[23] For more on Liu Zhiji's "scandalous boldness" in "finding fault with previous historians," see E. G. Pulleyblank, "Chinese Historical Criticism: Liu Chih-chi and Ssu-ma Kuang," in *Historians of China and Japan*, edited by W. G. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank (Oxford University Press, 1961), 143, 147.

contents in the two historians' concluding chapters (*Hanshu* 100B and *Shiji* 130).[24]

Since this point is relevant to the textual analysis I present in the following section, it is worth dwelling on for a little while:

> In the last portion of his "Postface" (*Shiji* 130) Sima Qian listed all the chapters in chronological order, presenting the main points of each. Later, Ban Gu [did the same] but wrote it in verse, calling it *shu*. Fan Ye changed the title of these *shu* and called them *zan*. If we investigate the general design of *shu* and *zan*, then there is one item dedicated for each chapter. If the narrated events are many, it summarizes them [and captures the meaning] in fewer words; if the pattern [that underlies the narrated events] is scarcely seen, it expands it and gives it more space; and if names and facts do not accord, it notes the incongruities in some detail. In addition, if one is interested in scrutinizing the rights and wrongs of historical figures and the praise and blame accorded by the historian, this should be a place that is free of disingenuity.
>
> 馬遷《自序傳》後, 歷寫諸篇, 各敍其意. 既而班固變爲詩體, 號之曰述. 范曄改彼述名, 呼之以贊. 尋述贊爲例, 篇有一章, 事多者則約之使少, 理寡者則張之令大, 名實多爽, 詳略不同. 且欲觀人之善惡, 史之褒貶, 蓋無假於此也.

In this passage, Liu Zhiji traces Fan Ye's *zan* back to Ban Gu's *shu* 述—as he calls the items in Ban's list of contents—and presents their desired features.[25] He then turns to discuss Fan Ye's departure from Ban Gu's model:

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[24] Three points may be noted in support of the conclusion that Liu Zhiji saw in Ban Gu's *zan* the model for Fan Ye's *lun*, and the model for the latter's *zan* in Ban Gu's synoptic verses. First is the obvious point of the literary features of the said textual units, primarily, the fact that Ban Gu's *zan* and Fan Ye's *lun* were written in prose whereas Ban Gu's synoptic summaries and Fan Ye's chapter-ending *zan* are versified. Second is the fact that Liu Zhiji praises Ban Gu's *zan* (although he does not title them as such) in a section of the "Lunzan" chapter that was identified by the commentator Pu Qilong as dedicated to the *lun* format. See Liu Zhiji, *Shitong tongshi*, 82. Finally, the chapter division in the influential *Wen xuan* reflects the same principle: a *zan* by Ban Gu appears together with a couple of *lun* by Fan Ye under "Shi lun" 史論, whereas items from Ban Gu's synoptic verses appear together with a *zan* by Fan Ye under "Shi shu zan" 史述贊. See *Wen xuan* 文選 (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), vol. 5, 49.2171 – 2174, 2194 – 2199, 50.2201 – 2216, 2226 – 2231.

[25] The designation of the items in Ban Gu's list of contents as *shu* requires some explanation. Each of the items on this list concludes with the formula "I transmit the chronicle/table/treatise/biography of X in chapter Y" 述 X 紀 / 表 / 志 / 傳第 Y. Yan Shigu notes that Sima Qian in his list of contents referred to his own work with the verb *zuo* 作 ('create,' 'author'), and explains that Ban Gu resorted to *shu*, 'transmit,' since he did not want to claim for himself the sagacity associated with creation from scratch. See Yan Shigu, *Kuangmiu zhengsu pingyi*, 5.114; and Yan Shigu, with annotations by Qin Xuanzhi 秦選之, *Kuangmiu zhengsu jiaozhu* 匡謬正俗校注 (Shangwu yinshuguan faxing, 1936), 5.27. Beginning with Liu Xie, author of the *Wenxin diaolong*, literary critics have been blaming Zhi Yu 摯虞 (d. 311) for having been the first to treat this verb—in his now mostly lost *Wenzhang liubie ji* 文章流別集—as a nominal designation for the items on Ban Gu's list. This measure of Zhi Yu was denounced by Yan Shigu as well, in the above cited work. It was, however, adopted by Xiao Tong, who in his *Wen xuan* gathered three of Ban Gu's rhymed entries and one of Fan Ye's *zan* under the title "Shi shu-zan" 史述贊. Li Shan 李善 (630 – 689) followed this practice in various instances in his *Wen xuan* commentary. By claiming that Ban Gu labeled his rhymed entries *shu* ("號之曰述"), Liu Zhiji appears to be following Zhi Yu and Xiao Tong. See Liu Xie, *Wenxin diaolong yizheng*, vol. 1, 2.342, 346; *Wen xuan*, vol. 5, 50.2226 – 2231; and Liu Xiaodong's discussion in Yan Shigu, *Kuangmiu zhengsu pingyi*, 5.115. For fragments of Zhi Yu's compilation (specifically, the essays dedicated to the various literary genres, also known as the *Wenzhang liubie lun*), see Zhang Pu's 張溥 (1602 – 1641) *Zhi Taichang ji* 摯太常集, in idem, *Han Wei liuchao baisan mingjia ji* 漢魏六朝百三名家集 (Xinxing shuju faxing, 1960), vol. 2, 237 ff. (pp. 261 – 264 for the *Wenzhang liubie lun*). I adopt the term *shu* as a designation for Ban Gu's synoptic verses merely for the sake of convenience of reference in the discussion that follows.

However, the fact that Ban Gu had all the *shu* listed together in one chapter (*Hanshu* 100B) generated [the advantage] of having prefaces for all parts of the work that can be read one after the other. Weizong (Fan Ye), in his *Hou Han shu*, followed Ban Gu in principle, dedicating one [rhymed summary] per each narrative section, [but] placed them at the end of each chapter. [Thus,] the items on the list of contents were separated, and having been broken apart they lost their successive order. The authors who came after him did not realize that this was a mistake and—like Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯 (489 – 537), author of the *History of Southern Qi* 南齊書; Li Baiyao 李百藥 (565 – 648), author of the *History of Northern Qi* 北齊書; and the Tang authors who compiled anew the *History of Jin* 晉書 (7th c.)—all adopted the flawed design of Fan Ye's *Hou Han shu*, placing *zan* at the end of chapters.[26]

然固之總述, 合在一篇, 使其條貫有序, 歷然可閱. 蔚宗《後書》, 實同班氏, 乃各附本事, 書於卷末, 篇目相離, 斷絕失次. 而後生作者不悟其非, 如蕭、李、《南》、《北齊史》, 大唐新修《晉史》, 皆依范《書》誤本, 篇終有贊.

But why does it all matter to Liu Zhiji? Why all the ink and effort on what might seem as mere trifles? The reasons have partly to do with his emphasis on brevity and dislike of repetition, and partly with his own purist perception of historiography.[27] History, he implies, should be written as history, and not adopt features that resemble other genres:

Attaching a *lun* to each chapter is already tedious; following each *lun* with a *zan* is completely distorted. It is like the *bei* (epitaph) designed by men of letters, in which at the end of the *xu* (here meaning the prose narration of the deceased's biography) there still follows a "*ming yue*" ("the eulogy says…"; a eulogistic verse); or the Buddhists' [written] sermons, in which once the meaning is exhausted it is again proclaimed with a "*jie yan*" ("the verse says…"; a *gāthā*). When one writes history like that, it is difficult to take it as a concise discussion of the gist of things.

夫每卷立論, 其煩已多, 而嗣論以贊, 爲黷彌甚. 亦猶文士制碑, 序終而續以銘曰; 釋氏演法, 義盡而宣以偈言. 苟撰史若斯, 難以議夫簡要者矣.[28]

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[26] According to Song Xi, the formulas used in these compilations to introduce the chapter-ending sections are *shichen yue* 史臣曰, *zan yue* 贊曰, and in the case of the *History of Northern Qi* also *lun yue* 論曰. For more details regarding the extent to which these were used throughout the different parts of these three histories, see Song Xi, *Zhengshi lunzan*, 4 – 5.

[27] On Liu Zhiji's general emphasis on "concision of expression" and "restriction of the record to what was of genuine historical interest," see Pulleyblank, "Chinese Historical Criticism," 146. His dislike of repetition is demonstrated, for example, in the chapter that deals with strategies of narration ("Xu shi" 敘事), in which Liu Zhiji lists the *lunzan* as one of four ways to convey information. He insists that the use of any of the four to convey any particular point should be exclusive in order to avoid redundancy. See Liu Zhiji, *Shitong tongshi*, 168 – 169. Similarly, earlier in the chapter on *lunzan*, Liu complains that in the concluding comments of historians that came after Ban Gu, literary adornments came to eclipse the historical and analytical value. Instead of adding new information, *lunzan* came to merely recapitulate the information conveyed in the body of the text, with the addition of literary embellishments. He notes in particular, in this regard, the *lunzan* of the imperial chronicles. See Liu Zhiji, *Shitong tongshi*, 82 – 83.

[28] Liu Zhiji, *Shitong tongshi*, 83.

Liu Zhiji was not the first to voice a critique against the redundancy of Fan Ye's *zan*,[29] but his particular formulation is valuable for the analogies it draws, which reveal what may have conceivably been sources of influence on Fan Ye's design of his *lunzan* format, alongside Ban Gu's *shu*: the Buddhist *gāthā* and the commemorative eulogy.[30] For the purposes of the present inquiry, however, it is worthwhile to take a step back and ask whether or not what Liu perceives as the "infiltration" of eulogistic genres to historical writing came about only after Ban Gu. The latter, in Liu's analysis, had merely followed Sima Qian in his design of the *shu* as well as the chapter-ending *zan*. It is later, he implies, with Ban Gu's followers, that the model was muddled with foreign elements. But is this analysis accurate? I take up this question below, examining closely some of Ban Gu's *shu* and *zan* that are specifically dedicated for Han emperors. I draw attention to their literary features and to the panegyrical strategies employed therein by comparing them to Sima Qian's parallel sections, on the one hand, and to eulogies composed by Cao Zhi 曹植 (192 – 232) for the same emperors, on the other hand.

3.2. Between the Poet and the Archivist: A Comparative Analysis of Ban Gu's Paratext

Several studies in mainland China and Taiwan have been dedicated to, or include, extensive comparisons of the evaluative remarks in Sima Qian's *Shiji* and Ban Gu's *Hanshu*.[31] Their analysis is

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[29] In his critique of Fan Ye, Liu Zhiji may have followed the eminent Yan Shigu, who in his *Kuangmiu zhengsu* already noted the "confusion" 惑 of Fan Ye in believing that he follows the model of Ban Gu by adding *zan* verses to each chapter, on top of the *lun* disquisitions. See Yan Shigu, *Kuangmiu zhengsu pingyi*, 5.114. For another note he made in this spirit, see Yan Shigu's commentary in *Hanshu* 100B.4236. Yan Shigu and Liu Zhiji were followed, in turn, by Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738 – 1801), who reiterated the point of the redundancy of Fan Ye's rhymed *zan*. He is cited to this effect by Liu Xiaodong in *Kuangmiu zhengsu pingyi*, 5.117. Zhang's older contemporary, the Qing scholar Pu Qilong, likewise endorsed Liu Zhiji's critique of the historiographical *zan*. See his commentary in *Shitong tongshi*, 83 – 84. For further collected commentaries see Liu Zhiji, *Shitong pingzhu* 史通評注, edited by Liu Zhanzhao 劉占召 (Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe, 2010), 100 – 101. For a summary of Liu Zhiji's general critique of *lunzan*, see Wang Jingui 王锦贵, *Zhongguo jizhuanti wenxian yanjiu* 中國紀傳體文献研究 (Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1996), 178 – 180.

[30] Other conceivable sources of influence behind Fan Ye's incorporation of eulogistic *zan* in his historical records should certainly be taken into consideration. Such are, for example, works of hagiographical literature, from Liu Xiang's *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 to Huangfu Mi's 皇甫謐 (215 – 282) *Gaoshi zhuan* 高士傳 and Ji Kang's 嵇康 (223 – 262) *Shengxian gaoshi zhuanzan* 聖賢高士傳贊. All include biographical depictions that conclude with a short, tetra-syllabic eulogistic verse—much like the *ming* at the end of an epitaph. In the cases of the *Lienü zhuan* and the *Shengxian gaoshi zhuanzan*, these are specifically introduced as *song* 頌 and *zan* 贊, respectively. With regard to Ji Kang's now mostly lost compilation, the relevant fragments pertain to the biographies of Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (179 – 117 BCE), Yang Xiong 楊雄 (53 BCE – 18 CE), and Kong Song 孔嵩 (early 3rd c.?). See Dai Mingyang 戴明揚, ed., *Ji Kang ji jiaozhu* 嵇康集校注 (Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1962), 414, 419, 421. See also Zhao Caihua's note, in a similar context, of the *luan* 亂 ("*luan yue* 亂曰")—the concluding verse, or as it is often translated, the envoi, in several poems in the tradition of the *Lyrics of Chu* 楚辭. Zhao Caihua, *Qian sishi lunzan yanjiu*, 16 – 17. For her portrayal of the cultural background from which emerged the historiographical *lun*, see ibid., 23 – 39. Finally, note that Liu Xie's conclusion of every chapter of the *Wenxin diaolong* with a *zan* of eight tetra-syllabic lines, about a century after Fan Ye, has been variously explained as owing to the influence of post-Han historiographical models, *gāthās* in Buddhist literature, or a combination of both. See Shuen-fu Lin's comments in Zong-qi Cai, ed., *A Chinese Literary Mind: Culture, Creativity and Rhetoric in Wenxin diaolong* (Stanford University Press, 2001), 70, 251n20; and, for a more extended discussion, Wen Guanghua 溫光華, *Wenxin diaolong "yi pian zhu lun" zhi yanjiu* 文心雕龍「以駢著論」之研究 (Wen shi zhe, 2009), 99 – 105.

[31] E.g., Zhao Caihua, *Qian sishi lunzan yanjiu*, passim; Gao Zhenying 高禎霙, *Shi-Han lunzan zhi yanjiu* 史漢論贊之研究 (Huamulan wenhua chubanshe, 2006), esp. 135 ff.; Pu Zaiyu, *Shiji Hanshu bijiao yanjiu*, 211 – 227, 377 – 380; Lü Shihao, *Cong Shiji dao Hanshu*, 306 – 325; Lu Yaodong, "Shizhuan lunzan yu *Shiji* 'Taishigong yue'"; Li Weitai 李偉泰, "Shi-Han

often driven by the assumption that the concluding remarks (although in the case of Sima Qian these do not always appear at the end of a chapter) reveal the personal view of the historian with regard to governance and history-writing, and therefore provide a window onto the reasons and motivations that prompted the evolution of Chinese historiography between these two foundational works. A fact that complicates this assumption—but also facilitates its evaluation—is that Ban Gu not only relied, as is well known, on Sima Qian's historical narratives when compiling his own work, but also, at times, employed the Senior Archivist's remarks in his own *zan*. According to Pu Zaiyu's 朴宰雨 survey, out of sixty-one chapters that borrow from *Shiji* chapters, twenty-seven chapters employ parts of the Senior Archivist's remarks.[32] In twenty-two out of these twenty-seven cases, the Senior Archivist's remarks are employed, in one way or another, in the concluding *zan*.[33] With the exception of one imperial chronicle (*ji* 紀)—the "Chronicle of Empress Gao" (Empress Dowager Lü 呂; r. in effect, 188 – 180 BCE) 高后紀—all the chapters in this last group belong to the biographical traditions (*zhuan* 傳).[34] And yet, much is to be learned from a comparison of the evaluative comments that pertain, specifically, to the imperial chronicles. Although not evincing textual parallels, they do reveal intertextual relations, and the differences between them are suggestive with regard to the process through which stylistic features associated with panegyrical and eulogistic literature came to inform the design of the so-called *lunzan* rubric.

Throughout the *Hanshu*, the *zan* take multiple forms and functions. They may be as short as 49 characters (in the "Treatise on Irrigation and Waterworks" 溝洫志) or as long as 1254 characters (in "Accounts of the Xiongnu" 匈奴傳);[35] they may focus on individual personages and their assessment (e.g. "The Biographies of Yang Wangsun, Hu Jian, Zhu Yun, Mei Fu, and Yun Chang" 楊胡朱梅云傳), or draw a general lesson from the events recounted in biographical accounts (e.g. "The

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lunzan bijiao shisan ze" 史漢論贊比較十三則, *Taida wenshizhe xuebao* (*Humanitas Taiwanica*) 64 (2006): 41 – 72. According to a note in his "Conclusion" (p. 69), Li Weitai's article is one of a series of three on the same subject, with different case studies. At the time of writing I was not able to obtain the other two articles.

[32] If we are to include Ban Gu's Imperial Chronicle of Emperor Wen (*Wendi ji* 文帝紀), the *zan* of which reproduces almost verbatim a passage taken from the main text of the corresponding imperial biography in *Shiji* (i.e., not the concluding remark itself; see below), the total number would go up to twenty-eight—as in Pu Zaiyu, *Shiji Hanshu bijiao yanjiu*, 215.

[33] Pu Zaiyu, *Shiji Hanshu bijiao yanjiu*, 215, 217 – 219 (the table includes Emperor Wen's chronicle; see previous note). Note that Gao Zhenying adds one more item to the list of *zan* that draw on Sima Qian's evaluative remarks (the *zan* that concludes "The Biographies of Zhang Shizhi, Ping Tang, Ji An, and Zheng Dangshi" 張馮汲鄭傳 in the *Hanshu*) and therefore concludes with a total number of twenty-three. Gao Zhenying, "*Shi Han* lunzan zhi yanjiu," 135, 149 – 150.

[34] *Zan* appear at the conclusion of the twelve imperial chronicles, sixty-seven out of seventy biographical traditions, three out of ten treatises (*zhi* 志)—but none of the tables (*biao* 表)—that comprise Ban Gu's *Hanshu*. Song Xi, *Zhengshi lunzan*, 3; Pu Zaiyu, *Shiji Hanshu bijiao yanjiu*, 212. Those sixty-seven biographies include three cases in which the introductory formula is not *zan yue* 贊曰 but *Situ yuan Ban Biao yue* 司徒掾班彪曰 ["Ban Biao, Assistant to the Minister over the Masses (?), comments"]. These are "The Biography of Wei Xian" 韋賢傳, "The Biography of Zhai Fangjin" 翟方進傳, and "The Biography of Empress Yuan" 元后傳. The three out of ten treatises that do conclude with a *zan* are the "Treatise on Food and Commodities" 食貨志, the "Treatise on the Suburban Sacrifices" 郊祀志, and the "Treatise on Irrigation and Waterworks" 溝洫志. Note that, contrarily, in the *Hou Han shu* only one out of thirty treatises is *not* accompanied with a *zan*. However, in the standard histories that followed the *Hou Han shu* and preceded the *New Tang History* 新唐書 (completed 1060), concluding evaluations were attached to treatises only intermittently. Furthermore, beginning with the *New Tang History* all the way down to the *Ming History* 明史 (submitted 1739), concluding evaluations (mostly introduced as *lun* 論, *zan* 贊, or with the formula *shichen yue* 史臣曰) were restricted to the chronicles and biographies and were altogether absent from the treatises (and tables, when applicable).

[35] *Hanshu*, 29.1698 and 94B.3830 – 3834.

Biographies of the Five Sons of Emperor Wu" 武五子傳).[36] Likewise, many of the *zan* in the *Hanshu* employ citations of Confucius (Kongzi 孔子 or Zhongni 仲尼) in order to align the commemorated persons with cultural ideals and exemplars, others cite the Han Classics for similar purposes, and yet others cite none directly but invoke historical precedents in order to achieve similar ends (e.g. "The Biography of Wei Xiang and Bing Ji" 魏相丙吉傳).[37]

Furthermore, praise of historical figures is but one of several evaluative actions the historian performed via the channel of the concluding remark—as are censure and disapproval.[38] And it was not an end in itself. Commending a minister for self-sacrificial actions for the sake of his ruler or a commoner for his unfaltering moral ideals was a way to promote these ideals and such actions among present and future readership.[39] As such, it was also the opportunity and the means to justify the inclusion of a particular biography in the dynastic history, and possibly convey indirect critique of current trends that conflict with the promoted ideal. Positive and negative assessments were, furthermore, the author's way of showing his skill in the esteemed tradition of character evaluation by appeal to proverbs and models of antiquity.[40] Alongside such evaluations, the concluding remark functioned as a venue for reviewing governmental policies,[41] entertaining different speculations, and discrediting other circulating traditions. Inasmuch as praise of character and conduct was part of an array of actions a *zan* performed, it does not appear to significantly diverge from the precedents of the *Zuozhuan* and the *Shiji*—that is, not as far as the *zan* appended to biographies and treatises. When it comes to the imperial chronicles of the *Hanshu*—in both the *zan* and the *shu* dedicated to Western Han emperors—we see evidence of additional effort towards the production of favorable representations, or praise for the sake of praise.

This feature is evidenced in the following analyses of the *zan* and *shu* dedicated to three successive Western Han emperors. In each case, I compare Ban Gu's pieces to the equivalent passages in Sima Qian's work in order to assess whether or not it is possible to identify a consistent change between

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[36] *Hanshu*, 67.2928 and 63.2770 – 2771. "The Biographies of the Five Sons of Emperor Wu" is discussed in Xu Diancai 許殿才, "Hanshu de lunzan" 漢書的論贊, *Shehui kexue jikan* 107 (1996): 102, and reprinted in idem, *Qin Han shixue yanjiu* 秦漢史學研究 (Beijing shifan daxue chuban jituan, 2012), 315. For English translations see Burton Watson, *Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China: Selections from the History of Former Han by Pan Ku* (Columbia University Press, 1974), 119 – 120 and 76 – 78.

[37] *Hanshu*, 74.3150 – 3151. Translated in Watson, *Courtier and Commoner*, 196 – 197. The above represents a few of several possible ways to classify the *zan* in the *Hanshu* according to their design and textual function. For other methods of classification see Pu Zaiyu, *Shiji Hanshu bijiao yanjiu*, 219 – 221, 377 – 380; Xu Diancai, "Hanshu de lunzan," *Shehui kexue jikan* 107 (1996): 101 – 106, also reproduced in idem, *Qin Han shixue yanjiu*, 313 – 321; and Gao Zhenying, "*Shi Han* lunzan zhi yanjiu," 97 – 113. On the format of citations of Confucius in the *zan* see also Clark, *Ban Gu's History of Early China*, 13 – 15.

[38] The indication of both praise and blame in the concluding evaluations by Sima Qian and Ban Gu was noted by Liu Xie, who cast that against what he perceived as the original, eulogistic function of *zan* as a literary form: *Wenxin diaolong yizheng*, 2.342 – 348; Vincent Yu-chung Shih, trans., *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (Columbia University Press, 1959), 53.

[39] See, for example, the biography of Chancellor Bing Ji 丙吉 (d. 55 BCE) and of Yang Wangsun 楊王孫 (d. after 133 BCE): *Hanshu* 74.3142 – 3151 and 67.2907 – 2909, respectively. For English translations see Watson, *Courtier and Commoner*, 107-9 and Mark Csikszentmihalyi, *Readings in Han Chinese Thought*, 145 – 149 (Yang Wangsun); and Watson, *Courtier and Commoner*, 186 – 197 (Bing Ji).

[40] See, for example, the citations employed in the assessments of Su Wu 蘇武 (d. 60 BCE) and, conversely, Wang Mang in the respective *zan*: *Hanshu* 54.2469 (Su Wu) and 99B.4194 (Wang Mang). For English translations see Watson, *Courtier and Commoner*, 45 (Su Wu); and Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vol. 3, 471 (Wang Mang).

[41] "Accounts of the Western Regions" 西域傳, *Hanshu* 96B.3928 – 3930. For an English translation see A. F. P. Hulsewé, *China in Central Asia, The Early Stage: 125 BC – AD 23* (Brill, 1979), 197 – 203. Hulsewé follows others in ascribing this *zan* to Ban Biao rather than Ban Gu (197n713).

the two historiographies.[42] In addition, I compare Ban's work, particularly his versified *shu*, to *zan* eulogies composed by Cao Zhi, possibly around 214 CE. Cao Zhi's collected works include a series of over two dozen *zan* believed to have been written for portraits that decorated the Wen Hall 溫室 at the Cao family palace in Ye 鄴.[43] Those written in honor of the three Western Han emperors considered below will serve as examples of eulogistic literature for comparison with Ban Gu's verse. Thus, Ban Gu's treatment of Han emperors in the 'paratext' to the imperial chronicles—the chapter epilogues (*zan*) and the synoptic verses (*shu*)—will be assessed against the historical model of Sima Qian on the one hand, and Cao Zhi's eulogistic verse on the other hand.

EMPEROR WEN 文帝 (r. 180 – 157 BCE)

The *zan* and *shu* of Emperor Wen in the *Hanshu*, as compared to the equivalent textual units in Sima Qian's work, reveal a subtle change in the function of the concluding comments and the chapter summaries.

At first glance, the differences between the chapter-ending remarks by Sima Qian and Ban Gu do not seem stark, and the two authors appear to complement Emperor Wen for largely the same qualities—humility, moderation, and the ability to shepherd the people without harsh punishments:

(i) Chapter-ending comments:

Taishigong yue: 孔子言「必世然後仁」, 「善人之治國百年, 亦可以勝殘去殺」. 誠哉是言! 漢興, 至孝文四十有餘載, 德至盛也. 廩廩鄉改正服封禪矣, 謙讓未成於今. 嗚呼, 豈不

Kongzi said that [when a royal house is established,] "a generation must pass before there can be truly benevolent government," and that "if good men rule the state, they may in the course of one-hundred years overcome cruelty and do away with capital punishment."[45] How true are his words! Emperor Wen reigned over forty years after the founding of the Han, and his virtue was of the highest order. The time had drawn near

[42] Below, when available, I often employ Burton Watson and Homer Dubs' translations with modifications. Otherwise, the translations are my own.

[43] *Cao Zhi ji jiaozhu* 曹植集校注, edited and annotated by Zhao Youwen 赵幼文 (Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1984), 69. Zhao cites a depiction of the Ye Palace portait hall from Zuo Si's 左思 (ca. 250 – ca. 305) "Wei Capital *Fu*" 魏都賦: "For paintings resplendently brilliant, there is the Warm Chamber 溫室 specially built. Here are representations of the cosmos, and portraits of ancient worthies and sages. They are drawn with hundreds of lucky signs, embellished with elegant songs of praise. The dark and dim past, here is brightly mirrored. Though Yu had such paintings made, these rival them in excellence." 丹青煥炳, 特有溫室. 儀形宇宙, 歷像賢聖. 圖以百瑞, 綷以藻詠. 芒芒終古, 此焉則鏡. 有虞作繪, 茲亦等競. *Wen xuan*, vol. 1, 6.272; trans. by Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol. 1, 443. It may be added that the preface to Cao Zhi's series depicts a stroll in a similar portrait hall, undertaken by Emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 57 – 75 CE) and his consort. *Cao Zhi ji jiaozhu*, 1.67. This is probably the reason why the *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Records of famous historical paintings; comp. 847) associates Emperor Ming's portrait collection with Cao Zhi's euoligistic series. Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (ca. 815 – after 875), *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1964, 2004).

[45] *Lunyu* 13.12 and 13.11. See Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Lunyu yizhu* 論語譯注 (Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 137. For *shi* 世 in this context as denoting the span of 13 years, see the commentary by Kong Anguo 孔安國 (2nd c. BCE) as reproduced in *Shiji*, vol. 1, 10.438n1.

仁哉！[44]

when he might appropriately have changed the beginning of the year, altered the court vestments, and performed the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices. But the emperor modestly declined, saying the time has not yet come [to take such steps]. Ah, was he not benevolent indeed?[46]

Zan yue:

孝文皇帝即位二十三年, 宮室苑囿車騎服御無所增益. 有不便, 輒弛以利民. (…) 專務以德化民，是以海內殷富，興於禮義. 斷獄數百，幾致刑措.[47] 嗚呼, 仁哉！[48]

Emperor Wen the Filial occupied the throne for twenty-three years. In his palaces and apartments, in his pastures and enclosures, in his carriages and saddle-horses, in his garments and equipment, he made no addition or increase. If there was any requirement that burdened the people, he always lightened it in order to benefit them. (…) He put special effort in transforming the people by

[44] *Shiji*, vol. 1, 10.437 – 438.

[46] Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I* (Columbia University Press, 1993), 310, with minor changes.

[47] For similar formulations see also a memorial by Gong Yu 貢禹 (124 – 44 BCE), *Hanshu* 72.3077 ("孝文皇帝時…天下斷獄四百, 與刑錯亡異"); and an account of the change in the punitive policy under Emperor Wen in the "Treatise on Laws and Punishments" (*Xingfa zhi* 刑法志), *Hanshu* 23.1097 ("至於斷獄四百, 有刑錯之風"). According to Ying Shao's commentary, there were few verdicts exercising punishments because the majority of the people observed the law ("民不犯法, 無所刑也"). According to Yan Shigu, 'several hundreds' refers specifically to cases that entailed the capital punishment ("死罪"). See *Hanshu* 4.135. Dubs, in his original translation (see reference in the next footnote), follows Yan Shigu. This, however, seems to obscure further the meaning of an already unclear line, since the primary reason for the celebration of Emperor Wen as one to have approximated the ideal of guiding the people without punishments is his obliteration (in a famous edict, even if not in actuality) of the mutilating punishments 肉刑 in 167 BCE [for the date see A. F. P. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law* (Brill, 1955), 1:377n157]. As cited above, the account of this reform in the "Treatise on Laws and Punishments" includes a formulation very similar to those in *juan* 4 and *juan* 72. See *Hanshu* 23.1097 – 1099, 1112; translated in Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law*, 1:333 – 336, 349. For a detailed explication of the translation of *xing cuo* 刑錯/措 (specifically, the relation between 'establish' and 'discard' in the translation of the second character) see Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vol. 2, 36n5. The complete phrase is *xingcuo er buyong* 刑錯而不用 ("punishments were in place but not in use"), and in *Xunzi* "Yi bing" 議兵 it is identified as a citation of a classical source ("*zhuan yue* 傳曰"; a commentarial tradition?), representing a feature of sage rulership in the scale of the figure of Yao. *Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 2, 10.629. Also appears in ibid., 20.1111 ("You zuo" 宥坐), and in several other early, mostly Han sources (as *xingcuo er buyong*, *xingcuo buyong* 刑錯不用, or in the abbreviated form *xing cuo*). In the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*, almost all cases appear as part of edicts and memorials, meaning that whatever the source, it had come to be used as a fairly common idiom in certain linguistic registers. In the *Kongcongzi* 孔叢子 (ca. 250 CE), the concept of *xing cuo* is tied together with the revered image of King Wen of Zhou 周文王, who is said, in the *Shangshu*, to have been able to display his virtue and thus be sparing with punishments: "其《書》曰:『惟乃丕顯考文王, 克明德慎罰.』克明德者, 能顯用有德, 舉而任之也. 慎罰者, 并心而慮之, 眾平然後行之, 致刑錯也." *Kongcongzi jiaoshi* 孔叢子校釋, edited by Fu Yashu 傅亞庶 (Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 1.21; *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義, by Kong Yingda, *Shisan jing zhushu*, vol. 2, 14.359 ("Kang gao" 康誥), and see also 17.459 ("Duo fang" 多方). This model, of the effective substitution of exemplary virtue for harsh punishments, characterizes the depiction of Han Emperor Wen in Ban Gu's *shu* below.

[48] *Hanshu* 4.134 – 135. The part of the text that I left out, mainly for reasons of space, includes references to specific cases or aspects that demonstrate the emperor's possession of the qualities for which he is praised. In brief, the account includes (in the following order): Emperor Wen's refusal to add a new section to the palace due to high costs; the humble clothing and accessories of the emperor and his favorite companion; the emperor's orders for the construction of a modest tomb for himself; his peaceful handling of acts of rivalry in the kingdom of Nan Yue 南越; the establishment of marriage alliances with the Xiongnu and the avoidance of military conflict; his successful diplomatic handling of signs of defiance

> means of virtue. For this reason all the realm within the four seas was prosperous and opulent, and advanced towards proper conduct. Verdicts were pronounced on a few hundred cases alone—he almost succeeded in setting aside punishments. Ah, how benevolent he was![49]

The fact that Ban Gu had Sima Qian's concluding remarks at hand when composing his own is glimpsed, perhaps, in the relation between his closing line ("Ah, how benevolent he was!") and the last line in the Senior Archivist's comment ("Ah, was he not benevolent indeed?"). Locally, this is no more than a gesture by Ban Gu towards his predecessor's work. However, I would argue that the transition from a rhetorical question to a decisive exclamation is symbolic of the effect of other authorial decisions Ban Gu had made in the space of the historian's remarks and the chapter summaries—not only in Emperor Wen's chronicle but also in the examples to follow.

Sima Qian's chapter-ending comment is structured in the familiar format, often adopted by Ban Gu himself, of enlisting authoritative citations for the appraisal of historical personages. In this instance, despite his frequent reliance on the former's concluding remarks elsewhere in the *Hanshu*, Ban Gu chooses to discard the Senior Archivist's evaluation. He does not, however, write his own from scratch. Rather, he polishes a passage from the chapter by Sima Qian, excerpts it from the main text, and places it at the end of the chapter, as its concluding *zan*.[50] The excerpted passage is a favorable summary of Emperor Wen's reign, and the near-identity of the textual parallels in the two works (the imperial chronicle by Sima Qian and the *zan* by Ban Gu) is unmistakable.[51]

As noted above, the two historians appear to commend Emperor Wen for largely the same qualities. The justification of each author's praise, however, is different. Ban Gu praises the emperor for what he had done—he was economical with state resources, he exercised smart and gentle diplomatic practices, he maintained peaceful foreign relations, he encouraged critique of his policies, he lightened the demand of his people, and reduced the use of punishments. Sima Qian praises Emperor Wen for what he had *not* done—he did not change the calendar and the color of court

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on the part of the king of Wu 吳; the emperor's ear for remonstrators; and the way he put an end to the practice of bribes on the part of officials like Zhang Wu 張武 (active ca. 180 – 158 BCE) without subjecting them to trial or punishment.

[49] Based on Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vol. 1, 272 – 275, with revisions.

[50] More specifically, the passage in the *Hanshu* that represents the excerpt from *Shiji* opens with "孝文皇帝即位二十三年" and ends with "興於禮義." The final three lines in Ban Gu's *zan* ("斷獄數百, 幾致刑措. 嗚呼, 仁哉") are his own addition. For the passage as it appears in the *Shiji*, see *Shiji*, vol. 1, 10.433.

[51] It should be noted that, at least in one previous study, the parallelism gained a different interpretation. Dubs, who noticed the literary superiority of Ban Gu's version and wondered about what he found to be an incoherent incorporation of a summary of the reign within Sima Qian's narrative rather than at its closure, has speculated that "someone interpolated into the *SC* (*Shiji*) an earlier version of Pan Ku's (Ban Gu) eulogy." (Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vol. 1, 272n1.) Dubs does not provide further evidence in support of this speculation. I therefore find it much more likely that the differences between the polished version in the *Hanshu* and the inferior version in the *Shiji* represent not different drafts by Ban Gu but his revision of his predecessor's version. This would be in line with many other instances in which the aesthetic quality of Ban's prose supersedes that of Sima Qian's. In addition, the location of the said summary of Emperor Wen's reign in Sima Qian's account would appear less discordant if we note that it comes right before the report of the emperor's death. Following it in Sima Qian's account, are only Emperor Wen's testamentary edict, the report of his interment, the first edict issued by his successor, the latter's approval of measures for the celebration of Emperor Wen's memory in temples throughout the empire, and the Senior Archivist's concluding remarks as cited above. There are no good reasons, it appears, to suspect a later interpolation in this particular case. The preferred conclusion, then, is that Ban Gu had extracted an assessment of Emperor Wen's reign from the flow of chronological records in Sima Qian's work and confined it to the rubric of the historian's remarks.

vestements, and did not perform the *feng* and *shan* rituals.[52] Commentators have suggested that the latter's negative praise of Emperor Wen was in fact designed in order to serve as indirect critique of his own imperial patron, Emperor Wu—who did change the beginning of the year, did alter the court vestments, and did perform the prestigious *feng* and *shan* sacrifices.[53] Read in this light, Sima Qian's rhetorical question, "was he not benevolent indeed?" would resonate with insinuations about an emperor other than Wen whom Sima Qian found much less benevolent. It is possible that Ban Gu sensed these undertones and for this reason did not employ the Senior Archivist's remark.[54] In its stead, he answered Sima Qian's rhetorical question with a straightforward exclamation of Wen's benevolence, which matches perfectly the passage he excerpted and turned into the chronicle's *zan*: an account of Emperor Wen's governance that demonstrates this virtue rather than implicitly denies it of another Han emperor.

Let us move on to consider Ban Gu's *shu*. Here as well Ban Gu follows Sima Qian's model in terms of the larger format: he as well reserves the latter half of his postface for a list of all the chapters of his work in chronological order, dedicating a few synoptic lines for each. However, as Liu Zhiji had noted, Ban's summaries, unlike Sima Qian's, are rhymed. This is not merely a technical feature or a stylistic difference. It has consequences for the content of the stanza that is cast as the gist of the imperial chronicle—consequences that may have been well-calculated. As demonstrated below, in all three test-cases, the function of Ban Gu's *shu* goes beyond that of a prefatory abstract and approaches that of a praise poem.

(ii) Synoptic summaries:

Shiji 130:	漢既初興, 繼嗣不明, 迎王踐祚, 天下歸心; 蠲除肉刑, 開通關梁, 廣恩博施, 厥稱太宗. 作孝文本紀第十.[55]	After the Han had risen to power and the line of succession became unclear, the king [of Dai 代] was brought to the capital to ascend the imperial throne, and the whole world gave him its allegiance.[56] He abolished the mutilating punishments and opened up the barriers and bridges;[57] his goodness and charity spread far and wide, and he came to be called the Great Patriarch.[58] Thus I made "The Basic Annals of Emperor Wen the Filial," no. 10.[59]

[52] The rejected reforms listed by Sima Qian are associated with suggestions made to the emperor by Jia Yi. See Charles Sanft, "Rule: A Study of Jia Yi's *Xin shu,*" PhD diss. (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, 2005), 14, 20n9 – 10.

[53] See below the section dedicated to Emperor Wu.

[54] This may have been one of the instances that gained the *Shiji* the appellation "book of slander" (*bang shu* 謗書) as late as the late Eastern Han. If we trust Fan Ye's record in the *Hou Han shu*, it is Wang Yun 王允 (137 – 192) who first voiced this allegation. *Hou Han shu* 60B.2006.

[55] *Shiji* (2013), vol. 10, 130.3981.

[56] These lines refer to the events that preceded and shortly followed Emperor Wen's ascendency to the throne, as narrated in his imperial biography: *Shiji*, vol, 1, 10.413 – 10.421.

[57] For the abolition of the mutilating punishments see *Shiji*, vol. 1, 10.427. The opening of the barriers (to facilitate commute and communication) is mentioned in an edict issued by Emperor Jing right after his father's death and cited at the end of the account of Emperor Wen's reign in *Shiji*, vol. 1, 10.436.

[58] These last two lines appear to refer to Emperor Wen's depiction in the edict issued by his heir, Emperor Jing, after his death. In the edict, Emperor Jing lists the accomplishments of his father, with an emphasis on his benevolence, and sets guidelines for his commemoration in the ancestral temples. Shortly after, Emperor Wen was given his posthumous name, "Great Patriarch" (*tai zong* 太宗). See *Shiji*, vol, 1, 10.436.

[59] Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian*, 285, with revisions.

Hanshu 100B:	太宗穆穆, 允恭玄默,	Solemn and majestic was the Great Patriarch; truly devoted, profound and silent.[61]
	化民以躬, 帥下以德.	He transformed the people with self-conduct; led his subordinates by means of his virtue.[62]
	農不供貢, 罪不收孥,	Land tax was not collected;[63] children were not punished for a parent's crime.[64]
	宮不新館, 陵不崇墓.	A new pavilion was not added to the palace; a high mound was not erected over his tomb.[65]
	我德如風, 民應如屮,	His virtue was like the wind, and the people responded like the [bending] grass.[66]
	國富刑清, 登我漢道.	The state turned prosperous, punishments proportionate—and all ascended our 'path of Han.'[67]

[61] *Mu mu* 穆穆---this phrase, especially when applied to an emperor, is mostly associated with the *Odes* hymn (*song* 頌) "Yong" 雝 (#282), which depicts a scene of a grand, royal, ancestral ritual. The line "天子穆穆" ("the Son of Heaven is solemn and majestic," as the Mao commentary notes and Kong Yingda's subcommentary clarifies, depicts the demeanor of the Zhou king during the ritual. *Maoshi zhegyi*, 19.1334 – 1335.

Yun gong 允恭 is one of the expressions used in the list of superlatives that introduces Yao at the opening of the Yao dian 堯典. See Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu, *Shangshu jiaoshi yilun*, 1: 2, 11 – 12. The appended expression, *xuan mo* 玄默, is not *Shangshu* diction. It is related to theories of kingship that gained representation in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (comp. 139 BCE) chapter, "The Art of Rulership" 主術 (which also includes references to the obliteration of punishments): e.g., *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋, annotated by He Ning 何寧 (Zhonghua shuju, 1998), vol. 2, 9.630 (and 610 for an example of the ideal of discarding punishments). See also A. F. P. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law*, 1:373n148. *Xuan mo* is ascribed to Emperor Wen of the Western Han in at least three other instances in the *Hanshu* (but none at all in the *Shiji*): *Hanshu* 23.1097, 48.2265, 96B.3928.

[62] This is a dominant theme in depictions of Emperor Wen from the *Shiji* onwards. The *zan* dedicated for him in the *Hanshu* includes the line "以德化民": *Hanshu* 4.135. Here this concept extends over two lines and the four-character line comes to frame the entire couplet ("**化民**以躬, 帥下**以德**").

[63] Recorded in Emperor Wen's chronicle: *Hanshu* 4.125.

[64] This refers to Emperor Wen's order, in 179 BC, to abolish collective punishments that include wives and children: *Hanshu* 4.110. (See also Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty of the Forner Han Dynasty,* 1:233n3).

[65] These orders by Emperor Wen are recorded in the *Shiji* passage that Ban Gu polished and relocated, turning it into the chronicle's *zan*. *Hanshu* 4.134. The order for the construction of his tomb is also briefly mentioned in Emperor Wen's testamentary decree: *Hanshu* 4.132.

[66] This is an allusion to a famous saying recorded in *Lunyu* 12.19: "君子之德風, 小人之德草. 草上之風, 必偃." Yang Bojun, *Lunyu yizhu*, 129. Very fittingly, in *Lunyu* 12.19 it is uttered in response to a question regarding the necessity of killing as a measure of good governance. The allusion, therefore, aligns Emperor Wen with the model of the exemplary ruler in the dual regard of his royal virtue 德 and his punitive reforms.

[67] *Xing qing* 刑清 is not as commonly used as *xing cuo* and its meaning is slightly different, but it too can be traced to a classical source, and at least on one occasion it was used in court communication. The classical source in this case is the *Yijing* 易經. The *Tuan* 彖 tradition on the hexagram *yu* 豫 says: "Heaven and earth move according to a regular order. Thus, the sun and moon do not depart [from their regular course], and the four seasons do not deviate [from their regular schedule]. The sage [king] operates according to a regular pattern, and therefore punishments and penalties are clear and the people are obedient." 天地以順動, 故日月不過, 而四時不忒; 聖人以順動, 則刑罰清而民服. *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義, by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574 – 648), in *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999), vol. 1, 2.83. Note: Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* (Columbia University Press, 1994), 235, has translated *qing* 清 as "clearly defined." In this case, however, it should be observed that a "clear" punitive system does not mean a well-advertised, clearly stipulated, harsh legal code but a system that follows a reasonable and predictable pattern in the application of punishments (and amnesties) in light of seasonal periods and other, calendrical as well as natural circumstances. A memorial by the Han *Yijing* expert Wei Xiang 魏相 (d. 59 BCE) that employs these

述文紀第四.[60] Thus I transmit "The Chronicle of Emperor Wen," no. 4.

In the footnotes to the synoptic summaries by the two authors I indicate where in the respective imperial chronicle the referenced account is recorded, if at all. A quick review of these notes should make clear the following observation. The passage by Sima Qian functions much like an abstract: it lists selected highlights in the order in which they are reported in the main chronicle. It is terse and accurate, without further embellishments or literary allusions. It serves the point of directing the reader to the main chronicle, or recalling its content in his or her mind, but nothing beyond this auxiliary function. Ban Gu's *shu* is quite different in this regard. Out of twelve lines, only four can be said to directly represent specific events that are recorded in the chronicle itself (the third and fourth couplets). The second couplet and the first line in the last couplet can be said to allude to specific events, like the emperor's response to signs of defiance as narrated in the chronicle's *zan*, and his abolition of the mutilating punishments. The rest of Ban Gu's verse serves mainly to cast Emperor Wen as a sage ruler, in line with rulers or models of antiquity. Furthermore, even when Ban Gu refers to concrete events—whether in the *zan* or the *shu*—he does so not in a straightforward manner, as does Sima Qian, but via literary allusions that invoke ideals of rulership.

As an example, consider the two authors' references to the elimination of the mutilating punishments in 167 BCE. Sima Qian, in the passage from *juan* 130, uses the technical term *rou xing* 肉刑 (lit., "punishments of the flesh")—the same term that appears in the main chronicle.[68] Ban Gu, on the other hand, uses this terminology in the chronicle itself, but in the *zan* and *shu* replaces it with allusive literary phrases: *xing cuo* 刑措 (more often written 刑錯) and *xing qing* 刑清.[69] Both phrases derive from ancient sources, both are clearly associated with enlightened governance, and both appear to have been drawn upon in edicts and memorials and thus partake in the elevated language of court communications. Both, therefore, reflect the ideals that were used as currency in exchanges regarding governmental policies, and the terms in which rulers liked to think of themselves. The fact that these same terms had come to define, or summarize, an emperor's reign in Ban Gu's historiography, as opposed to the matter-of-fact report of Sima Qian, should not be dismissed as a matter of literary style alone.

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lines confirms this interpretation. *Hanshu* 74.3139. Tang commentator Kong Yingda went as far as glossing *xingfa qing* 刑罰清 as meaning that criminals do not get pardoned and innocent people do not get punished (i.e., 'clear' in the sense of 'clear of error'). *Zhouyi Zhengyi* 2.84. Accordingly, James Legge and Burton Watson translate *qing* as "just." James Legge, trans., *Yi jing, Book of Changes* (Causeway Books, 1973), 227; Watson, *Courtier and Commoner*, 182. In the context of Emperor Wen's reforms—such as the abolition of mutilation and collective punishments, as well as the punishment for slander in certain circumstances—"just" and "proportionate" both seem reasonable solutions that are preferable to the ambiguous "clear."

Xing qing is coupled with and preceded by *guo fu* 國富 in a single line in the *shu,* probably in imitation of the penultimate lines in Ban Gu's *zan*: "是以**海內殷富**，興於禮義. 斷獄數百，**幾致刑措**." The claimed prosperity, social etiquette, and upright conduct of the great majority in the empire is the embodiment of the "path of Han" in the closing line. Essentially, the phrase *Han dao* 漢道 refers to the period of the Han mandate, when the house of Han represented the heavenly-approved way of governance. In the present text, with the verb *deng* 登 ("to ascend," "to step on") the imagery of 'pathway' seems dominant, hence the chosen translation.

[60] *Hanshu* 100B.4237

[68] For *rou xing* as a category in Han law, see Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law*, 124 – 126.

[69] In the chronicle itself the abolition of *rou xing* is recorded briefly and the reader is referred to the "Treatise on Laws and Punishments." *Hanshu* 4.125.

To a certain extent, the difference indeed stems from the transition—at least as far as the synoptic summaries—to a poetic register. It is also possible that the rhymed chapter-summaries in Ban Gu's list of contents were designed to facilitate chanting and memorization. In effect, however, the *shu* for Emperor Wen appears to break beyond this auxiliary role, reading less as a versified summary and more as a stand-alone praise poem. Whereas Sima Qian's equivalent passage is centered on events and accomplishments, Ban Gu's verse concerns primarily the emperor's demeanor, approach, moral virtue and royal charisma. In other words, we note in Ban Gu's synoptic verse a transition in emphasis from historical events to the person of the emperor, and thus a shift from an event-based summary to a character-based poetic depiction. This is not to say that the referents of phrases like 'profound and silent' (*xuan mo*) are restricted to the personal traits or ritual demeanor of the emperor. On the contrary, as instances of the idiom of the ruler's body as laid out in the first chapter, they encode certain models of governance and rulership. But the very transition to this register, by virtue of its semantic focus on the person of the emperor, even if used to convey ideas that correspond to the events outlined by Sima Qian, nevertheless effects a transition from a straight-forward summary to a eulogistic mode.

Thus, compared with Cao Zhi's poetic eulogy (*zan*) for Emperor Wen, it is Ban Gu's *shu* that appears the more encomiastic:

(iii) Cao Zhi's *zan*:

孝文即位, 愛物檢身,	As Filial Wen ascended the throne, he showed care to his subjects and constraint towards his person.
驕吳撫越, 匈奴和親,	He pampered the King of Wu, appeased the King of [Nan] Yue, and maintained friendly terms with the Xiong Nu.
納諫赦罪, 以德讓民,	He heeded advisors' remonstrations, renounced punishments, and enveloped the people with virtue.[70]
殆至刑錯, 萬國化淳.	Close to attaining the elimination of punishments, he transformed the myriad kingdoms towards pure conduct.

Reading the *zan* that concludes Ban Gu's chronicle of Emperor Wen alongside Cao Zhi's *zan* above would quickly demonstrate that the latter is closely based on the former, and is, in fact, its poetic rendering. Cao Zhi not only refers to the events recounted in Ban Gu's *zan* in an almost flawless chronological order, but at points he also retains the same phrases (such as *xing cuo*). Recalling that Ban Gu's *zan* is already a polished version of a passage from Sima Qian's chronicle of Emperor Wen, which Ban Gu extracted from the main body of the chronicle and designated as its '*zan,*' we may view Cao Zhi's rhymed version as the final stage in the transformation of the historian's account into an imperial eulogy. And yet, Ban Gu's *shu* for Emperor Wen is more encomiastic. Whereas Cao Zhi's *zan*

[70] *She zui* 赦罪 may refer either to the elimination of the punishment for slander as far as officials who offered their remonstrations to the throne, or to Emperor Wen's way of putting an end to the alleged transgressions of senior official Zhang Wu without the threat of punishment. The *zan* of Emperor Wen in the *Hanshu* notes the emperor's receptivity of critique, and the anecdote concerning Zhang Wu, one after the other, in the order reflected in the current line by Cao Zhi. *Hanshu* 4.135. The renunciation of the punishment for 'slander' is recounted in the main chronicle: *Hanshu* 4.118.

Rang 讓, one modern commentator has glossed as *hua* 化, "to transform." This is possibly due to the fact that the line that immediately follows Zhang Wu's anecdote in Ban Gu's *zan* is "專務以德**化**民" (see above). Cao Haidong 曹海東 and Xiao Lihua 蕭麗華, *Xinyi Cao Zijian ji* 新譯曹子建集 (Taibei: Sanmin shuju, 2003), 323n5. Alternatively, it has been speculated—including by Yan Kejun 严可均 (1762 – 1843)—that *rang* is a mistake for *huai* 懷. The anecdote of the king of Nan Yue (and his relatives) in Ban Gu's *zan* concludes with "以德**懷**之" ("he enveloped them with virtue [and thus brought about their transformation]"), in line with similar formulations in early sources. *Cao Zhi ji jiaozhu*, 83 – 84; Yan Kejun, *Quan sanguo wen* 全三国文 (Shangwu yinshuguan, 1999), 17.172; *Hanshu* 4.135.

retains a focus on concrete events and accomplishments, Ban Gu's *shu*, as demonstrated above, turns attention to the emperor's person and employs ruler-body concepts for its further aggrandizement. In other words, assessing the two verses side by side, we find in Cao Zhi's *zan* a eulogist speaking in the voice of an historian, and in Ban Gu's *shu* an historian who created a space in which he can cheer in the voice of an encomiast.

EMPEROR JING 景帝 (r. 157 – 141 BCE)

If the account of Emperor Wen provides an opportunity to examine the implications of different strategies of praise, the case of his son and successor, Emperor Jing, provides a striking example of the way in which blame at the hand of one author may turn into praise at the hand of another.

The reason for blame, and the most memorable event in Emperor Jing's reign, is the rebellion of seven Han kingdoms (Wu 吳, Chu 楚, Jiaoxi 膠西, Jiaodong 膠東, Jinan 濟南, Zichuan 菑川, and Zhao 趙) that broke out, and was eventually suppressed, in 154 BCE.[71] The rebelling rulers, all descendants of the Liu clan, were embittered by recent imperial measures against the accumulation of wealth and power in the various kingdoms—measures advocated by imperial advisors, first and foremost among whom was Chao Cuo 晁錯 (200 – 154 BCE). Chao was later executed in an attempt to appease the rebels, but the revolt was finally crushed by force, under the command of General Zhou Yafu 周亞夫 (d. 143 BCE). Although lasting only several months, the rebellion of the seven kingdoms came to stand at the center of Sima Qian's evaluation of Emperor Jing's reign, both in his concluding comments and in his synoptic summary.[72] Ban Gu's *zan* and *shu* represent an effort to divert attention from this temporary fracture in Han imperial authority at a sensitive time in lineal terms.[73] Emperor Jing was the head of the Liu family branch from which descended Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 (r. 25 – 57)—the founder of the Eastern Han dynasty and the predecessor of the emperors who employed Ban Gu. Of particular interest is the way in which Ban Gu transforms the import of the Senior Archivist's comment, and the reenactment of this move in Cao Zhi's eulogy.

(i) Chapter-ending comments:

Taishigong yue:	漢興, 孝文施大德, 天下懷安, 至孝景, 不復憂異姓, 而	After the Han arose, Emperor Wen conducted his rule with the utmost virtue so that the whole empire was brought to peace,

[71] The revolt was initiated by Liu Pi 劉濞 (216 – 154 BC), king of Wu, the same king Emperor Wen managed to pacify by diplomatic means several years earlier. See above, and in Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vol. 1, 292 – 293.

[72] Doubts had been voiced, from the third to the twentieth century, with regard to the authenticity of the chronicle itself—the "Basic Annals of Emperor Jing"—in the *Shiji*. It had been believed that the original chapter by Sima Qian was lost and that a later composition was interpolated in its stead on the basis of the chronicle compiled by Ban Gu. Dubs follows Chavannes in rejecting these speculations, based on his analysis of the relation between the two chronicles. He argues that there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of Sima Qian's chapter but suggests that it may represent an uncompleted version. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vol. 1, 291 – 292. Watson speaks to the same effect and speculates that the chapter was not completed due to Sima Qian's fear of censure while serving at the court of Emperor Wu—Emperor Jing's son. Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian*, 311n1. Note that Xu Fuguan, although siding with those who argued against the authenticity of the "Basic Annals of Emperor Jing," does not doubt the authenticity of the Grand Scribe's remarks to this chronicle. Xu Fuguan, *Liang Han sixiang shi*, 3:496 – 497.

[73] Dubs argues that the additions Ban Gu had made to Sima Qian's chronicle when compiling his own account of Emperor Jing's reign were design for a similar purpose. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vol. 1, 291 – 292, 301.

晁錯刻削諸侯, 遂使七國俱起, 合從而西鄉, 以諸侯太盛, 而錯為之不以漸也. 及主父偃言之, 而諸侯以弱, 卒以安. 安危之機, 豈不以謀哉？

and by the time of Emperor Jing the nobles who were not of the imperial family were no longer a source of anxiety.[74] But Chao Cuo whittled away at the fiefs of rulers, [descendants of the Liu clan,] until he had caused the seven kingdoms to rise up, join together in alliance, and head west (towards the capital). This came about because the rulers of the fiefdoms were too powerful, and because Chao Cuo's measures to suppress them were not gradual enough. Later, [under Emperor Wu's reign,] when the suggestions of Zhufu Yan (d. ca. 126 BCE) were put into effect, the enfeoffed rulers were weakened and eventually pacified. The difference between order and unrest—does it not hinge on [whose] advice [one adopts]?[75]

Zan yue:

孔子稱「斯民, 三代之所以直道而行也」, 信哉！

周秦之敝, 罔密文峻, 而姦軌不勝. 漢興, 掃除煩苛, 與民休息. 至于孝文, 加之以恭儉, 孝景遵業, 五六十載之間, 至於移風易俗, 黎民醇厚. 周云成康, 漢言文景, 美矣！[76]

Kongzi praised "those people due to whom the Three Dynasties pursued their straight course."[77] How truthful!

The failure of the Zhou and the Qin dynasties was that although they used a fine net of severe laws and stipulations, they could not overcome the ways of wrongdoers. When the Han arose, it swept away such vexations and harshness and gave the common people repose and rest. When came the time of Filial Emperor Wen, he added to this commitment and moderation, and Filial Emperor Jing continued to follow his practices. In the course of fifty or sixty years they managed to transform the general mood and alter people's customs, so that the common people became pure and sincere. If with regard to the Zhou dynasty we speak of Kings Cheng and Kang, with regard to the Han one should speak of Emperors Wen and Jing! How splendid![78]

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[74] Zhang Dake 張大可 argues that this referes to the fact that by the time of Emperor Jing all Han kingdoms were ruled by members of the Liu clan. Zhang Dake, *Shiji lunzan jishi* 史記論贊輯釋 (Shangwu yinshuguan, 2012), 57n1.

[75] Based on Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian*, 317, with several revisions.

[76] *Hanshu* 5.153.

[77] *Lunyu* 15.25. See Yang Bojun, *Lunyu yizhu*, 167. In this passage Kongzi comments on the standards by which he determines which figures deserve his praise. In the above cited line, those who served an historical role in the success of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties are specifically mentioned.

[78] Based on Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vol. 1, 333, with several revisions.

First, it should be observed that, in the Senior Archivist's remarks, no praise or blame is accorded to Emperor Jing directly. The accomplishment of empire-wide peace is credited primarily to Emperor Wen, with Emperor Jing enjoying the fruits of the former's diplomacy. Likewise, the outbreak of the Seven Kingdoms Revolt is blamed on Chao Cuo—in line with the imperial decision to have him executed and thus marked responsible. It would seem that Sima Qian was trying to present Emperor Jing under the graceful light of his father, on the one hand, and clear him of responsibility with regard to the kingdoms' rebellion, on the other hand. But as the concluding comment continues to unfold, the unfavorable comparison to Emperor Wu's advisor, Zhufu Yan, and the curious closing question, give the impression that Sima Qian does not target imperial advisors with his critique as much as he targets those who gave their ear and granted their authority to the wrong persons with the wrong plans.

As with the Senior Archivist's concluding remark for the chronicle of Emperor Wen, here as well Sima Qian concludes with a question that may be formally rhetorical and thus close-ended, but is rhetorically insinuative and thus, to an extent, open-ended. Does the blame of advisors deflect the responsibility of emperors for their failures to others, as in the case of Emperor Jing? If so, does it, under the same token, ascribe emperors' success to their trusted advisors, as in the case of Emperor Wu? Or do their praise and, more so, blame, serve as an indirect channel for evaluating emperors' judgement? If so, is not the contrast of Chao Cuo and Zhufu Yan designed to show Chao's imperial patron in an unfavorable light for having followed bad advice? But is Sima Qian mostly concerned here with blaming Jing for his failure or with discrediting Wu for his success? Does he cleverly manage to do both or would this border on over-reading? Even if we may be inclined to answer these questions with a degree of clarity, it is important to acknowledge that the text allows for different interpretations and that this is the source of the potency of indirect critique. Either way, the appraisal of Emperor Jing can be read as an attempt to redeem his image or to indirectly criticize it, but not as imperial praise.

In Ban Gu's *zan* we find no clue about the Seven Kingdoms Revolt. He, therefore, has no need for the figure of the imperial advisor for either indirect critique or implicit defense. He does, however, take Sima Qian's cue on another strategy: displaying Emperor Jing in the light of Emperor Wen. He opens by setting a higher scale for evaluation: Kongzi's test of historical impact. Wen and Jing are then equated, by the force of juxtaposition, with the ancient rulers of the Three Dynasties, who gained Kongzi's praise for guiding the realm on the proper path. The historical scale is reiterated in the conclusion of the *zan*, when Han emperors Wen and Jing are equated with Zhou kings Cheng and Kang (r. 1042/35-1006 and 1005 – 978 BCE). But beyond the fact that Jing does not appear to be able to carry imperial praise on his own shoulders, apart from his father, we may further observe that the virtues for which the two reigns are jointly praised are those primarily associated with Emperor Wen, as demonstrated in the preceding discussion: a deep sense of commitment and devotion to his role as ruler of the people (*gong* 恭) and his humility and frugality (*jian* 儉)—both emphasized in the respective *shu*. The equation to Cheng and Kang in the *zan* for Emperor Jing operates to the same effect. When coupled together in Han sources, Kings Cheng and Kang are mostly associated with the aforementioned ideal of governance without punishments—the near-attainment of which is associated first and foremost with Emperor Wen.[79]

[79] The reigns of Kings Cheng and Kang of Zhou are noted for the non-application of punishments as early as the *Xunzi*: *Xunzi jiaoshi*, vol. 2, 19.1071 ("至成康則案無誅已"). In the *Hisotrical Records* Sima Qian thrice notes the ideal of 'governance without the application of punishments' (*xingcuo er buyong*; see above) in the context of these two kings: *Shiji*, vol. 1, 4.134, 13.501, and vol. 3, 112.2957. The *Shiji* formulation is paraphrased in *Lunheng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋, edited by Huang Hui 黃暉 (Zhonghua shuju, 1990), vol. 2, 8.359. See also *Kongzi jiayu tongjie* 7.360 ("Xing zheng" 刑政). In the *Hanshu*, Kings Cheng and Kang are credited with the ideal of *xing cuo* on two additional occasions: *Hanshu* 6.160 and 23.1112. Cao Zhi's *zan* for King Cheng of Zhou also lists *xing cuo* among his attainments: *Cao Zhi ji jiaozhu*, 1.81 – 82.

It should be noted that the records in the *Hanshu* hardly justify the crowning of Emperor Jing as equal in virtue to Emperor Wen, nor even as a true successor of his policies. Apart from three edicts concerning measures for the encouragement of agriculture, limited indications for the waving of taxes, and an attempt to control the severity of beating punishments, Emperor Jing appears to have reverted some of his father's decreed policies. With regard to officials' remonstrations he may even be said to represent the opposite of the approach displayed in Emperor Wen's edicts, as reflected in Jing's response to recurrent remonstrations by Zhou Yafu.[80] Pairing the two emperors together, then, was most likely a rhetorical, not an analytical, measure on the part of Ban Gu—an aspect of Sima Qian's strategy that he had adopted and turned into the key to his entire *zan*.

But if in the Senior Archivist's remark having Emperor Wen overshadow Emperor Jing may have been one of this historian's ingenious ways to advance indirect critique, in Ban Gu's *zan* the pairing of Wen and Jing is exalted by its comparison to a classical precedent, a venerated lineal pair—King Cheng of Zhou and his son, King Kang. Furthermore, Ban Gu makes full use of the rhetorical potential of pairing Wen and Jing by breaking beyond the limited context set by Sima Qian—that of the pacification of the nobles of clans other than the Liu clan—and extending to Emperor Jing other virtues and accomplishments mostly associated with Emperor Wen. Cao Zhi, in his eulogy for Emperor Jing, follows Ban Gu's lead on this point, as will be demonstrated below.

In the chapter summary in *juan* 100B, however, Ban Gu adopts a different strategy, which does not require the invocation of Emperor Wen's qualities. Here, rather than avoid the Seven Kingdoms Revolt, Ban Gu balances its weight in the presentation of Emperor Jing's reign with an aspect that does not gain representation in Sima Qian's account:

(ii) Synoptic summaries:

Shiji 130:	諸侯驕恣, 吳首為亂, 京師行誅, 七國伏辜, 天下翕然, 大安殷富. 作孝景本紀第十一.	The feudal lords grew arrogant and willful, and the king of Wu led them in revolt, until the armies of the capital marched to punish them and the seven kingdoms paid for their crimes. The empire was restored to harmony, and peace and prosperity reigned. Thus I made "The Basic Annals of Emperor Jing the Filial," no. 11.[81]
Hanshu 100B:	孝景蒞政，諸侯方命，	When Filial Jing assumed governance, and there

[80] For policies designed to encourage and facilitate agriculture and sericulture during Emperor Jing's reign, see the imperial edicts recorded in *Hanshu* 5.139, 151, 152 – 153 (these edicts were added by Ban Gu and are not represented in the *Shiji*; below, when parallel records do exist, I provide references). For lightening beating punishments see *Hanshu* 5.149 and 23.1100. For the practice of collective punishment, on the other hand, see *Hanshu* 5.142 (Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 1:313n4.2 argues that Emperor Wen's earlier abrogation of collective punishment originally did not apply to the class of crimes applicable in this case). In *Hanshu* 5.151 an imperial edict states that certain taxes were waved in order to encourage agriculture and sericulture. *Hanshu* 5.140, on the other hand, attests for the reestablishment of field taxation in a reduced rate (i.e., a lower rate than the standard in the years prior to its abolishment by Emperor Wen). It is also possible that the field tax was reestablished earlier, in which case at this point only half its rate was waved (see also *Shiji* 11.439 and Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 1:311n3.4). *Hanshu* 5.143 and *Shiji* 11.442 record the reestablishment of barriers and use of passports in the year that followed the revolt of the seven kingdoms. *Hanshu* 5.145 and *Shiji* 11.444 indicate the end of the peaceful relations between the Han and the Xiongnu. For Emperor Jing's mistreatment of Zhou Yafu following the latter's successive remonstrations, see the discussions in Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 1:297 – 299; and Michael Loewe, *The Men Who Governed Han China: Companion to* A Biographical Dictionray of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (Brill, 2004), 599 – 602.

[81] Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian*, 311, with minor changes.

	were lords who defied his word,
克伐七國，王室以定.	He defeated and punished the seven kingdoms, and stabilized the reign of the royal house.
匪怠匪荒，務在農桑，	Not idle nor slack, he put effort in agriculture and sericulture;
著于甲令，民用寧康.	He inscribed it in his decrees, and the people enjoyed peace and welfare.
述景紀第五.	Thus I transmit "The Chronicle of Emperor Jing," no. 5.

Note that in Sima Qian's summary, there is no direct mention of Emperor Jing. The main actors are the rebelling kings and the "divisions of the capital" (*jing shi* 京師). The latter can be either a reference to the armies led by General Zhou Yafu—the one responsible for the eventual victory—or, more generally, to the capital as the seat of the emperor. Either way, the agency of the emperor is assumed or implied, but not stated. Ban Gu's *shu*, on the other hand, positions the emperor, "Filial Jing," as the declared subject of the following actions right at the start. Logically, both representations are compatible, of course; there is no contradiction between them. Both depict events that took place during Emperor Jing's reign and which involved several actors, with the emperor at the top. Just as Sima Qian does not deny, and indeed makes use of the fact that the *jing shi* represent the emperor, so does Ban Gu's explicit reference to the emperor does not deny the role of Zhou Yafu in the quashing of the rebellion. The difference between the two accounts is rhetorical. In Ban Gu's *shu*, here as in the other two examples, the figure of the emperor is brought to the fore and fills the entire stage.

But the *shu* for Emperor Jing does not merely display him as the great victor of the Seven Kingdoms Revolt. It portrays him as a relentless supporter of agriculture and sericulture, and thus as a ruler who did not only succeed in crushing opposition to the throne but also in securing the welfare of his people.[82] Ban Gu's verse is designed symmetrically so that each of these two aspects of Emperor Jing's reign occupies two couplets in what passes as the summary of the period. By balancing the image of the reign in this way and mitigating the impression left by the very eruption of the Seven Kingdoms Revolt, Ban Gu frees Emperor Jing's praise from its dependency on Emperor Wen, and produces, what is in effect, his own praise poem.

Turning to Cao Zhi's *zan* for Emperor Jing, we find what may be a thought-out fusion of both Ban Gu's *zan* and *shu*:

(iii) Cao Zhi's *zan*:

景帝明德，繼文之則，	Emperor Jing of brilliant virtue, followed the model of Emperor Wen.
肅清王室，克滅七國，	He brought the royal house to reverence and purity, and extinguished the rebellion of the seven kingdoms.
省役薄賦，百姓殷昌，	He reduced conscript labor and lightened taxes, and the people

[82] It should be noted that the introduction of this theme reflects additions that Ban Gu had made to the original chronicle by Sima Qian. Three edicts that are recorded in the *Hanshu* and present in relative detail the imperial policy with regard to agriculture and sericulture during Emperor Jing's reign, are not recorded in the *Shiji* at all. Whether this is due to an editorial decision on the part of Sima Qian, a problem of access to documents, the suspected incomplete state of this chronicle in the *Shiji*, or some form of reconstruction of imperial communications on the part of Ban Gu, cannot be known.

prospered.[83]

風移俗易，齊美成康. Their airs and manners turned plain and easeful, together praising 'Cheng and Kang.'

The opening and closing couplets are clearly derived from Ban Gu's *zan*. Cao Zhi's "繼文之則" ("followed the model of Emperor Wen") follows Ban Gu's "孝景遵業" ("Filial Emperor Jing continued to follow his practices"); the former's "風移俗易" reverses Ban's "移風易俗"; and the report, in the closing line, of the unanimous praise of Jing by appeal to Kings Cheng and Kang is Cao's approving response to Ban Gu's call at the conclusion of his *zan*. The two middle couplets concern events not mentioned in Ban Gu's *zan* and may be inspired by his *shu*. Cao's reference to the revolt, "肅清王室, 克滅七國," appears to adapt Ban's "克伐七國, 王室以定" to the desired rhyme scheme. The line that follows in Cao's verse, regarding labor and tax reductions, refers to measures mentioned in an imperial decree issued by Emperor Jing alongside the encouragement of agriculture and sericulture invoked in Ban Gu's *shu*. Cao Zhi's Emperor Jing is thus made to benefit from all the strategies employed by Ban Gu: He is presented as a victor who reaffirmed the authority of the royal house, cast as the people's benefactor, and brought up to par with Emperor Wen. Whereas in the Senior Archivist's remark and in Ban Gu's *zan* Emperor Jing's image is portrayed in either the shadow or the light of Emperor Wen, in Cao's eulogy it is the latter that turns into a footnote, the subject of an allusion, and Jing himself is unproblematically declared 'emperor of brilliant virtue.' In this process, in which veiled critique turns into plain praise, Ban Gu's *zan* and *shu* fill a central role.[84]

EMPEROR WU 武帝 (r. 141 – 87 BCE)

At this point it may be helpful to consider cases in which Ban Gu himself have found fault with Western Han emperors. This may be a defining test for his rubrics of the *zan* and *shu* as far as their function as spaces for historiographical evaluation and/or imperial praise.

In general, scholars who compared the work of Sima Qian and Ban Gu have often noted the latter's pronounced emphasis on imperial order, the legitimacy of Han rule, and its merits.[85] Against the wholesale suspicion that this impression has triggered in readers like Sargent, others have drawn attention to the fact that Ban Gu does not, in fact, refrain from critique of Western Han rulers.[86] Of interest for the current discussion, however, is the fact that up to and including Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (74 – 49 BCE) this kind of critique does not usually appear in the *zan* that conclude the chronicles of the said emperors themselves.

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[83] *Hanshu* 5.151 records an edict that reports such measures ("省繇賦").

[84] Xu Fuguan comments on Sima Qian's critique and Ban Gu's praise in their respective evaluations of Emperor Jing's reign (i.e. the Grand Scribe's remarks and Ban Gu's *zan*) in *Liang Han sixiang shi*, 497.

[85] See, for example, Achim Mittag, "Forging Legacy: The Pact between Empire and Historiography in Ancient China," in *Conceiving the Empire: China and Rome Compared,*" edited by Fritz-Heiner Mutschler and Achim Mittag (Oxford University Press, 2008), 158 – 160; Stephen W. Durrant, "The Han Histories," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, Volume I: Beginnings to AD 600*, edited by Andrew Feldherr and Grant Hardy (Oxford University Press, 2011), 492 – 501; Clark, *Ban Gu's History of Early China*, 15, 137, and chap. 5; Xu Fuguan, *Liang Han sixiang shi*, 487 – 498; Zhao Caihua, *Qian sishi lunzan yanjiu*, 25 and passim; Gao Zhenying, "Shi Han lunzan zhi yanjiu," 88 – 91, 161 – 162; Lü Shihao, *Cong Shiji dao Hanshu*, 287 – 359.

[86] Hulsewé, "Notes on the Historiography of the Han Period," 40 – 41; On-cho Ng and Q. Edward Wang, *Mirroring the Past: The Writing and Use of History in Imperial China* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 73 – 74.

One familiar example is the *zan* that concludes the chronicle of Empress Lü, which is, in fact, an almost verbatim reiteration of the Senior Archivist's appraisal. In the *Shiji*, the chronicle that relates the horrific events brought about by the empress' anxious desire for power, and their impact on the young Emperor Hui 惠帝 (195 – 188 BCE), concludes with a depiction of a peaceful court, effortless governance, and a harmonious society. Putting aside speculations with regard to the reason for this dissonance (if indeed exists) in the *Shiji*,[87] we should note that Ban Gu, despite the fact that his depiction of Lü in the main text of her chronicle is even darker than Sima Qian's and may be the primary source for this empress' infamous reputation thereafter, still incorporates a positive portrayal of Empress Lü in the *zan* devoted to her.[88] But he also separates Emperor Hui's chronicle from that of the empress, and in the former's appraisal mourns the fact that his excellent character was destroyed due to his ties to Empress Lü ("遭呂太后虧損至德, 悲夫").[89] With this lament, Ban Gu, in fact, blames Hui's surrender to drinking and debauchery in his final years on Lü's devastating actions, thereby redeeming his "perfect virtue" in a *zan* designed to shape his memory.

The positive appraisal that concludes the empress' own chronicle in the *Hanshu* is probably one of the cases that Sargent had in mind when he complained that some of Ban Gu's *zan* "represent unmistakable attitudes that grossly conflict with the materials to which they relate, occasionally completely reversing the impression on a reader that the documents themselves suggest" (cited above). But this is not the only case in which faults of emperors are avoided in their own *zan* and invoked in another's, so that one emperor's flaws turn another's praise.

Another example is Ban Gu's *zan* for Emperor Wu.[90] It opens with an explicit note of the shortcomings of the reigns of the previous two emperors—none others than the otherwise exalted Emperors Wen and Jing. As a result, the commemorated emperor, this time Emperor Wu, is featured as the one who made up for the flaws of his nonetheless illustrious predecessors:

(i) Chapter-ending *zan*:

漢承百王之弊, 高祖撥亂反正, 文景務在養民, 至于稽古禮文之事, 猶多闕焉. 孝武初立, 卓然罷黜百家, 表章《六

The Han dynasty inherited the ills of the many kings. [Then,] Gaozu (Emperor Gao, founder of the Han) established order out of confusion and turned things aright. Emperors Wen and Jing put efforts in nurturing the people, but in the matters of investigating ancient practices, as well as ritual and literature, they still came short in many respects. When Filial Emperor Wu first

[87] Sima Qian's indication of Emperor Hui's *chui gong* 垂拱 (folding hands with flowing robes; *Shiji* 9.412)—the trope discussed in chapter 1 predominantly in the context of King Shun's model of kingship—may also be understood, as may be the case here, as subdued critique, or otherwise an indication of Hui's powerlessness and withdrawal from active governance. Such a use of this trope in the political discourse is attested elsewhere as well (e.g., *Hanshu* 25B.1248). Still, the appraisal is 'positive' if only for the fact that much is left unsaid so that the surface of the text remains overwhelmingly affirmative.

[88] For a comparison of the two accounts, see Hans van Ess, "Praise and Slander: The Evocation of Empress Lü in the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*," *Nan Nü* 8.2 (2006): 221 – 254 (for interpretations of Sima Qian's appraisal see especially p. 237; for van Ess' analysis of the motivations behind the darkening of the empress' figure by Ban Gu, see pp. 253 – 254).

[89] *Hanshu*, 2.92. See also Loewe, *The Men Who Governed Han China*, 587, 589 – 590; Xu Fuguan, *Liang Han sixiang shi*, 3:492 – 493.

[90] Sima Qian's (d. ca. 86 BCE) coverage of imperial reigns ends with Emperor Wu (r. 141 – 87 BCE), of whose chronicle only a brief fragment exists (it is unknown whether the rest was censured or remained unwritten by Sima Qian's death; see Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 2:1 – 6). In the received version, in place of the missing chronicle we find repeated the text of the "Treatise on the *Feng* and *Shan*" 封禪書, to which belong the chapter-ending comments as well. If ever written, Sima Qian's concluding comments regarding Emperor Wu's reign are unavailable for comparison with Ban Gu's corresponding *zan*.

經》. (…)

came to the throne, he manifestly devalued the study of the many schools, and made known and illustrious [the study of] the Six Classics. (…)

In what follows, Ban Gu lists what he apparently considered Emperor Wu's many achievements, at times using the same or similar formulations to those used in a laudatory edict issued by Emperor Xuan in the context of the cult of Emperor Wu.[91] Among the achievements Ban Gu mentions are the recruitment of able scholars, the founding of the imperial academy, the renewal of the suburban rituals, the changes to the calendar and the musical notes, the performance of the prestigious *feng* and *shan* sacrifices, and his own literary merit. Ban's *shu* for Emperor Wu reiterates this list in verse and adds his military campaigns against the tribes that threatened Han's frontier lands (see below). Some of these accomplishments, however, are associated elsewhere, particularly in *zan* appraisals other than Wu's own, with the ills of his reign. Such is the *zan* of Emperor Zhao 昭帝 (r. 87 – 74), Wu's son and successor, in which Ban Gu praises the administration of the young emperor and his acting regent, Huo Guang 霍光 (d. 68 BCE), for correctly dealing with the devastation inherited from Emperor Wu's reign. As a result of his excess in military pursuits, Ban says there, the country was exhausted and the population reduced by half ("承孝武奢侈餘敝師旅之後, 海內虛耗, 戶口減半").[92] Similarly, the *zan* that concludes the "Accounts of the Western Regions" 西域傳 describes the high costs of military campaigns and diplomatic gift exchange, the frenzy over exotic products, the extravagance of court entertainment, and the measures, including increased taxation, exercised in order to meet these expenses. Ban Gu is clear, on that occasion, about the implications: "the strength of the people was broken, resources were exhausted, and as a result came about years of famine, robbers and thieves appeared [in great numbers], and the roads were impassable." 民力屈, 財用竭, 因之以凶年, 寇盜並起, 道路不通.[93]

These accusations do not gain explicit representation in the *zan* devoted to Emperor Wu. But here Ban does not employ the omission strategy either, as he has done with regard to the Seven Kingdoms Revolt in the *zan* for Emperor Jing. Neither does he veil his critique in ambiguous formulations as did Sima Qian in his concluding remarks on Wen and Jing's reigns. In his *zan* for Emperor Wu, Ban Gu lodges his critique in conditioned praise. He concludes the *zan* as follows:

如武帝之雄材大略, 不改文景之恭儉以濟斯民, 雖《詩》《書》所稱何有加焉?[94]

If Emperor Wu, with his superior ability and his great plans, had not departed from the devotion and economy of Emperors Wen and Jing and would have thus relieved his people, in what respect could any of those praised in the *Odes* and *Documents* have surpassed him?[95]

In light of his mournful critique of Emperor Wu elsewhere in the *Hanshu*, we are bound to recognize Ban Gu's restraint in this concluding evaluation.[96] We should also not lose sight of the fact that this

[91] Also noted in Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 2:120n39.5. Compare: "興太學, 修郊祀, 改正朔, 定曆數, 協音律, 作詩樂, 建封禪" (*Hanshu* 6.212) and "建太學, 修郊祀, 定正朔, 協音律, 封泰山" (*Hanshu* 8.243).

[92] *Hanshu* 7.233.

[93] *Hanshu* 96B.3929. Translation based on Hulsewé, *China in Central Asia*, 201. See also Hulsewé, "Notes on the Historiography of the Han Period," 40.

[94] *Hanshu*, 6.212.

[95] Based on Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 2:120.

[96] Gao Zhenying, "*Shi Han* lunzan zhi yanjiu," 90 – 91, also comments on the minimal but suggestive nature of the formulation of this critique.

carefully designed critical comment begins and ends with praise, hypothetical nevertheless. As his faults are hinted upon, Emperor Wu's talent and vision are pushed to the fore, and his comparison to classical cultural heroes is made legitimate. Even if this critique is designed to reverberate beyond the written words, it is significant that the words are formulated so as to resonate with a discourse of imperial praise.

Adding this example to the cases of Empress Lü and Emperors Wen and Jing, we observe a tendency to either avoid or only strike gently the soft spots of emperors in their own *zan*. Starting with Emperor Yuan 元帝 (r. 49 – 33 BCE), and the closer we get to the loss of the throne to Wang Mang 王莽 (r. 9 – 23 CE), Ban Gu's critique gradually surfaces and turns more explicit in both his *zan* and *shu*. Although explanations can be proposed for this difference between the *zan* and *shu* of the first eight imperial chronicles and those of the last four, it is only with a stretch that one could argue for a clear pattern.[97] Nevertheless, the foregoing examples suggest that Ban Gu differentiated—even if the difference was not fully conceptualized or evenly executed—between the *zan* for emperors' chronicles and other occasions for their appraisal in his work. The selection analyzed above demonstrates the exertion of effort towards positive commemoration of Western Han emperors, whether reflecting Ban's personal bias or, more likely, the meeting between the traditional rubric of the historian's concluding remark and the contemporary sensibility towards imperial praise.

This would explain the conflicting impressions articulated by Sargent on the one hand, and Dubs and others on the other hand, as reviewed above. In a sense, both parties are correct. Yes, Ban Gu's *zan* for emperors often display eulogistic motivations, and yes, he also displays "an independent attitude towards the ruling family" by being critical of Han emperors elsewhere.[98] Yes, his perception of the proper discourse of Han emperors appears to have influenced the way he wrote his history, and yes, this should not be taken to undermine the value of his work as 'history.' Like the blind men feeling an elephant in the famous parable, both parties emphasized correct but partial aspects of the complete picture. The missing link and the key to the synthesis of these conflicting views is an understanding of the compartmentalization of Ban's historiography down to his paratext.

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[97] The *zan* for Emperors Yuan and Cheng 成帝 (r. 33 – 7 BCE) are believed to have been composed by Ban Biao, Ban Gu's father and the one to have initiated the writing of the history of the Western Han. Song Xi, *Zhengshi lunzan*, 54; Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 2:336n13.5, 356. This, however, would be a weak explanation for the incorporation of critique in these emperors' *zan*, since Ban Gu follows Ban Biao's lead and incorporates critique in the respective *shu* as well. *Hanshu* 9.298 – 299, 10.330, 100B.4239. As for the last three emperors—Cheng, Ai 哀 (r. 7 – 1 BCE), and Ping 平 (r. 1 BCE – 6 CE)—the following should be taken into consideration. The concluding remarks in these three chronicles include direct critique of the emperors to whom the *zan* is dedicated. This is, however, in service of and not contrary to the grand purpose of propagating the mandate of the Han house. The rise to power of Wang Mang, who was to usurp the emperor's seat in 9 CE and bring about a fourteen-years-long interregnum in the reign of the Han, began in Emperor Cheng's reign. As the *zan* to Emperor Cheng clearly states: "The reigns of Emperors Ai and Ping were short, and then Wang Mang usurped the throne, [but] his ability to exert authority and determine fortunes came about gradually." 哀平短祚, 莽遂篡位, 蓋其威福所由來者漸矣. In other words, the *zan* makes clear that the circumstances that enabled Wang Mang's rise to power should be traced back to the reign of Emperor Cheng. The results of this process are reported in the *zan* of the last Western Han emperor, which opens with the plain statement that "During the reign of Filial Emperor Ping, government was exercised at the hands of Wang Mang" 孝平之世, 政自莽出. Emperor Cheng's love of wine and women, Emperor Ai's distrust of his ministers, and the helplessness of young Emperor Ping, were not mere flaws in administration or personality as surely occurred among earlier emperors as well, but—from Ban Biao and Ban Gu's perspective—proclivities and weaknesses that resulted in dropping the Heavenly Mandate that was predestined for the Liu clan for perpetuity. Their *zan* thus turn a lament for the fate of the Western Han and a plea for the legitimacy of the Han restoration. *Hanshu*, 10.330, 11.345, 12.360. For a detailed analysis of Ban Gu's (and Ban Biao's) theory of the Heavenly Mandate, see Clark, *Ban Gu's History of Early China*, 93 – 179 (for the theorization of Wang Mang's temporary success, see esp. 177 – 179).

[98] Hulsewé, "Notes on the Historiography of the Han Period," 41.

It is in the relatively new rubric of the 'content list' that Ban Gu took more liberty and departed from Sima Qian's model in starker ways. Let us conclude this demonstration with Ban Gu's *shu* for Emperor Wu and its relation to Sima Qian's synoptic summary on the one hand, and to Cao Zhi's *zan* on the other hand.

(ii) Synoptic summaries:

Shiji 130:	漢興五世, 隆在建元, 外攘夷狄, 內修法度, 封禪, 改正朔, 易服色. 作今上本紀第十二.	Fifth generation since the rise of the Han, he ascended the throne in the era of Establishing Beginnings. He drove back the barbarian tribes beyond the borders, and within the country put the laws and regulations into order. He carried out the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices, changed the month on which the year began, and altered the color of the vestments. Thus I made "The Basic Annals of the Present Emperor," no. 12.[99]
Hanshu 100B:	世宗曄曄, 思弘祖業,	How luminous was the Universal Patriarch, contemplating the magnitude of his ancestral vocation.
	疇咨熙載, 髦俊並作.	He recruited able men to consult on the illustrious affairs [of the empire], and the outstanding talents [he employed] reaped great accomplishments.[100]
	厥作伊何? 百蠻是攘,	What were these accomplishments? [The Han] drove out the many barbarian tribes,[101]

[99] Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian*, 319, with some modifications.

[100] *Chou zi* 疇咨 literally means "who will counsel." It derives from usages in the *Shangshu*, primarily in the context of solicitation of recommendations for governmental roles. See Yao's call in *Shangshu zhengyi*, 2.40 ("**疇咨**若時登庸？"). By way of allusion, the two characters came to be used as a phrase meaning 'to search for able advisors,' and by extension, 'to recruit talents.' The characters *xi zai* 熙載 also represent *Shangshu* diction, and they, too, appear in a similar recruitment call (here, uttered by Shun). See *Shangshu zhengyi*, 3.73 ("有能奮庸**熙**帝之**載**, 使宅百揆亮采, 惠**疇**？").

Hanshu 6.161 further indicates that Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 179 – ca. 93 BCE) and Gongsun Hong 公孫弘 (ca. 200 – 121 BCE) both came to Emperor Wu's attention due to their excelling responses to his above cited call. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 2:38n5.4, suspects that the line regarding Dong and Gongsun is an interpolation, but the references in both the *zan* and the *shu* to the outcome of this recruitment campaign—the response and employment of outstanding talents—may be an echo of this detail in the chronicle and thus support its authenticity. For the thematic emphasis on the outcome of the recruitment project see the discussion below.

Zuo 作, Yan Shigu glosses as *qi* 起, "rose up." *Hanshu* 100B.4238. It is also possible that *zuo* refers to the composition of essays in response to the emperor's examination question. A third possibility, however, is that "髦俊並**作**" invokes the same idea as in the corresponding lines in the *zan*, "舉其俊茂, 與之**立功**," in which case *zuo* should be read as 'create,' 'innovate,' or 'make [meritorious contributions].' The use of *zuo* in the following line in the *shu* supports this reading and thus possibly indicates that Ban Gu ascribes the succeeding list of achievements to both Wu and his advisors. See also the following footnote and the discussion of the *shu* above.

[101] *Jue zuo yi he* 厥作伊何 is an archaism literally meaning 'his/their/these deeds were what?' Cai Yong's "Eulogy for the Virtue of My Ancestors" 祖德頌 makes a similar use of this formula: "是用祚之, 休**徵**惟光. 厥**徵**伊何, 於昭于今?" ("On this account they were reciprocated with blessings, and the auspicious omens were dazzling. What were these omens, which shine to this day?"—and a description of the said omens follows). *Cai Yong ji biannian jiaozhu* 蔡邕集編年校注, edited by Deng Ansheng 鄧安生 (Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), 3.

恢我疆宇，外博四荒. Expanded our frontier lands, and stretched outwards in the four directions.

武功既抗，亦迪斯文. Not only military accomplishments were outstanding; [the excellence] also extended to cultural affairs.

憲章六學，統壹聖真. With regards to laws and regulations, and the study of the Six Classics, he unified the [different outlooks into one] sagely vision.

封禪郊祀，登秩百神. He conducted the *feng-shan* and the suburban rituals, and climbed high to sacrifice for the many spirits.

協律改正，饗茲永年. He harmonized the musical notes, changed the first calendric month; and all these [accomplishments] have been celebrated for years on end.[102]

述武紀第六. Thus I transmit "The Chronicle of Emperor Wu," no. 6.

The example of Emperor Wu again demonstrates the functional change in the role of the synoptic summary between Sima Qian and Ban Gu. The difference between the laconic abstract of the former and the panegyrical verse of the latter is clear from first sight. Another feature that stands out is the fact that the military expansion under Emperor Wu, while dropped from Ban Gu's *zan*, probably due to his reservations as far as the implications of this policy for the common people, is here listed among the most celebrated accomplishments of the reign. But rather than hypocrisy or inconsistency on the part of Ban Gu as historian, this difference reflects his versatility as an author and, again, the compartmentalization of his historical work. The omission of an explicit reference to Emperor Wu's military campaigns in the *zan* that concludes the account of his reign may be explained as the historian's indirect critique in the space traditionally reserved for his evaluation. The formulation of the *zan* discloses an effort to highlight the prominent place of an active emperor like Emperor Wu in the history of the Han that Ban Gu labors to glorify, while respectfully hinting at the faults of his reign. The inclusion of the expansionist policy in the versified *shu,* on the other hand, can be explained on two grounds. First, the reference to the campaigns can be simply explained in terms of the summarizing function of the *shu,* which although came to fulfill other functions as well, was still designed as an introduction to the contents of the chronicle itself. But furthermore, it appears that for the purpose of the summarizing verse—as in the previous two examples—Ban Gu has put on his hat as court panegyrist, and his emphases, concerns, and literary strategies have changed accordingly.

As demonstrated in the previous two examples, the versified *shu* reflect a growing emphasis on the person of the emperor. In the *shu* for Emperor Wen we noted the space dedicated for references to the emperor's demeanor and the virtue he embodied. In the case of Emperor Jing we noted that it is only in the *shu* that his figure is freed from its dependence on the figure of Emperor Wen for it to be an object of historical praise. This is also the place to note a formal feature of the imperial *shu* hitherto not mentioned: the fact that, unlike Sima Qian's summaries of the chronicles of Han emperors, all of Ban Gu's *shu* for imperial chronicles open with the given emperor's name—either his posthumous name or his temple title (if accorded ancestral cult)—often with an attached reduplicative

[102] The *Qian Han ji* 前漢紀 reproduces Ban Gu's *shu* with *xiang* 享 instead of *xiang* 饗. *Liang Han ji* 兩漢紀 (Zonghua shuju, 2002), vol. 1, 30.546.

binom that represents qualities associated with this emperor.[103] Such are the *shu* for Emperors Wen and Wu translated above. So while Sima Qian's summaries delve straight into historical events, Ban Gu's *shu* open by directing the spotlight to the figure of the emperor and sounding the first note in its celebration.

When facing the task of celebrating Emperor Wu's person, Ban Gu appears to have chosen a theme, or set of issues, different from the expansionist campaigns and their aftermath. Instead, he emphasizes the role Emperor Wu's advisors, ministers, and generals had in the emperor's many successes. He does that, however, in a manner that is subtle enough as to not deviate from the general thrust of imperial praise in the *shu*. So subtle, in fact, that it may be overlooked or that its centrality to the interpretation of the *shu* may seem overstated at first glance. It is only when one examines it in light of related textual instances that its literary effect can be fully appreciated.

After the invocation of Emperor Wu's temple name and his luminous qualities, the *shu* dedicated to him opens with a reference to his state-wide call of recruitment, which, by force of phraseology, is positioned as a historical parallel to similar calls by the cultural heroes Yao and Shun. The direct referent, however, is an edict recorded in Emperor Wu's chronicle as issued on the first year of the Yuanguang 元光 reign era (134 BCE). It is formulated as a personal call by the emperor to all the capable and the learned to come to his aid in governance. Announcing a recruitment examination, the edict presents a question regarding the virtue of the ancient rulers (specifically, Yao and Shun) and the way to emulate it, and invites answers in the form of submissions to the throne. It opens with a lengthy depiction of the utopian era brought about by these rulers, and positions the emperor in a restless pursuit after their wisdom:

> Rising in the morning I seek it, lying down at night I ruminate on it. It is like trying to ford a deep river and not knowing where to cross it. How great, how extraordinary! How should one conduct affairs so as to display such grand undertaking and excellent virtue as that of the rulers of old, join Yao and Shun of great antiquity, and become equal to the kings of the Three Dynasties?
>
> 夙興以求, 夜寐以**思**. 若涉淵水, 未知所濟. 猗與偉與！何行而可以章先帝之**洪業**休德, 上參堯舜, 下配三王?[104]

This contemplative, inquisitive state of mind is encoded in the second line of the *shu*: "contemplating the magnitude of his ancestral vocation" 思弘祖業, which immediately precedes the lines concerning the call of recruitment for official positions. We find similar thematic emphases in a reference to Emperor Wu's search for talent in *juan* 58. There, in the *zan* that concludes the biographies of Gongsun Hong 公孫弘 (ca. 200 – 121 BCE), Bu Shi 卜式 (active ca. 124 – ca. 110 BCE), and Ni Kuan 兒寬 (d. 103 BCE)—all, at some point, senior ministers at Emperor Wu's court—Ban Gu reviews the many contributions of selected Chancellors, Imperial Counsellors, Superintendents, Governors, Generals, and other courtiers to the successes of the reign. He precedes the long list of personages with the following account of the launching of the recruitment project:

> His Highness wished to employ men of literary and martial abilities. He searched for them

[103] The second and third imperial chronicles—those of Emperor Hui and Empress Lü—share a single *shu* that opens with Hui's posthumous title. *Hanshu* 100B.4237.

[104] *Hanshu* 6.161

constantly and anxiously.[105] He began by welcoming Mei Sheng 枚乘 (d. ca. 141 BCE) with rush-lined wheels, and sighing in admiration on meeting Zhufu Yan.[106] The many literati looked upon them in admiration, and the extraordinary talents successively appeared.

上方欲用文武, 求之如弗及. 始以蒲輪迎枚生, 見主父而歎息, 群士慕嚮, 異人並出.[107]

The referenced events concerning Mei Sheng and Zhufu Yan occurred before and after the date in which Emperor Wu's famous edict is said to have been issued. They serve as two additional indicators on a time span marked by Emperor Wu's continuous efforts—as Ban Gu depicts him—at drawing persons of merit for governmental positions.

The outcome—the rise of competent persons to office—and the fact that the successes of the reign should be perceived as shared by the emperor and his officials if not entirely owed to them, are noted both in the *zan* for Emperor Wu and the *zan* that acknowledges his officials, in *juan* 58. Whereas the former is more reserved in this regard, as would be expected of a *zan* dedicated for the emperor himself, the latter stresses this theme further. The emperor's *zan* simply states (in the section omitted from the translation above):

Then, [the emperor] sought able persons within the four seas, raised the most talented among them, and with them made great accomplishments.

遂疇咨海內, 舉其俊茂, 與之立功.[108]

Immediately after, there follows the list of accomplishments as summarized above, which raises more than a suspicion that Ban Gu perceived those accomplishments as owing both to the emperor and his recruits. The *shu* makes this connection more explicit when it uses the same term, *zuo* 作, both to denote the activities of the talents admitted to the official ranks and to announce the list of the accomplishments ascribed to Emperor Wu:

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[105] Literally, the phrase *ru fu ji* 如弗及 means 'as if not able to reach.' Depicting the appearance of a person who looks as if seeking for something without being able to attain it, it is used in the *Liji* to describe the proper demeanor in which one should perform certain parts of the burial and mourning ceremonies. It is often interpreted as an appearance of anxiety that reflects a reluctance to part with the deceased. E.g., "望望焉如有從而弗及" ("Tangong xia" 檀弓下) and "望望然, 汲汲然, 如有追而弗及也" ("Wen sang" 問喪). In the current passage, this phrase is borrowed in order to denote a state of constant, anxious searching for new talents for the official ranks. Yan Shigu glosses, "afraid he might not attain it" 恐失之. *Hanshu* 58.2634n5.

[106] Mei Sheng 枚生 is probably Mei Sheng 枚乘, who according to his biography in the *Hanshu* was summoned to the capital soon after the accession of the young Emperor Wu. The emperor sent a carriage with rush-lined wheels to transport the elderly Mei Sheng to the capital in comfort, but he, unfortunately, died on the way. *Hanshu* 51.2365. See also the commentary in *Shiji* (2013), vol. 9, 112.3566n4. The 'sigh of admiration' for Zhufu Yan refers, most probably, to Emperor Wu's appreciative response to a memorial Zhufu had submitted around 129 BCE, as recorded in his biography: *Hanshu* 64B.2801 – 2802; Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (221 BC – AD 24)* (Brill, 2000), 750.

[107] *Hanshu* 58.2633. Also attached to *Shiji* (2013), vol. 9, 112.3564 – 3565. Compare the above translation to William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume IX*, *The Memoirs of Han China Part II* (Indiana University Press, 2010), 391 – 392.

[108] *Hanshu*, 6.212. Dubs translates *yu zhi li gong* 與之立功 as "gave them [the opportunity to] distinguish themselves." Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vol. 2, 120. I believe, however, that both linguistically and in light of the thematic parallels highlighted above, the more plausible translation is "with them made great accomplishments."

疇咨熙載, 髦俊並作.	He recruited able men to consult on the illustrious affairs [of the empire], and the outstanding talents [he employed] reaped great accomplishments.
厥作伊何？百蠻是攘（…）	What were these accomplishments? [The Han] drove out the many barbarian tribes (…)

In *juan* 58 Ban Gu is more straightforward. Following the long list of men of letters as well as men of arms—many of which are known, in fact, to have remonstrated with the emperor and protested against some of his policies—he notes:

> It is due to them that [the reign] had produced great accomplishments, a governmental system, and a literary heritage, that none of the subsequent generations were able to approximate.
>
> 是以興造功業, 制度, 遺文, 後世莫及.[109]

Before moving on to discuss the implications of these emphases in Ban Gu's treatment of Emperor Wu's reign for the reading and translation of the *shu*, let me summarize the parallel themes noted above in a tabulated form:

	Emperor Wu *zan*	Emperor Wu *shu*	*juan* 58 *zan*
Wide search for talents:	疇咨海內	疇咨熙載	上方欲用文武
Degree of personal investment:		思弘祖業	求之如弗及
Outcome I: promotion and success of outstanding talents:	舉其俊茂	髦俊並作	異人並出
Outcome II: the accomplishments of the reign:	與之立功	厥作伊何？...	是以興造功業

The above, I argue, is sufficient evidence that the theme of the officials' part in the successes of the emperor (his failures and shortcomings were recorded mostly elsewhere, as discussed earlier) is prominent in Ban Gu's treatment of this reign. But once we note this feature, we face a challenge in the translation of some of the above passages into English, which does not tolerate the omission of the subject in a sentence as well as classical Chinese. As with "[The Han]" and "[the reign]" above, not only do we need to supplement information in brackets, but we also necessarily end up reducing a suggestive ambiguity to one single answer. The solutions I propose in brackets are designed to retain, as much as possible, the ambiguity with regard to the ascription of credit: is it to the emperor, to his advisors and generals, to them *as opposed* to him, or to both parties as one? In terms of the imperial ideology and the prevalent rhetoric—as discussed in the previous two chapters—these questions are irrelevant and misconceived, if not inconceivable. Most often, either the emperor and his ministers

[109] *Hanshu* 58.2634.

are perceived as forming one body, or this *political* body is associated with the emperor's *physical* body, into which all his aids and proxies return to be subsumed. But this rhetoric resembles the surface under which lay critical questions, and through which some of these emerged.

In the case of Emperor Wu's *shu*, due to this rhetorical framework, the act of preceding the emperor's list of achievements with a reminder of the prominent figures that occupied his court and shared in his success is not problematic and does not detract from the panegyrical tenor of the piece. At the same time, however, it adds a dimension of complexity to Ban Gu's representation of Emperor Wu, one that is completely omitted from Cao Zhi's corresponding eulogy:

(iii) Cao Zhi's *zan*:

世宗光光, 文武是攘,	Doubly luminous, the Universal Patriarch! Culture and might—he mastered both.[110]
威震百蠻, 恢拓土疆,	He stirred to awe the hundred tribes, and expanded the boundaries of the land.
簡定律曆, 辨脩舊章,	He modified and regulated pitch and calendar, sorted and revised old protocols.
封天禪土, 功越百王.	Performing the *feng* for heaven and the *shan* for earth, his merit surpassed all previous sovereigns.

Cao Zhi's *zan* clearly repeats some of the themes and features we noted in Ban Gu's *zan* and *shu*. The use of Wu's temple name and a reduplicative binom that conveys brilliance (*shu*), the stress of the dual merit in the fields of both literature and martial affairs (*shu*), the phrase *bai wang* 百王 (*zan*) and possibly the combination *shi rang* 是攘 (*shu*), and the entire ending line as discussed in what follows (*zan*), all suggest that Cao Zhi has drawn on both when composing his own verse. What he did not adopt is the mention of Emperor Wu's officials, and with it, the subtle ambiguity in the ascription of praise. His can be regarded as the final product in a virtual transition from history to praise, from a variegated account of the different forces involved to a simple narrative of a single protagonist—much like the narrative of Emperor Zhang in Cui Yin's panegyric (see chapter 2). It is yet another example for the vital role performed by Ban Gu's *zan* and *shu* in the transition from historical to panegyrical representation.

The elimination of complexity and the transition to plain praise can be seen in Cao Zhi's ending line as well. Recall that the opening of Ban Gu's *zan* invokes the 'shortcomings of all the previous kings' (百王之弊), to be then contrasted with the improvements introduced by the Han house, primarily—on that occasion—Emperor Wu. Similarly, the *zan* ending compares favorably Emperor Wu with the rulers of antiquity, but there, we noted, it is also lamented that certain features of previous reigns were not adopted by him (specifically, humility and moderation). The duality of critique and praise in this closing line has been discussed above. Cao Zhi's closing line, while drawing on these comparisons in Ban Gu's *zan*, strips them of any sign of critique and turns them into unequivocal praise. It is simply that "[the emperor's] merit surpassed all previous sovereigns." Here, the praise is

[110] The meaning of *rang* 攘, "to push" or "to seize," in the current context is not entirely clear. It has been proposed that it should be read as a mistake for *rang* 穰, denoting abundance and plenitude. See *Cao Zhi ji jiaozhu* 1.85n2. In this case the translation of the first couplet would read "Doubly luminous, the Universal Patriarch! Rich in both culture and might." The presence, however, of the compbination *shi rang* 是攘 in Ban Gu's *shu* for Emperor Wu (which, as argued in what follows above, was most probably one of two texts Cao Zhi consulted in the composition of his *zan*) suggests that it is no error. In the current context, however, unlike that of the *shu*, rather than "push away" it may mean "to seize" or "to grasp" in the sense of mastering or conquering.

not qualified, conditioned, or shared by others. It is, formally as well as effectively, "a panegyric of him who is its brilliant actor."[111]

We may return now to the question triggered by Liu Zhiji's remarks, namely, whether or not elements associated with eulogistic literature informed the design of the historian's evaluation only after Ban Gu's *Hanshu*. The three cases analyzed above demonstrate that such a statement would be inaccurate. As is well known, in early China both the recording of events and their reception by readers and exegetes once entered circulation were inextricably tied to notions of commemoration and evaluation, and thus to praise (and blame) as the historian's moral obligation. In this broad sense, history and praise were never strictly separated. The recording of events, the moral evaluation of characters, and the celebration of historical models were all part of the defining functions of history writing. However, as the examples examined above demonstrate, Ban Gu's *Hanshu* evinces a change in the role of the rubrics associated with the historian's evaluation (namely, the *zan* and *shu* as precursors of *lun* and *zan* in subsequent historiographies) vis-à-vis those functions.

When read side by side, the evaluative comments in the *Shiji* and the *zan* in the *Hanshu*, the synoptic summaries in the former and the versified *shu* in the latter, display differences in literary style and rhetorical function. These differences—more subtle in the case of the *zan*, starker in the case of the *shu*—all point at efforts towards favorable representations of Han emperors and adaptation of panegyrical strategies. Whereas in the Senior Archivist's remarks we often find grounds to suspect indirect critique, in Ban Gu's *zan* we recognized the operation of strategic omission—a strategy of praise often at play in eulogistic literature.[112] And whereas Sima Qian's synopses are designed as brief, event-based summaries of his "Basic Annals" 本紀, Ban Gu's *shu* are verses based on the figure of the emperor and thus transcend their auxiliary function. No more mere abstracts, they are poems of imperial praise. As seen in the previous chapter, the concentration on the figure of the emperor at the expense of other actors, and on his virtues instead of historical forces and events, is a characteristic of the panegyrical mode. In Ban Gu's *shu* as well, everything collapses into the emperor's imperial figure and told as, primarily, 'his story.'[113]

This does not mean, however, that the historian's personal evaluation of the performance of the celebrated emperors, or the multiple dimensions of related historical events, are irretrievable. On the contrary, observing patterns and eulogistic strategies—such as the tendency to reveal faults of emperors in the *zan* of their immediate successors, and the subtlety of lodging critique in words of praise—would support the modern reader's ability to trace the brush of the historian and find clues for his own assessments in its many turns and curves. In this sense, the "brush-and-ink creature of the historians" is in itself a worthy object of scholarly scrutiny.

3.3. Concluding Remarks

This final chapter is an opportunity to look back at the different senses in which the present study has incorporated notions of presence and praise in written imperial representation. These are

[111] Marin, *Portrait of the King*, 70.

[112] Hans Bielenstein has demonstrated the employment of strategic omissions in eulogistic inscriptions dating to the Eastern Han. Bielenstein, "Later Han Inscriptions and Dynastic Biographies: A. Historiographical Comparison," in *Guoji Hanxue huiyi lunwen ji* 國際漢學會議論文集 (Academia Sinica, 1980), 578 – 580.

[113] Marin, *Portrait of the King*, 71.

encapsulated in an intriguing passage by Wang Chong 王充 (27 – ca. 100), a contemporary of both Cui Yin and Ban Gu. In an essay titled "The Necessity of Praise" (*xu song* 須頌), Wang states:

> The sun pierces through a thousand *li* yet people do not consider it extensive—that is due to its being distant. When heavy rain is pouring on the fifteenth, the [full] moon's light is not extinguished and yet people cannot see its brightness—that is due to its being concealed.
>
> The holy emperor sheds the light of the sun and moon, but since he lives in the central province, and is concealed within a hundred *li*, what is heard afar and transmitted further is not reliable. When the radiance of his person does not truthfully [reach the lands beyond the capital], it is hard to discourse on it. Only when imperial edicts are announced, or an Accounts Clerk (*ji li*) arrives, one gets to learn about his sagely governance.[114]
>
> These are the reasons why the encomiums of his achievements are far from comprehensive, and the eulogies on his virtue do not exhaust his excellences. Only those who get to be employed on the grounds of the Terrace Chambers and walk in the steps of Ban [Gu] and Jia [Kui 賈逵 (30 – 101)] can properly discourse on [the emperor's] attainments and virtue without omitting any minute detail.[115]

> 日刻 (刺) 徑 [重] 千里, 人不謂之廣者, 遠也. 望夜甚雨, 月光不暗, 人不睹曜者, 隱也.
>
> 聖者垂日月之明, 處在中州, 隱於百里, 遙聞傳授, 不實. 形耀不實, 難論. 得詔書到, 計吏至, 乃聞聖政.
>
> 是以褒功失丘山之積, 頌德遺膏腴之美. 使至臺閣之下, 蹈班賈之跡, 論功德之實, 不失毫釐之微.[116]

Although possibly constituting Wang's own application for court employment and/or poorly disguised flattery for Ban Gu,[117] this passage displays clear awareness and a fine rhetorical articulation

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[114] *Ji li* is rendered as "official in charge of accounts" by Hans Bielenstein, and as "Accounts Clerk" by Charles Hucker: Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 92; Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford University Press, 1985), 132 (#566). The *ji li* was a member of the local administration of the kingdoms and commanderies, who was sent to the capital annually to report of local affairs and deliver instructions back to his local unit. See ibid., and *Lunheng zhushi* 論衡注釋 (Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 3:1165n18. Wang Chong seems to be referring to the return of a *ji li* from the capital with reports of his contact with the central administration. At least one record indicates that this may have included audience with the emperor: *Hou Han shu* 31.1100 – 1101.

[115] The translation is based on but significantly departs from Alfred Forke (trans.), *Lun-heng, Part II, Miscellaneous Essays of Wang Ch'ung* (Paragon Book Gallery, 1962), 228. Forke takes 'Jia' 賈 to be "Chia Yi" (Jia Yi 賈誼, 200 – 168 BCE), and translates 臺閣之下 as "the foot of the throne." I believe 'Jia Kui' is a more reasonable option, since both Kui and Ban Gu were Wang Chong's contemporaries and possibly acquaintances; they were jointly engaged in several literary court projects; and their names are often mentioned together. On a related note, there is some disagreement among commentators regarding the meaning of *tai ge* 臺閣. According to one stance it stands for the Secretariat 尚書, and according to another it is a general reference ("terraces and chambers"?) to the court, its offices and libraries. *Lunheng jiaoshi*, 20.858. Enno Giele's study of the early Chinese court bureaucracy provides a clearer definition. According to Giele, *tai ge* was a designation used to denote the three offices that managed communication to and from the emperor: the Imperial Secretariat (*shangshu tai* 尚書臺), the Palace Secretariat (*zhongshu tai* 中書臺; including eunuch receptionists, *yezhe* 謁者), and the Prosecutors' Office (*yushi tai* 御史臺)—elsewhere called *san tai* 三臺. Enno Giele, *Imperial Decision-Making*, 56, 330. In certain instances, however, *tai ge* is seen to refer specifically to the Imperial Secretariat, e.g., ibid., 65.

[116] *Lunheng jiaoshi*, vol. 3, 20.857 – 858 ("Xu song").

[117] Ban is praised multiple times in Wang's work. Reinhard Emmerich discusses the possible personal benefits Wang Chong could have been seeking by praising, and possibly addressing, Ban Gu in his work: Reinhard Emmerich, "Wang

of the problem of presence that lies at the heart of the necessity of representation—in this case, both inter-human representation by official representatives, and literary representation by historians and panegyrists.[118]

In the opening lines, Wang Chong both affirms and restricts the familiar rhetorical formula that compares the brilliance of the ruler to the brightness of the sun and moon, and his illustrious influence to the vast space touched by their light—as in the following line from the *Liji*:[119]

> The Son of Heaven: (…) His brilliancy is equal to that of the sun and moon, and enlightens all within the four seas not excepting anything, however minute and small. [120]
>
> 天子者: (…) 與日月并明, 明照四海而不遺微小.[121]

Indeed equal to the sun and moon, Wang contends, the emperor's true glory *can* be obscured by distance and physical barriers. In fact, it cannot travel across space and realize the metaphor of omnipresent light unless it is carried by proxies in the form of edict authors, couriers, messengers, and officials. Local officials and messengers, in their administrative functions and reports from the capital, make his governance known; edict authors, with their brush and literary skills, make his voice audible. Chapter 1 has demonstrated the extent to which this dynamic was key to the theorization of the royal body and, through it, the political discourse of monarchy in early China.

Wang seems aware, however, that while administrative, top-down representation ensured the knowledge and exercise of imperial authority throughout the realm, the "real presence" of the monarch as he desired to be seen was only available through the work of the architects of his image:[122] men like Ban Gu and Jia Kui, who were put in charge of gathering historical records and collating archived documents as well as commissioned to compose panegyrical pieces.[123] As demonstrated in chapter 2 and further glimpsed in the present chapter, the path to the predominant presence of the figure of the emperor in these literary products often passed through the provisional concealment of the traces of other actors.

The three chapters that comprise this study thus provide different perspectives onto the construction of the imperial image by the force of what may be termed doubled representation: the literary representation of the circumstances of "substituted presence."[124] It is at this intriguing point of intersection that some of the distinct features of early Chinese theories of monarchy have taken form, and through which patterns of written imperial representation may be illuminated. Future pursuit of the inquiry initiated in these three chapters will demonstrate further the hermeneutical value of this analytical approach for the study of early Chinese historiography as well as political rhetoric and imperial praise.

Chong's Praises for the Han Dynasty," *Monumenta Serica* 56 (2008), 145. For his acquaintance with Ban Gu's father, Ban Biao, and possibly Ban Gu himself, see Clark, *Ban Gu's History of Early China*, 121 – 122; and Emmerich, "Wang Chong's Praises for the Han Dynasty," 118 and 118 – 119n6.

[118] On the 'problem of presence' see the "Introduction," p. 9.

[119] See also "Projecting the Ruler's Political Self," in Charles Sanft, *Communication and Cooperation*, 43 – 44.

[120] James Legge, *Li Chi: Book of Rites* (Kessinger Publishing, 2003), 2:256.

[121] *Liji xunzuan* 2:737 ("Jing jie" 經解).

[122] Borrowing from Louis Marin. See p. 92 above.

[123] *Hou Han shu* 36.1235.

[124] "Introduction," p. 9.

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