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# One Classic and Two Classical Traditions

## The Recovery and Transmission of a Lost Edition of the *Analects*

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IN both China and Japan in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the turn away from the interpretive commentarial approach to classical texts associated with the Song and Ming traditions of Confucian scholarship led to an emphasis on textual criticism and philological approaches. It also spurred interest in older, pre-Song commentarial traditions. A certain degree of mutual awareness and exchange of knowledge accompanied this common interest, but until late in the Tokugawa period, to a large extent the pursuit of critical textual studies in the two countries followed separate trajectories.

The discovery, editing, and publication in Japan of rare texts or texts that had been lost in China and the subsequent Chinese reception of these Japanese editions exemplify these circumstances. In Japan, Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728), who led the challenge to the interpretations of the Confucian canon associated with the Song scholars Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107) and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), encouraged his followers to search out copies of the pre-Song commentaries. Several of his disciples traveled a hundred kilometers north of Edo to the Ashikaga Gakkō 足利学校 in Shimotsuke province (modern Tochigi prefecture), a center of learning that had flourished from the mid-Muromachi to the

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early Edo period and was known as a repository of both early printed editions and manuscript copies of Chinese texts. Editions of the texts Sorai's followers found there and collated were eventually published and found their way to Qing China via Chinese merchants engaged in the trade between Nagasaki and Ningbo (Mingzhou) in Zhejiang, which was then the main Chinese port for trade with Japan. The efforts of the Tokugawa scholars and their patrons to make their findings public and to have them transmitted to China bespeaks their confidence in their own level of knowledge of a shared tradition and their desire to participate, even from a distance, in the larger international world of Confucian scholarship. Qing scholars, on the other hand, were intrigued to learn of the existence of valuable texts in Japan, but tended to make their own use of the editions prepared by their Tokugawa counterparts, uses that accorded with their own interests and concerns.

The history of one such text brought to light by a Sorai scholar shows that various ironies attended the process of recovery and transmission. The text in question is Huang Kan's 皇侃 (488–545) *Lunyu yishu* 論語義疏 (Jp. *Rongo giso*, Subcommentary for the Meaning of the Analects), collated and published in 1750 by Sorai's student Nemoto Sonshi 根本遜志 (1699–1764).<sup>1</sup> Qing scholars welcomed the restoration of this text, which had disappeared as an integral work in China during the Southern Song (1127–1279), not only because it provided information about the pre-Song tradition of classical learning, but also because its preface appeared to recommend a philological approach to the study of texts compatible with their own. Questions remain, however, whether Huang Kan's seemingly precocious methodological insight was more than adventitious. Further, although the reputation of the Ashikaga Gakkō as a repository of rare texts lent additional credence to Nemoto's recension, the preface to *Rongo giso* included in it most likely did not derive from the version of that work that he found there.

### *Sorai-School Textual Studies and the Ashikaga Gakkō*

Sorai's break with the meditative and reflective character of Cheng-Zhu scholarship and his advocacy of what he termed *kobunji* 古文辭—reading ancient texts with attention to the language of the time in which they were written—led him to take issue as well with the Cheng-Zhu commentarial tradition, which had held a preeminent position in Japan for the preceding century. As his follower Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680–1747) described the situation in regard to studies of the *Analects*, during the Song, Confucius's teachings had been so mixed with Buddhism that the two had become thoroughly confused, and ancient glosses (*kokun* 古訓) for the text had been lost. Confronting this situation, through his comparison of terms found in the *Analects* to the usage in other ancient works and the Han commentaries, Sorai had succeeded in correcting this state of affairs:

<sup>1</sup> Nemoto is also known by the names Hakushū 伯修 and Bui 武夷. Below I will use both Chinese and Japanese readings for a work when its relevance to both traditions is at issue, but will use the Chinese or Japanese reading alone when discussing circumstances particular to one country or the other.

Now in our country, where we have lived in peace for one hundred years, literati who have practiced the arts of the Way have arisen everywhere. Master Sorai then appeared and surpassed them all. . . . Taking evidence from the Six Classics . . . without distortion and using the ancient glosses to consider its meaning, he cleared away the clouds and mist so that the Way of Confucius could be seen as if on a bright sunny day.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the value of the so-called “old commentaries” (*kochū* 古注, Ch. *guzhu*), particularly those dating from the Han (200 B.C.–220 A.D.) and immediately following dynasties, as opposed to the “new commentaries” (*shinchū* 新注, Ch. *xinzhū*) compiled by the Song scholars, Sorai himself observed that in the Han period, subsequent to the burning of the books by the first Qin emperor in the last decade of the third century B.C., various people had attempted to recover the ancient texts and explain their meaning, resulting in diverse interpretations. Yet overall each school of interpretation could be traced back to Confucius’s disciples, and the efforts of Later Han scholars to gather and collate their commentaries had much merit. “One who, living a millennium later, wishes to pursue the Way of the sages, thus cannot set aside [the commentaries of] the Han scholars and adopt those of others.” Yet from the Song on, following the fad of new interpretations, few had paid due heed to the old commentaries, and good printed editions with all the words intact and legible were hard to find.<sup>3</sup>

One place known to hold copies of the old commentaries was the Ashikaga Gakkō, an educational center of longstanding reputation located on the Kantō plain. Like many other Edo Confucians, Sorai alluded to the tradition that the school had been founded by Ono no Takamura 小野篁 (802–852), an early Heian scholar, and suggested that therefore it retained copies of works brought to Japan by emissaries who had come from the continent prior to the Tang period (618–907) and by figures such as Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備 (695–775), sent to China in the Nara and early Heian periods to study and acquire books.<sup>4</sup> Today the tradition of the school’s founding by Takamura is largely regarded as untenable, and there is little reliable evidence for the school’s existence or nature prior to its “revival” in the 1430s by Uesugi Norizane 上杉憲実 (1410–1466), the powerful lord who served as *Kantō kanrei* 関東管領, the Muromachi official largely responsible for supervision of the eastern part of the country. However, Norizane and his successors presented the school with several Song printed editions of the old commentaries, and the school and the Buddhist priests who headed it continued to enjoy the patronage of the Go-Hōjō 後北条, who subsequently extended their power over the region, and thereafter that of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616).

Through such connections and those of its heads with major temples in Kyoto and elsewhere, the Ashikaga Gakkō acquired a notable collection of both

<sup>2</sup> Dazai 1986, pp. 138–39.

<sup>3</sup> Ogyū 1973, p. 490.

<sup>4</sup> Ogyū 1973, p. 490. Regarding the tradition that the school was founded by Ono no Takamura, today largely rejected, see Yūki 1959, pp. 155–56; Kawase 1974, pp. 3–9.

imported texts and Japanese manuscript copies. By the early eighteenth century, it had declined as an educational center, but it still had much to offer those seeking a range of editions and copies of classical texts and commentaries. In the 1720s some of Sorai's disciples thus set out to investigate its holdings. Yamanoi Konron 山井崑崙 (1690–1728) and Nemoto Sonshi made an exploratory visit to the school in 1720, followed by an extended stay from the autumn of 1722 until the spring of 1724.<sup>5</sup> The materials they located there enabled Yamanoi to compile a critical edition of several classical texts in which he collated the Ashikaga Gakkō copies of Song printed editions of the old commentaries with other printed editions and manuscript copies. He called the collation *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun* 七經孟子考文 (Examined Texts for the Seven Classics and Mencius).<sup>6</sup> Sorai prepared a preface praising the completed collation for making use of sources that although lost in China had survived in Japan.<sup>7</sup>

A copy of *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun* was presented to the eighth Tokugawa shogun, Yoshimune 吉宗 (1684–1751; r. 1716–1745) in 1728, the year of both Yamanoi's and Sorai's death. Yoshimune thereupon ordered Sorai's younger brother Ogyū Hokkei 荻生北溪 (1673–1754) to recheck the collation, and for that purpose had the necessary books brought from the Ashikaga Gakkō to Edo. Once the rechecking, undertaken by Hokkei together with several other of Sorai's disciples, had been completed, Yoshimune further ordered the book dealers' guild to publish the compilation, now named *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun hoi* 七經孟子考文補遺 (Additions to the Examined Texts for the Seven Classics and Mencius), and provided a substantial subsidy to help cover the cost. The printed edition, consisting of some two hundred chapters, appeared in 1732, and shortly thereafter, again most likely with the shogun's encouragement, the Nagasaki magistrate arranged for it to be sent to China.<sup>8</sup>

Following Yamanoi's lead, Dazai Shundai focused his attention on another work that had disappeared in China: a version of the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經, Jp. *Kōkyō*) that allegedly dated back to a canonical text in "ancient script" (*guwen* 古文, Jp. *kobun*) rediscovered in the walls of Confucius's house circa 154–128 B.C. after the infamous Qin "burning of the books."<sup>9</sup> A commentary on this text supposedly written by the Han scholar Kong Anguo 孔安國 (156–ca. 100 B.C.) had disappeared once in the sixth century, mysteriously reap-

<sup>5</sup> Fujii and Kubuki 1988, pp. 43–44. Yamanoi (also known as Kanae 鼎) is variously said as well to have been born in 1670 or 1681. Fujii and Kubuki 1988, pp. 10–11; Ogawa 1978, pp. 714–15.

<sup>6</sup> The compilation included the Five Classics (*Change, Documents, Poetry, Record of Rites*, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) plus the *Analects*, the *Classic of Filial Piety*, and *Mencius*—the last of which Konron, following ancient practice, distinguished from the others as an important early text, but not strictly a "classic" (*kei* 經, Ch. *jing*).

<sup>7</sup> Ogyū 1973, pp. 490–91.

<sup>8</sup> Fujii and Kubuki 1988, pp. 74–79, 82–83.

<sup>9</sup> Champions of the texts that appeared at this time and that were written in the forms used prior to the Qin held them to be more authentic than the texts written in post-Qin forms that had circulated earlier in the Han. Debates over the validity of the two types of text were to recur repeatedly in later Chinese history.

peared a few decades later during the Sui dynasty (581–618), and then had been lost again in China during the Five Dynasties era (907–960). Transmitted to Japan in the seventh century, the Sui version of the work received court endorsement until 860, when it was withdrawn, because of the text's dubious transmission history, in favor of a Tang-dynasty edition. The "ancient script" version and the Kong commentary on it continued nevertheless to circulate in Japan, and were printed under the patronage of Emperor Go-Yōzei 後陽成 (1571–1617) at the end of the sixteenth century.

Knowing that the commentary attributed to Kong Anguo had been lost in China, Shundai collated the copy held by the Ashikaga Gakkō with several others and in 1732 published his recension under the title *Kobun Kōkyō Kō-shi den* 古文孝經孔氏伝 (Master Kong's Commentary to the Ancient Script Version of the Classic of Filial Piety). The following year he asked the daimyo of Numata 沼田, where the Ashikaga Gakkō was located, to present a copy to the bakufu and also to prevail upon the Nagasaki magistrate to send one to China.<sup>10</sup> Given Shundai's effort to secure the daimyo's mediation, people have assumed that he based his recension on the Ashikaga Gakkō copy, but Hayashi Hideichi 林秀一 points out that Shundai himself did not claim this and that textual evidence indicates that in fact he gave precedence to other editions.<sup>11</sup>

#### *The Chinese Reception of the Sorai-School Editions*

As Ōba Osamu 大庭脩 has described, following the securing of the Manchu conquest of China in the 1680s, books came to play an important part in the trade between Ningbo and Nagasaki built up by Chinese merchants. Recent classical and medical books published in China and desired by Japanese scholars and shoguns were a major component of the Chinese export trade to Japan, and Chinese traders also became a conduit for the reimportation into China of texts such as *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun hoi*.<sup>12</sup> Traders with an interest in books transmitted *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun hoi* to Zhejiang in the Yangzi delta, the center of Chinese classical learning, in the 1730s, but it only began to attract the interest of Chinese classical scholars in the 1760s. Scholars of evidential learning (*kaozheng xue* 考証学), by then in the midst of their own philological mutiny against the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy, welcomed Yamanai's scrupulous lists of variant characters from different commentaries and texts, some no longer extant in China. In the 1770s, the Hangzhou salt merchant and bibliophile Wang Qishu 汪啟淑 (1728–1799?) submitted Yamanai's work to the editors of the Qianlong Imperial Library (*Siku quanshu* 四庫全書), the massive project based in Beijing under imperial sponsorship that sought to assemble a comprehensive compendium of traditional learning and reliable texts.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Hess 1993, pp. 4–5; Hess 2002, pp. 135–36; Hayashi 1979, pp. 164–70.

<sup>11</sup> Hayashi 1979, pp. 164–69.

<sup>12</sup> See Ōba 1984. See also Miller 1952, pp. 60–61; and Hu 2007, pp. 142–49.

<sup>13</sup> Kano 1927. See also Noda 1955, pp. 206–208; Ōba 1998; Yoshikawa 1983, pp. 149–51.



The editors in Beijing enthusiastically accepted and recopied the book into 206 chapters for the Qianlong Imperial Library, but initially they did not know that Yamanoi was Japanese. They also gave the wrong date, 1669, for the publication of his opus. The Yangzhou scholar-official Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849) corrected the mistake in 1810 while completing a project collating the best editions for the Thirteen Classics (the noted *Shisan jing zhushu jiaokan ji* 十三經注疏校勘記). Ruan had received a copy of the original, manuscript edition of Yamanoi's *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun* from the Korean emissary Kim Chong Hui 金正喜 (1786–1856), whom he met in 1809 while Kim was visiting Beijing on a tribute mission. The first Korean to recognize the importance of Yamanoi's edition, Kim had copied it while on a Korean mission to Japan.<sup>14</sup>

The Qianlong Imperial Library editors were also pleased to find that Yamanoi's editions for the various classics contradicted the claims made by the late Ming scholar Feng Fang 豐坊 (1493–1566). Feng had falsely asserted that he had referred to books of Korean and Japanese origin to come up with his unconventional findings. He claimed, for instance, to have rubbings from an “ancient script” version of the *Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學, Jp. *Daigaku*). Feng's “reconstruction” of the “ancient script” version was later shown to be a clever forgery, and in an ironic twist, the Qing bookmen at the Qianlong court used Yamanoi's eighteenth-century Japanese edition of the classics “from abroad” to reconfirm the fallacious character of Feng Fang's sixteenth-century editions.<sup>15</sup>

Reflecting in part the general suspicion of “ancient script” texts among Qing evidential learning scholars, Shundai's version of Kong's commentary on the “ancient script” version of the *Classic of Filial Piety* received a more mixed reception than Yamanoi's collation. The scholar-bibliophile Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博 (1728–1814) included Shundai's edition in the initial compendium of selected works that he published in 1776 under the title *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (Collectanea of the Cannot-know-enough Hall). Shundai's version of the commentary was later also copied into the Qianlong Imperial Library. The consensus among the evidential learning scholars, however, was that Kong Anguo had never prepared any sort of classical commentary and that thus even the first, Han-dynasty version of the commentary on the *Classic of Filial Piety* attributed to him must have been dubious. Taking the Sui rendering of the commentary, lost in China since the tenth century, to have been a “forgery of a forgery,” many Qing scholars rejected Shundai's collation of it as a third forgery. The conclusion of the editors of the Imperial Library was damning: “. . . There are people in Japan who are crass and crafty, and know literary expressions well, so they selected quotations from the Kong commentary in various texts and, imitating and adhering to the style of these citations, wrote an entire commentary, boasting that they planned to make a fortune off of their forged work.”<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See *Siku quanshu zongmu*, vol. 33, pp. 30a–34a (for Yamanoi's *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun hoi*); and vol. 35, pp. 4b–7b (for Huang Kan's *Lunyu yishu*). See also Fujitsuka 1947, pp. 26–27.

<sup>15</sup> See *Siku quanshu zongmu*, vol. 33, pp. 33b–34a. On the Feng Fang case, see Rusk 2005.

<sup>16</sup> Hess 1993, pp. 5–6; Hess 2002, pp. 136–40. The translation is from Hess 2002, p. 137.

Despite this tart evaluation of the circumstances behind the reappearance of the Kong commentary, Yamanoi's collation in *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun hoi* of different texts of the classics and commentaries to them had shown Chinese literati that noteworthy variant texts survived in Japan, and some of the Zhejiang provincial bookmen involved in the Ningbo-Nagasaki trade began to inquire about other works that might be found there. Around 1764, the scholar-merchant Wang Peng 汪鵬 (n.d.) purchased in Nagasaki an edition of what was to become perhaps the most famous Chinese classical text rediscovered in Tokugawa Japan: Huang Kan's Liang 梁 dynasty (502–557) subcommentary (*shu* 疏, Jp. *so*) for the *Analects*, known today as *Lunyu yishu* (Jp. *Rongo giso*).<sup>17</sup> The Ashikaga Gakkō held a copy of *Rongo giso*, which had been lost as an integral text in China since the Southern Song, and Yamanoi had cited it in his collation of *Analects* texts in *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun* (in his preface to *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun*, Sorai singled out Yamanoi's use of *Rongo giso* for special mention).<sup>18</sup> Following his investigation of the Ashikaga Gakkō texts with Yamanoi in the 1720s, Nemoto Sonshi had continued to work on preparing a recension of *Rongo giso*, which he published in 1750.<sup>19</sup> The recension's vicissitudes in Japan and China cast an intriguing light on the transmission of texts and learning between the two countries in this period.

#### *Huang Kan's Lunyu Yishu (Rongo Giso)*

Active at a time when Daoism and Buddhism were both influential in the Chinese intellectual world and himself a Buddhist adept associated with the medieval tradition of “abstruse learning” (*xuanxue* 玄学), the southern literatus Huang Kan left several pioneering studies of the classics when he died in 546.<sup>20</sup> His biographies in the histories of the Liang and Southern dynasties note that he focused on the classics on rites and filial piety and on the *Analects*. Overall his studies represented a second stage in classical exegesis; that is, he compiled “subcommentaries” (*shu*, Jp. *so*) for the earlier classical commentaries (*zhu* 注, Jp. *chū*) dating to the Han and Three Kingdoms (220–280) eras.<sup>21</sup> For the *Analects*, he added citations from some forty named and an unspecified number of unidentified scholars together with his own annotations to those already collected by the Wei 魏 dynasty scholar He Yan 何晏 (190–249), who in his *Lunyu jijie* 論語集解 (Jp. *Rongo shikkai*, Collected Explanations for the *Analects*) had brought together eight older commentaries on the text.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See Fujitsuka 1940. On Wang Peng, see Ōba 2002.

<sup>18</sup> Ogyū 1973, p. 490. The “overview” (*fanli* 凡例, Jp. *hanrei*) for the *Siku quanshu* edition of *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun hoi* also noted Yamanoi's use of *Lunyu yishu*, which the editors termed *Huang Kan yishu Lunyu* 皇侃義疏論語 (Jp. *Ō Gan giso Rongo*). *Siku quanshu zongmu*, vol. 33, p. 31a.

<sup>19</sup> See Nemoto 1750. Subsequent printed editions came out in 1793 and 1864.

<sup>20</sup> On Huang's links to *xuanxue*, see Ashmore 2004. On Liang cultural life, see Tian 2007.

<sup>21</sup> See *Nanshi*, vol. 62, pp. 1507–508; and *Liangshu*, vol. 48, pp. 672, 680–81.

<sup>22</sup> See Makeham 2003, pp. 79–167. Makeham notes (pp. 88–89) that while presenting his work as a subcommentary to He Yan's, Huang Kan in fact provided comments directly to the text of



Following centuries of divisions in classical learning between the north and south, during the early Tang dynasty the court sought to establish orthodox interpretations for each of the Five Classics. This effort resulted in the compilation in the 640s under court sponsorship of *Wujing zhengyi* 五經正義 (Orthodox Meanings in the Five Classics). As part of this project, led by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648), commentaries and subcommentaries that had previously existed as separate works were carved up and included in the *Orthodox Meanings* under the specific passages they referred to.<sup>23</sup>

In the Northern Song dynasty, Xing Bing 邢昺 (932–1010) extended this approach beyond the Five Classics to other classical works, including the *Analects*, in his scholia (*zhushu* 注疏, lit., “commentaries and subcommentaries”) edition of the Thirteen Classics.<sup>24</sup> As this amalgamated compilation came to function as a single, orthodox compendium for Song civil service candidates preparing for the new, two-tier provincial and capital examinations, many commentaries and subcommentaries lost their value as independent works. Although much of Huang’s subcommentary on the *Analects* was incorporated in cut-and-paste fashion into Xing Bing’s Thirteen Classics, it disappeared as a separate work in China by the Southern Song.<sup>25</sup>

Huang Kan’s subcommentary was transmitted to Japan at least by the ninth century when Fujiwara no Sukeyo 藤原佐世 (d. 898) listed it in a catalogue of books entitled *Nihon koku genzai sho mokuroku* 日本国見在書目録 (Catalogue of Books Extant in Japan).<sup>26</sup> Thereafter it continued to occupy an important place in the tradition of classical scholarship preserved by the Kiyohara 清原 family at the Kyoto court and by Buddhist centers of learning. In the medieval period, W. J. Boot notes, it was the most popular of the commentarial traditions on the *Analects*,<sup>27</sup> although by the mid-Edo period it had been eclipsed by the new commentaries, which, available in printed form, reached a much wider audience for

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the *Analects* as well as to He Yan’s commentary on it. The *Suizhi* 隋志 (the bibliography section of the *History of the Sui Dynasty*), compiled by Tang scholars, entitled Huang’s work on the *Analects Lunyu yishu* (Subcommentary on the Meaning of the *Analects*), thus fitting it formally into the subcommentary category. The *Jiu Tangshu* 旧唐書 (Older History of the Tang Dynasty), compiled by Liu Xu 劉昫 (887–946) during the Song dynasty, titled Huang’s work simply *Lunyu shu* 論語疏 (Subcommentary on the *Analects*). See *Suishu*, vol. 32, pp. 920, 922. See also *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 46, p. 1973. On He Yan and *Lunyu jijie*, see Makeham 2003, pp. 23–75; compare Gardner 2003, pp. 9–17.

<sup>23</sup> On Kong Yingda and the *Wujing zhengyi*, see Shentu 2006, pp. 23–39.

<sup>24</sup> On Xing Bing, see Kieschnick 1992, pp. 569–73.

<sup>25</sup> Naitō Kanji 内藤干治 notes the success of Xing’s scholia and the demise of Huang’s subcommentary; see Naitō 1992, p. 250. Xu Wangjia 徐望駕 dates the loss in China to between 1190 and 1261. See Xu 2006, pp. 202–203.

<sup>26</sup> Hess 2002, p. 140; Makeham 2003, pp. 393–94. See also Takeuchi 1922, *jō*, pp. 100–109.

<sup>27</sup> Boot 1982, p. 58. On the Kiyohara tradition of classical scholarship, see Boot 1982, pp. 6, 54, 238–39n4. See also Abe 1963–1964. On the overall medieval reproduction and printing of editions of the *Analects*, see Kuboo 2002; Kawase 1970, pp. 61, 274–78; Kawase 1943, pp. 1664–89; Kornicki 2001, p. 123; and Takeuchi 1972, pp. 436–67. For studies of the text by Buddhist priests, see also Ashikaga 1932, pp. 433, 456.

classical texts than had existed in the medieval period.<sup>28</sup> To date, some thirty-five manuscript versions of *Rongo giso* are known to exist, thirty in Japan and another five in Taiwan. Of the thirty-five, twenty-two have been, rightly or perhaps wrongly, dated to the Muromachi period, seven of them allegedly as early as the late fourteenth or fifteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Among these are an incomplete copy attributed to Kiyohara Yoshikane 清原良兼 (1307–1361) of the Kiyohara family of court scholars that produced many of the extant medieval Japanese exegetical writings on the Five Classics and Four Books.<sup>30</sup> Another early manuscript dated, perhaps incorrectly, to 1427 is currently in the collection of the Sonkeikaku Bunko 尊経閣文庫 in Tokyo. The manuscript copy held by the Ashikaga Gakkō has been dated to circa 1521–1554 by some and to the early Tokugawa by others.<sup>31</sup> Kawase Kazuma 川瀬一馬 notes that it is one of a number of *Analects* texts in the Ashikaga Gakkō associated with the eleventh school head, Bokushi 睦子 (d. 1672), who has written his name and placed his seal at the head of each chapter.<sup>32</sup>

*Rongo giso* evidently circulated in medieval and early modern Japan in two major formats, one with Huang Kan's preface and the other without. Twenty of the thirty-five extant manuscripts, among them the Sonkeikaku Bunko copy and five other dated manuscripts allegedly traceable to the fifteenth century, include the preface.<sup>33</sup> Passages from the preface are also to be found in an early compilation of notes on the *Analects* titled *Rongo sōryaku* 論語総略 (General Account of the *Analects*), owned by Manshuin 曼殊院 temple in Kyoto and held to date somewhere between the late twelfth and the early fourteenth century. This text, which is organized in a topical fashion, with sections on the general nature of

<sup>28</sup> Sorai, for instance, evidently did not have access to *Rongo giso* prior to Yamanoi's and Nemoto's bringing a transcription of it back to Edo, whereupon he made use of it in revising his own study of the *Analects*, *Rongo chō* 論語徴 (Clarifications of the *Analects*). As noted above, he praised Yamanoi's and Nemoto's discovery of the text, but although he recognized the value of the earlier commentaries that Huang Kan had incorporated, he did not regard highly Huang's own interpretations. See Ogawa 1978, pp. 726–27.

<sup>29</sup> For a comprehensive list, see Kageyama 2006, pp. 53–56; and Kageyama 2007, pp. 96–100. See also Takahashi 1971 and Chen 1995, which likewise lists thirty-five manuscripts surviving in Japan and Taiwan. Chen relied on Takeuchi's published accounts for those in Japan he did not see, as does Xu 2006, pp. 205–15.

<sup>30</sup> The transcription of *Rongo giso* attributed to Yoshikane is presently held by Kyoto University in its rare books collection. See <<http://edb.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/exhibit/rb6/rb6cont.html>>.

<sup>31</sup> The Sonkeikaku catalogue describes its edition only as “an ancient manuscript.” For the date of the Ashikaga Gakkō manuscript, see Makeham 2003, p. 395; and Nagasawa 1973, p. 2, which simply dates it as a “Muromachi manuscript.” In his *Liuzhen pu chubian* 留真譜初編 (1901 mss.) the scholar-official Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1839–1915), who visited Japan in the Meiji period as a Qing emissary, noted significant problems with the content and format of the Ashikaga version of the *Lunyu yishu*, but he accepted its overall authenticity, refuting earlier Chinese claims that Nemoto had forged the manuscript. Yang dated the paper the Ashikaga manuscript was written on to about two centuries earlier, circa 1700, and disputed that it was four or five hundred years old, circa 1400 to 1500.

<sup>32</sup> Kawase 1974, pp. 161, 217–18.

<sup>33</sup> The Kyoto University copy attributed to Kiyohara Yoshikane is lacking the first chapter, and thus it is not clear whether it included the preface.

the *Analects*, the meaning of its name, differences between three Han-dynasty versions, names of commentators, and a “Table of Contents for the Twenty Chapters and the Key Points in Each Chapter,” quotes from *Rongo giso*, including its preface, and from observations by Cheng Yi included in Zhu Xi’s commentary *Lunyu jizhu* 論語集注 (Jp. *Rongo shitchū*).<sup>34</sup> Phrasing in the passages from *Rongo giso* quoted in *Rongo sōryaku* diverges in a number of places from that found in other copies of Huang Kan’s commentary.<sup>35</sup>

Takeuchi Yoshio 武内義雄 (1886–1966), who in the 1920s collated ten Japanese manuscript copies of *Rongo giso* with Nemoto’s printed recension to produce what became the standard edition of *Lunyu yishu/Rongo giso*, used by scholars worldwide, regarded these variations as offering a valuable adjunct to the extant manuscript copies of *Rongo giso* proper. In Takeuchi’s view, the variations indicated that the author of *Rongo sōryaku* was quoting from an earlier, different textual lineage of *Rongo giso* than that represented by the Muromachi copies of the commentary. Takahashi Hitoshi 高橋均, who has closely reviewed the nature of the variations, holds, however, that the differences more likely derive from the nature of *Rongo sōryaku* as a guide meant to explain aspects of the *Analects* than from use of a separate textual lineage. When the author quoted passages from *Rongo giso*, he adapted the wording in accord with his own purposes.<sup>36</sup>

The quoting of passages from the preface to *Rongo giso* in *Rongo sōryaku* and the preface’s presence in the majority of extant copies of the commentary suggest that it was well known among medieval Japanese readers of Huang Kan’s commentary. Nemoto’s incorporation of it in his printed edition would be one of the points that attracted the attention of Qing scholars when they encountered his recension, as the preface had not survived among the passages from *Rongo giso* quoted in other Chinese sources. The preface does not appear, however, in the copy of *Rongo giso* presently held by Ashikaga Gakkō and presumably used by Nemoto, although someone has inscribed fragments of it, in an irregular order, in the upper register and between the lines of the first page (see figure 1). To include the preface, as he did, Nemoto must have made use of another copy that did contain it, but what was his source? Unfortunately he does not tell us.

<sup>34</sup> On *Rongo sōryaku*, see Takeuchi 1952. For a physical description of the text, an unpaginated silk scroll, see Abe 1963–1964 (2), p. 37. Abe speculates that the text’s Song flavor may derive from the Cantonese scholar Li Yong 李用, who fled to Japan circa 1278, when Wen Tianxiang’s 文天祥 (1236–1283) Southern Song forces were defeated by the Mongols. Li had prepared a commentary on the *Analects* entitled *Lunyu jie* 論語解 (Explanations of the *Analects*), which focused on the views of the Cheng brothers. Abe 1963–1964 (2), pp. 40–42. My discussion owes much to the recent analysis of *Rongo sōryaku* by Takahashi Hitoshi 高橋均, Takahashi 2001 and Takahashi 2003.

<sup>35</sup> *Rongo sōryaku* cites Huang Kan as Wang Kan 王侃 rather than Huang Kan 皇侃 and his commentary as *shu* (Jp. *so*, “subcommentary”) rather than *yishu* (Jp. *giso*, “subcommentary on the meanings”). The transposition of *wang* for *huang*, particularly in Japanese sources, is not unusual. In his *Junzhai dushu zhi* 郡齋讀書志 (Record of Books Read at the Prefectural Studio), Chao Gongwu 晁公武 (1105–1180) similarly refers to Huang Kan as “Wang” Kan.

<sup>36</sup> Takahashi 2001; Takahashi 2003. Takeuchi has been credited with using ten editions, but in fact he used eleven, according to Kageyama 2006, pp. 51, 61n2.

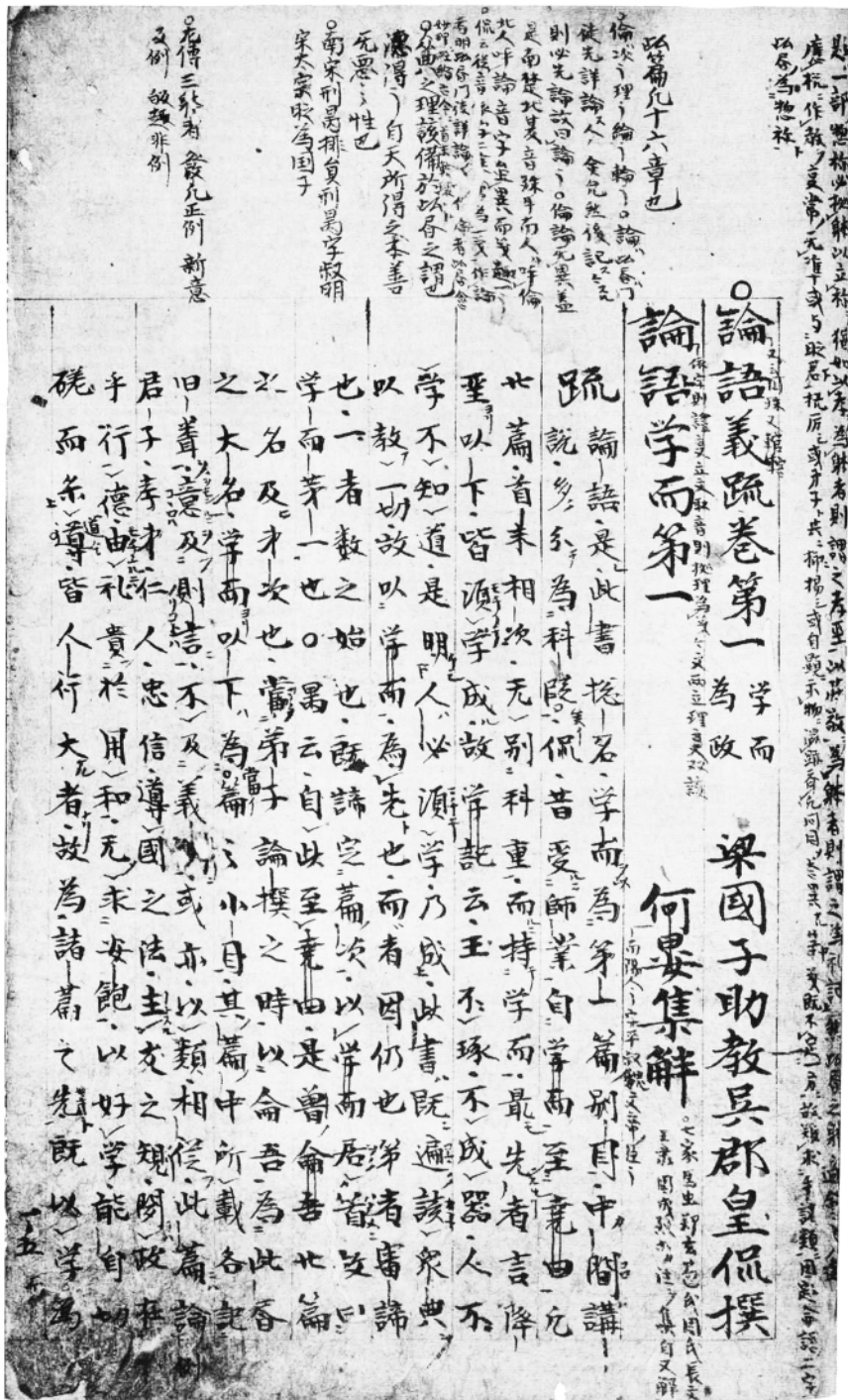


Figure 1. The first page of the Ashikaga Gakkō version of *Lunyu yishu/Rongo giso*. Ashikaga Gakkō.



Kageyama Terukuni 影山輝国, who has made a close comparison of the twenty manuscript copies containing the preface, notes a range of discrepancies between them and Nemoto's printed version. None of the extant copies can be identified definitively as Nemoto's source for the preface.<sup>37</sup> Nemoto also introduced various deviations from the Ashikaga Gakkō manuscript into his printed version of the body of the commentary and revised the format to accord with that adopted by Xing Bing, who in his amalgamated commentary had clearly demarcated the commentaries and subcommentaries (see figure 2). These circumstances raise various questions about the exact relationship between Nemoto's recension and the Ashikaga Gakkō version of *Rongo giso*.

In his preface to the printed edition of Nemoto's recension, another Sorai student, Hattori Nankaku 服部南郭 (1683–1759), emphasized the Ashikaga Gakkō's importance as a repository of rare texts: "Ashikaga preserves many unusual books that today are no longer transmitted abroad."<sup>38</sup> He went on to praise Nemoto's diligence in traveling there with Yamanoi to recover and transmit such works to later generations; Nankaku further expressed the hope that the printed version of *Rongo giso* would "not just be widely distributed in the 'world within the seas' [Japan], but also transmitted to the 'land beyond the seas' [China] so that they would know that our country is bountiful and secure in its concern for civilization. In this way, Nemoto's diligence will benefit both our land and China!"<sup>39</sup> Reflecting this emphasis by Sorai's followers on the Ashikaga Gakkō as a source of works no longer to be found in China, Chinese commentators, too, would note its role in preserving classical texts.<sup>40</sup> In fact, however, Nemoto's recension, and in particular his rendering of the preface, owes much to some unnamed source whose provenance remains a mystery.<sup>41</sup>

### *The Qing Reception of Nemoto's Recension*

Hattori Nankaku's (and presumably Nemoto's) hopes that the restored *Rongo giso* would be transmitted to China were fulfilled in part when the scholar-merchant Wang Peng acquired a copy in Nagasaki and took it back to China circa 1764. Wang presented the copy to the Zhejiang provincial office in Hangzhou, and some years later the Zhejiang provincial commissioner (*buzheng*

<sup>37</sup> See Kageyama 2007, pp. 58–59.

<sup>38</sup> Hattori 1750, p. 1a.

<sup>39</sup> Hattori 1750, pp. 4a–4b.

<sup>40</sup> See *Siku quanshu zongmu*, vol. 35, pp. 6b–7b.

<sup>41</sup> The Diet Library holds a version of *Rongo giso* containing the preface and a colophon stating that it was transcribed at Ashikaga in Bunmei 文明 14 (1482). Kawase Kazuma believes that the manuscript is in fact a mid-Edo copy of the 1482 transcription. Kawase 1974, p. 51. Although the catalogue of its holdings compiled by the Ashikaga Gakkō in 1725 lists only the ten-volume copy of *Rongo giso* presumably used by Nemoto and Yamanoi (see Kawase 1974, pp. 250–55), the possibility remains that the copy transcribed in 1482 was still there as well when they visited Ashikaga in the early 1720s. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, Kageyama Terukuni has identified discrepancies between the preface as transcribed in Nemoto's recension and that found in the Diet Library copy and other copies with the preface, so even should Nemoto and Yamanoi have had a chance to see the Diet Library copy or its source, the relationship between the versions would be inconclusive.

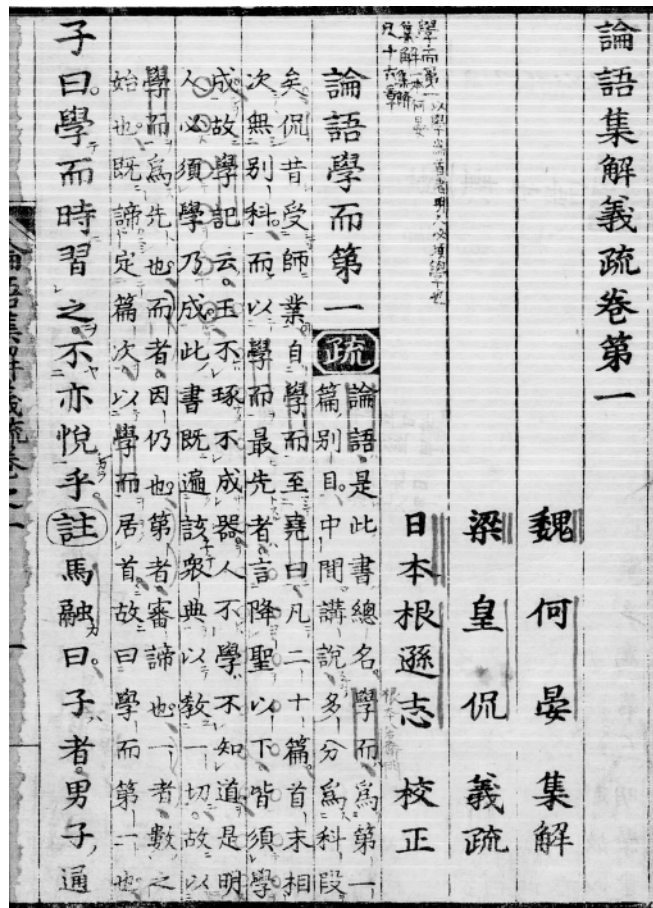


Figure 2. Nemoto's edition of Huang Kan's *Lunyu yishu/Rongo giso* (1864 edition), showing the first page of the subcommentary proper.

*shi* 布政使) Wang Danwang 王亶望 (d. 1781) submitted it to the Imperial Library Commission, which finished copying it into the collection in 1781. In their précis for the text, the Library editors raised doubts about the “unreliable characters” used to transcribe some of the names of the ancient commentators cited, but overall welcomed the text’s reappearance at an opportune time:

Presently, during this auspicious age in which the emperor reveres literature and harkens to antiquity, textual studies have flourished and the *Lunyu yishu* has reappeared from a foreign land across the billows of the vast sea. The work was brought back to China by a merchant ship and submitted to the imperial archives. It is as if there were a divine creature guiding the text in order to preserve a thread of Han- and Jin-dynasty studies of the classics, then purposefully waiting for an era of sages to make this book manifest once again. It is truly not coincidental that the *Lunyu yishu* reappeared at the right moment!



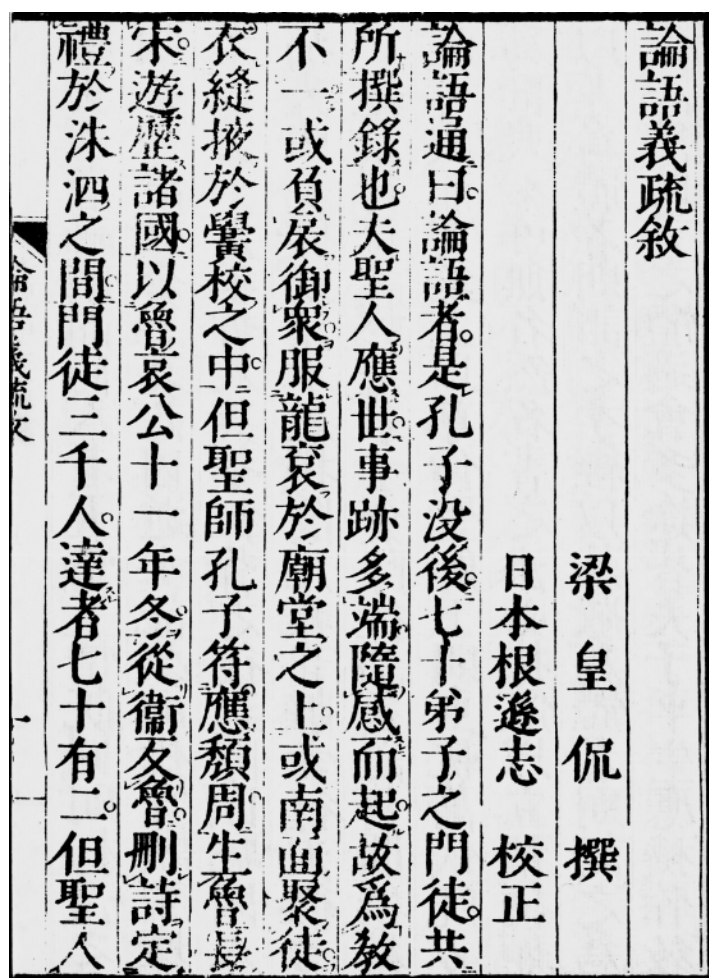


Figure 3. The first page of Nemoto's edition of Huang Kan's "Preface" to *Lunyu yishu* (1750 edition).

The editors concluded that the Japanese edition could serve Chinese scholars as "collateral evidence."<sup>42</sup> Holding to the same view, in the following decades many evidential learning scholars utilized Huang's commentary in their own studies.<sup>43</sup>

Other aspects of the Chinese response to the reappearance of Huang's commentary were less candid. Around 1775, after submitting Nemoto's edition to the Imperial Library editors, Wang Danwang printed his own edition of the commentary, in which he eliminated all mention of the Japanese role in its collation. In 1781, Wang, having been arrested for embezzlement, committed suicide. Thereupon the blocks for his edition of the commentary came into the posses-

<sup>42</sup> *Siku quanshu zongmu*, vol. 33, p. 6b. Fujitsuka Chikashi 藤塚鄰 believes that Dai Zhen 戴震 (1724–1777) prepared this précis. Fujitsuka 1947, p. 28. The extended translation is from Hess 2002, pp. 141–42.

<sup>43</sup> See Hess 2002, p. 143.

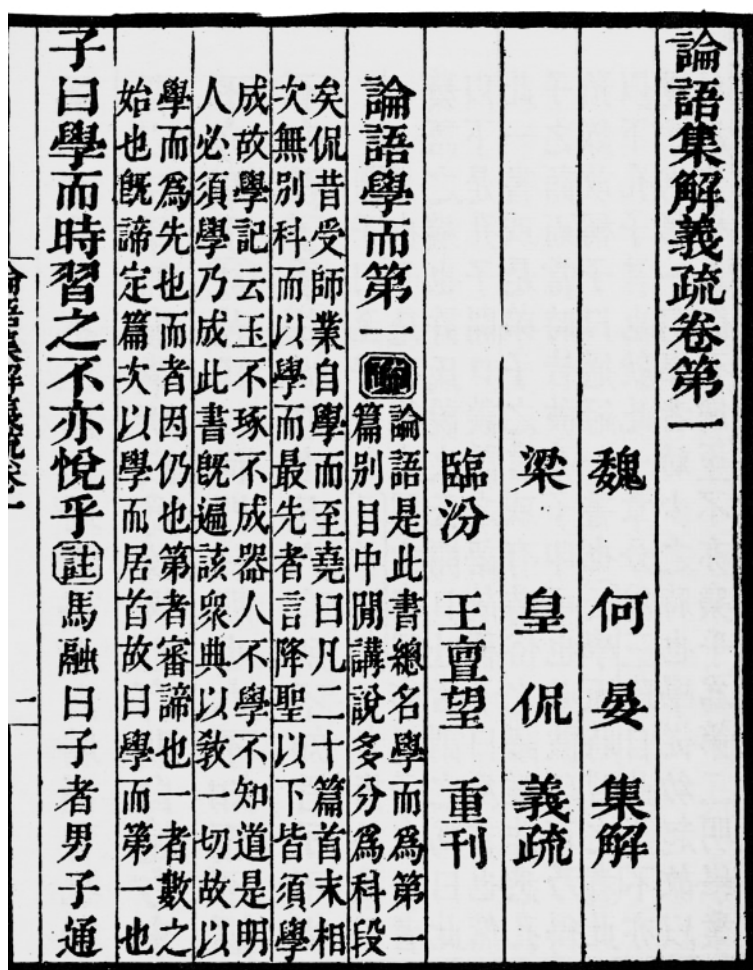


Figure 4. Wang Danwang's edition of Huang Kan's "Subcommentary."

sion of the bibliophile Bao Tingbo, who in 1788 reprinted it in the seventh compendium of his *Zhibuzu zhai congshu*. This edition, too, included neither Hattori Nankaku's preface nor Nemoto's name. The Japanese and Chinese editions adopted exactly the same woodblock printing format, namely, identical pagination, nine columns per page, and twenty characters per column. At the head of both Huang's preface and the text of the subcommentary proper, Nemoto's edition included his name as collator (*kōsei* 校正, Ch. *jiaozheng*) together with his affiliation with Japan (see figures 2 and 3; in a manner common among Japanese sinologists, Nemoto abbreviated his name to the one-character Chinese-style surname Ne/Kon 根). On the opening page of his edition of the subcommentary, Wang Danwang gave instead his own name as the "reprinter" (*chongkan* 重刊, Jp. *jūkan*; see figure 4). The *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* edition simply removed Wang's name, without restoring Nemoto's to either the preface or subcommentary, and moved

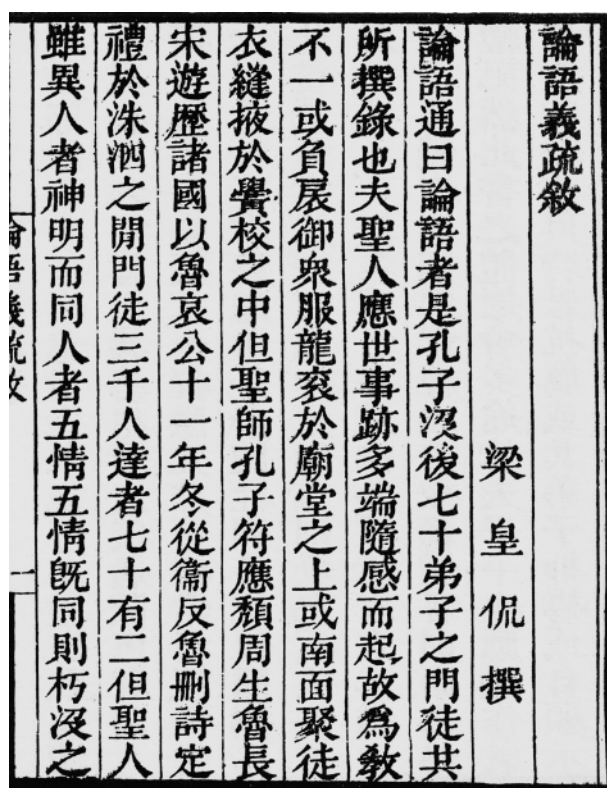


Figure 5. The *Zhibuzu shai congshu* edition of Huang Kan's "Preface"; compare with figure 3.

the text one line to the right to take up the empty space resulting from this excision (see figure 5).<sup>44</sup>

The preface that the Qing evidential scholar Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 (1717–1796) wrote for *Lunyu yishu/Rongo giso* at the time of its incorporation in the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* in 1788 similarly made no mention of Nemoto, noting only that the text had been found at the Ashikaga Gakkō and that its citations of He Yan's *Lunyu jijie/Rongo shikkai* corresponded to those of a "Korean edition" of the latter text recovered earlier by the scholar Qian Zeng 錢曾 (1629–1701).<sup>45</sup> The editors of the Imperial Library, too, did not give Nemoto's name in their précis,

<sup>44</sup> See Fujitsuka 1940, pp. 303–10; Yan 1992, pp. 252–62. Bernhard Führer notes that the names in the Nemoto version have been mysteriously restored in a photolithographic reprint of the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* edition included in Yan 1966, vol. 2, pp. 4b–5a. See Führer 2003, pp. 27–28.

<sup>45</sup> In 1654 Qian had purchased a copy of the edition of He Yan's commentary allegedly published in Japan in 1364 and earlier acquired by a Ming naval commander during the 1592–1598 campaigns resisting Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea. Not recognizing the Japanese reign title Shōhei 正平 written on the text, Qian thought his copy was Korean. See also Makeham 2003, pp. 388–89n10.

instead simply remarking that Yamanoi's *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun hoi* had mentioned the survival of Huang's commentary in Japan.<sup>46</sup>

Wang Danwang silently introduced other changes into Nemoto's recension as well. Notably, as Bernhard Führer has pointed out, he revised the commentary on *Analects* 3.5, in which Confucius compares the situation in China to that among the surrounding barbarian tribes (夷狄之有君、不如諸夏之亡也). Commentators from the Han until the Song dynasty had interpreted Confucius as saying "Barbarian tribes with their rulers are inferior to Chinese states without them." Song-dynasty scholars associated with the Cheng-Zhu school, believing that Confucius was complaining about the chaos of his age in the midst of the decline of the Zhou dynasty (1045–221 B.C.), had reversed the meaning, taking Confucius to say "Barbarian tribes with their rulers are unlike [and hence superior to] the Chinese states, which lack them." According to Zhu Xi, Confucius felt that the barbarians, who still retained their rulers, were not in as much disarray as the Central States, i.e., Zhou China, where the Zhou king was at the mercy of a series of hegemons.<sup>47</sup>

As Kate Wildman Nakai has noted, this passage received considerable attention from Tokugawa Confucian scholars wrestling with the sinocentric dimensions of the system of thought to which they had declared their allegiance. A number welcomed and adopted the Cheng-Zhu reading as testifying to Japan's having upheld the Confucian virtues better than China through its preservation of a continuous imperial line. Sorai and his followers, on the other hand, accepting the Chinese self-appellation of China as representing "civilization," rejected such readings as specious.<sup>48</sup> Nemoto thus did not question Huang Kan's gloss of this passage in his subcommentary as "This chapter values the Central States and devalues the barbarians. . . . It means that even with a ruler, the barbarians are inferior to the Central States without a ruler" (see figure 6). Wang Danwang, however, found it expedient to substitute a gloss along the lines of the one that Zhu Xi formulated some six centuries after Huang composed his commentary. In this altered version, Huang Kan appeared to say that the barbarians were superior because they at least had a semblance of order under a single ruler, while the Zhou struggled through usurpations and disarray. The substitution was continued in the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* edition and in that copied for preservation in the Imperial Library (see figure 7). As Führer proposes, as a Chinese official under Qing-dynasty rule, presumably "Wang had, in anticipation of the Manchus' sensibility on derogatory passages concerning non-Han people, 'adjusted' some copies as a pre-emptive measure."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *Siku quanshu zongmu*, vol. 35, p. 6b.

<sup>47</sup> See Zhu 1966, vol. 2, p. 2b.

<sup>48</sup> See Nakai 1980, pp. 178–79. See also Wakabayashi 1986, pp. 22–27.

<sup>49</sup> Führer 2003, pp. 30–33. The version of *Lunyu yishu* printed in 1787 by the Wuying dian 武英殿 (Imperial Printing Office) restored Huang Kan's gloss as Nemoto had rendered it, complete with its derogatory comments about the barbarians.



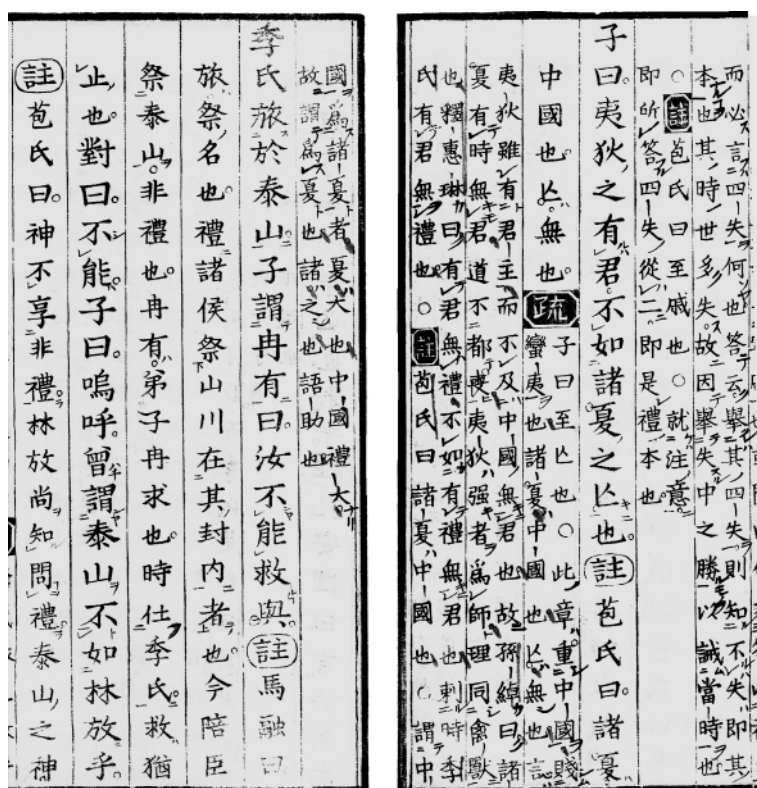


Figure 6. Nemoto's version of the barbarian passage from the 1864 *Rongo giso*.

Although the Chinese reception of the classical texts recovered in Japan was thus somewhat backhanded, Tokugawa Confucian circles interpreted it positively as recognition of Japanese achievements in the shared world of classical learning. In 1778, a Qing merchant brought back to Nagasaki reprints of the first *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* compendium, published two years earlier, which included Shundai's edition of the Kong commentary to the ancient script version of the *Classic of Filial Piety* together with prefaces by several Qing scholars praising Shundai's work (among them was Lu Wenchao, who also wrote a preface for the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* edition of *Lunyu yishu/Rongo giso* and essays on *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun hoi*).<sup>50</sup> Shortly thereafter, in 1781, an Edo publisher reprinted the prefaces together with Bao Tingbo's original colophon as a separate volume; the influential patron of literature and the arts Kimura Kenkadō 木村兼葭堂 (1736–1802) wrote a preface for this volume acclaiming Shundai for the publication of his work in China. A Japanese reprint of the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* edition of Shundai's recension of the Kong commentary appeared the fol-

<sup>50</sup> Other prefaces were by the literati scholars Wu Qian 吳騫 (1733–1813), and Zheng Chen 鄭辰 (n.d.).



Figure 7. Wang Danwang's version of the barbarian passage in the copy of *Lunyu yishu* transcribed for the Imperial Library.

lowing year, accompanied by a glowing preface by Shundai's disciple Ōshio Gōsho 大塩齋渚 (1717–1785).

Japanese scholars also learned of Chinese suspicions about the genuineness of both the original Han-dynasty version of the Kong commentary and Shundai's recension, a discovery that spurred some to engage in further study of the text and to challenge Shundai's conclusions about it. Nevertheless, the recension's publication in China and republication in Japan cemented Shundai's reputation as a classicist and polymath. His edition of the Kong commentary was frequently reprinted and soon became the most popular Tokugawa edition of the *Classic of Filial Piety*.<sup>51</sup>

In a somewhat similar fashion, although in his preface to the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* edition of *Lunyu yishu/Rongo giso* Lu Wenchao failed to mention Nemoto as the collator, Lu's fame and his praise for the collation still carried sufficient cultural cachet in Japan to bring honor to Nemoto's efforts, as Lu's other prefaces had earlier accomplished for the collations by Yamanoi and Shundai. Lu's

<sup>51</sup> Hess 1993, pp. 6–7; Hayashi 1979, pp. 170–78.



preface was reprinted in the 1793 edition of Nemoto's work and was subsequently included in the 1864 edition as well.<sup>52</sup>

### *Huang Kan's Preface: A Philological Conundrum*

The recovery of *Lunyu yishu/Rongo giso* in Japan and its transmission to China and reprinting there is of interest not only for the twists and turns involved but because Huang Kan's preface raises various questions about the development of philological studies in the two countries. Chinese evidential scholars welcomed the commentary's opportune reappearance not only because it allowed them access to Han- and Jin-dynasty classical studies, but because in his preface Huang appeared to prefigure a philological approach comparable to the tripartite methodology combining phonology, paleography, and etymology developed and refined by such scholars in the eighteenth century.<sup>53</sup>

Explaining why the two characters *lunyu* 論語 (Jp. *rongo*; i.e., "collected sayings") had been chosen as the title for the record of Confucius's words to his seventy closest disciples, Huang asserted that earlier classical scholars had employed three ways to explain the choice of the character *lun*.<sup>54</sup> One approach had been to "set aside the written form and establish the sound" (*shezi zhiyin* 捨字制音, Jp. *shaji seion*). Giving priority to phonology, this approach sought the significance of the word *lun*, read in the level tone, in the meanings to be derived from several homonyms.<sup>55</sup> The second approach had been to "set aside the sound and follow the written form" (*sheyin congzi* 捨音從字, Jp. *shaon jūji*). The reverse of the first approach, this second one gave priority to structural paleography: analysis of the character 論 revealed that "this book came from the disciples who had first to detail [the Master's] many sayings to the people before they could with unanimity record them; in recording them they had to note them as [the Master's] own sayings."<sup>56</sup> The character thus represented the process of disciples trying to collect, verify, and record the sayings of Confucius for posterity. The third approach focused on regional variations in recording the same meaning. People in north and south China had used different characters for the same purpose. Although southerners used the character 倫 and northerners used 論, the two characters meant the same thing.

To this threefold analysis of approaches that he attributed to earlier accounts of the *Analects*, Huang Kan added his own observations ("Kan an" 侃案) on how best to deal with the issue of the title's meaning. Although all "three approaches

<sup>52</sup> See Lu Wenchao's preface in Nemoto 1793, pp. 1a–2a. For the prefaces for the Yamanoi and Shundai volumes, see Lu 1990a, pp. 86–87; and Lu 1990b, pp. 20–22. Lu was unable, however, to understand Japanese reign titles and mistakenly rendered the date for Yamanoi's recension (Kyōhō 11 = 1726) as 1665.

<sup>53</sup> Gao 2008, pp. 4–11.

<sup>54</sup> "Lunyu yishu xu," pp. 2a–3a. See also Makeham 2003, pp. 89–90.

<sup>55</sup> These included two senses associated with the term 倫 (order, pattern), another associated with the term 綸 (silk cord), and a fourth associated with the term 輪 (wheel). See Makeham 2003, p. 90.

<sup>56</sup> 言此書出自門徒、比先相論、人人僉允、然後乃記、記必已論。

were reasonable,” the last, he contended, was least sound because the reason for the variation in southern and northern words was unclear. The best way to decipher the meaning of the character *lun* in the title was thus to combine the first two approaches. One should “both follow its sound (*congyin* 從音, Jp. *jūon*) and rely on the written character (*yizi* 依字, Jp. *iji*) so that together the sound and its written appearance could reveal how the singular meaning was formed.”<sup>57</sup> In other words,

To rely on the written character is to demonstrate the actual matter [of speaking and discussing] to establish the compound character. To choose the pronunciation is to depend on the [gloss of] patterning to form the meaning. When the meaning and the compound form are both established, the [gloss of] patterning and the actual matter of [speaking and discussing] overlap with each other.<sup>58</sup>

Early dialect diversity in ancient China occasioned some understanding of historical phonology in the medieval age long before Qing “evidential” studies used phonology, paleography, and etymology to solve philological puzzles in the late eighteenth century. To bridge the gap between medieval and late imperial language perceptions, Wolfgang Behr presupposes a long development of phonological descriptions and analyses between the two periods. Behr, who does not mention Huang’s preface in this regard, also contends that few Chinese before the Ming dynasty used language change to adjudicate conflicting interpretations of the Classics.<sup>59</sup> Recently, however, William Boltz has suggested that the sophisticated phonological methodology used by Huang to explain the choice of the two graphs for the title *Lunyu* may provide a missing link.<sup>60</sup>

Yet that same sophisticated methodology also presents us with several puzzles. For one, although Huang asserts that the approaches he describes were established by his predecessors, it has been impossible to trace earlier examples of the notion of “setting aside the written form and establishing the sound” and “setting aside the sound and following the written form” comparable to that found in Huang’s preface. The typical ancient and medieval usage of the character *she* to mean “set aside” involves a situation in which someone wrongly or foolishly did something when he/she should have done something better. The “Pretensions and Heresies” (*Shixie* 飾邪) chapter in the *Han Feizi* 韓非子 noted,

<sup>57</sup> 二途並錄、以會成一義。Here, Huang Kan adopts in part the analysis for the formation of one of the six categories for written characters (*liushu* 六書, Jp. *rikusho*) enunciated by the early classicist Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 58–ca. 147) in his dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Jp. *Setsubun kaiji*, Explaining Simple Words and Analyzing Compound Characters). The meaning of the character 論 according to this analysis derived from its combination (*huiyi* 會意, Jp. *kaii*) of two elements: 言 (words) and 論 (discussion). Extending this principle, Huang Kan deciphered the meaning of *lun* in *Lunyu* as resulting in part from its sound (which could be glossed to reveal four senses) and in part from its orthographic combination of the two constituent elements 言 and 論. On the paleographic principles set out in *Shuowen jiezi*, see Boltz 1993.

<sup>58</sup> 依字則証事立文、取音則捫理為義、義文兩立理事双該。I have modified the partial translation given in Makeham 2003, p. 91.

<sup>59</sup> See Behr 2005, especially pp. 25–42. See also Elman 1982, pp. 493–500.

<sup>60</sup> E-mail message from William Boltz, January 2007.

for instance: “The ruler entrusts the country to those who set aside penal statutes and instead speak of the achievements of the previous kings and enlightened lords” (夫舍法律而言先王明君之功者、上任之以國). Many centuries later, in his *Chuanxi lu* 伝習錄 (Record of the Transmission of Moral Cultivation), the Ming scholar Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1529) similarly followed this meaning of *she* when he wrote: “If you set aside the mind to pursue things, then you will be mistaken about the learning based on the investigation of things” (舍心逐物、將格物之學錯看了).<sup>61</sup>

Comparing Huang’s use of the term *she* to such examples, we see that, to a degree, he utilized this sense of “mistakenly set aside” in describing the first two approaches he identified—those who “set aside the written form” and those who “set aside the sound.” Implicitly, however, in recommending combining the two methods, he also interpreted *she* in a provisional sense. The two choices did not need to be mutually exclusive; one could have it both ways by first temporarily setting aside the written form and then the sound.

This was the type of approach used to good effect by the Qing evidential learning scholars, but did Huang grasp the full implications of his proposition? If he actually prepared the preface, it does not seem likely. For one thing, he never invoked such a method in his subcommentary to explicate the characters in the *Analects* text itself.<sup>62</sup> Nor, until *Lunyu yishu/Rongo giso* was reintroduced to China in the Qianlong period, do later scholars seem to have recognized its potential.<sup>63</sup> An electronic search has turned up no instances of the provisional use of *she* or of the compounds *shezi zhiyin/shaji seion* or *sheyin congzi/shaon jūji* prior to that point. We must conclude that only then, in the opportune environment noted by the editors of the Imperial Library, did scholars see the full implications and possibilities of an approach that Huang Kan may have articulated but did not apply. Qing scholars such as Dai Zhen, Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728–1806), and others would go on to exploit such an approach.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> *Han Feizi* 19:3:15; p. 759; Wang 1972, p. 23. Sometimes *she* does not indicate a wrong choice, but simply “discarding.” An example incorporating “written words” appears, for instance, in the first Chinese translation of the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* (*Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經), dating from the early third century, where the phrase *she wenzi* 捨文字 (give up written words) occurs near the end of the Buddha’s discussion with Subhūti: “By completely giving up written words, one is liberated from them” (悉捨文字、於字為解脫). T 474 14:522a–b. My thanks to Stephen Teiser for his help in locating this and related passages. Tokugawa texts show comparable uses of the term *she/sha*.

<sup>62</sup> On the etymological (*xungu xue* 訓詁學, Jp. *kunkogaku*) approaches employed in the Huang Kan subcommentary, see Xu 2006, pp. 24–32. Xu does not mention the paleographical and phonological methods in the Huang preface, nor does he find any such applications in the subcommentary.

<sup>63</sup> This does not mean that Huang Kan’s commentary exerted no influence on later scholars in China. Huang Kan’s “meanings” approach, which derived from his personal interests in Daoism and Buddhism, in fact may have provided precedents for the Song “meanings and principles” (*yili* 義理, Jp. *giri*) approach to the Five Classics and Four Books. On Zhu Xi’s debt to Han- and Six-dynasties commentators cited by Huang Kan, see Ōtsuki 1980. Ōtsuki identifies 113 glosses by Zhu Xi that are based on Xing Bing’s *Lunyu zhushu*, 452 based on He Yan, and 67 that were identical with Huang Kan’s glosses, although for many of these Zhu may have used other sources.

<sup>64</sup> Searches of the electronic texts for the *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 (Synthesis of Books and Illustrations Past and Present, 1728), the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Qianlong Imperial Library,

In a further twist to the peregrinations of the lost classical texts reintroduced to China from Japan, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, awareness of Chinese reactions to the recovered works helped spur an interest in evidential learning among Tokugawa scholars as well.<sup>65</sup> We thus find Japanese, too, consciously applying the philological methodology described by Huang Kan. The Confucian physician Mori Risshi 森立之 (1807–1885), a specialist on *materia medica* who used philological techniques to correct many errors in traditional drug names from the *honzō* 本草 (Ch. *bencao*) tradition in Japan and China, provides a striking example. In the preface to his *Honzōkyō kōchū* 本草經攷注 (Study of the Commentaries to the *Materia Medica* Classics), he stated his methodological approach as follows: 捨字而取音、捨音而取聲 . . . 就聲而得字、就字而得義 (I set aside the written form to select the sound. I set aside the sound to select the tone. . . . On the basis of the tone, I get the written form. On the basis of the written form, I get the meaning). Mori made no reference to Huang Kan's preface. The approach represented, however, the textual pedigree of late Tokugawa and Meiji classical scholars who admired and built on the example of their Qing counterparts.<sup>66</sup>

Before 1750, Huang Kan's philological rules, if they are indeed authentic (and I have serious doubts that they are),<sup>67</sup> survived only in the *Sōryaku* and twenty of the thirty-five Muromachi *Rongo giso* manuscripts in Japan. It is possible that the precocious paleographical and phonological rules are in fact later additions to *Rongo giso*, perhaps Kamakura or Muromachi interpolations in the original cut-and-pasted subcommentary and preface brought to Japan, which were subsequently copied over and over again until Nemoto's published version finally broadcast in 1750 the significance of the philology allegedly enunciated by Huang Kan. The preface was appropriated in Hangzhou without proper attribution by Chinese literati of Nemoto's role as the collator. Others in Tokugawa Japan and Qing China then took "Huang Kan's" philology further by applying the methodology in their own studies and thereby giving it eminence of place.

This view of things, although still hypothetical, would account for our inability to find any exact citations in the classical literature of China, in any genre, that confirm Huang Kan's allegedly sixth-century philological insights. This perspective also explains why the general methodology that Huang Kan supposedly

1788), the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (Collectanea of Published Works in the Four Divisions of Learning, 1919–1936), the *Scripta Sinica* (*Hanji dianzi wenxian* 漢籍電子文獻) produced by the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica, Taiwan, and the *Guoxue baodian* 國學寶典 have not turned up any pre-Qianlong "hits." Only 舍 (= 捨) 字, 從音, 從 X, etc., pop up as separate expressions, and without the philological precision that Huang Kan's terms imply. When presenting earlier versions of this article, I have invited audiences to search for the terms in pre-Qianlong sources. To date there have been no exact findings in China. On the development of Qing phonology, see Elman 1982, pp. 493–500.

<sup>65</sup> See Elman 2002 and Elman 2008.

<sup>66</sup> Mori 1987, vol. 1, p. 5. In their introduction, the Taiwan compilers of this published edition note admiringly Mori's philological acumen, but likewise do not refer to the Huang Kan precedent.

<sup>67</sup> See Elman forthcoming.

espoused in his “Preface” addressed only the choice of characters in the title of the *Analects* and was never invoked in the subcommentary to explicate Confucius’s sayings in the *Analects* itself.

Be that as it may, this one classic, the *Analects*, allows us to see the differences between two classical traditions in East Asia. The interregional cultural struggles for classical preeminence in the eighteenth century provide us with an interesting case of parallel traditions in Confucian classical studies in Tokugawa Japan and Qing China.

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