

E.R. HUGHES

Two Chinese Poets

Vignettes of Han Life and Thought



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TWO CHINESE POETS
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POETS

*Vignettes of Han Life
and Thought*

BY E. R. HUGHES

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

1960

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L.C.CARD: 59-11078



Publication of this book has been aided by
a grant from the Bollingen Foundation



Printed in the United States of America
by Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.

PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD



ERNEST R. HUGHES was for many years Reader in Chinese Philosophy and Religion at Oxford University. He was the author of a number of Sinological studies, including *Religion in China* (with Katharine Hughes), *Chinese Philosophy in Classical Times*, and *The Art of Letters: Lu Chi's "Wen Fu,"* A.D. 302. Mr. Hughes was working on the manuscript of the present book at the time of his death in October 1956. It is regrettable that the work has not received the finishing touches that Professor Hughes would no doubt have wanted to make had he remained alive. Princeton University Press is profoundly indebted, however, to Dr. David Hawkes, a former pupil of Professor Hughes and now Professor of Chinese at Oxford University, who generously undertook the necessary revision of the manuscript before publication. The Press also wishes to express its thanks to the Bollingen Foundation for its generous assistance in support of publication.

PREFATORY NOTE

Mr. HUGHES began this comparative study of the poems of Pan Ku and Chang Heng after the publication of his book on the *Wen Fu* of Lu Chi (*The Art of Letters*, Bollingen Series No. xxix, New York, 1951). He finished it in June 1956 when he was already suffering from the disease from which he died in October. The Princeton University Press had earlier agreed to look at the book, so it was sent to them. It was returned after Mr. Hughes's death, with the recommendation that considerable revision and additions in the way of notes and bibliography were required. His former pupil, Dr. David Hawkes (now Professor in Oxford University) undertook this task, and the book as now published is the result of his work.

I am deeply grateful to Dr. Hawkes for the trouble he has taken and the time given which he could ill spare from his own work, and also to Mr. Wu Shih Chang for his advice and help. Without these two friends my husband's last contribution to the study of Chinese literature could not have been put into a form in which it could be available for those interested in the literature of the Han period. He also hoped that this study of history as seen through the eyes of two poets would appeal to historians.

KATHARINE HUGHES

PREFACE

Some readers skip prefaces; others, perhaps advisedly, read them carefully. For a man like myself who has benefited greatly from explanatory prefaces, it seems that a debt of honor claims his laggard energies to write one now. In brief, then, in my last period of research in Peking (1933-34) there was a haunting feeling that for me chiseling away at "the Classics"—my main center of interest in Sinological studies—was a Sisyphean task. Each Classic had its own insoluble problems. To a historian in search of dateable material on ideological development, although a number of miscellaneous dates were to be found, they did not afford a basis on which to build: follow one main clue derived from one Classic, follow another from another Classic, and the two clues compared did not make historical sense. . . . It became clear that a purely linguistic approach to the problems was the more profitable course. Some first-rank scholars were working in this field. Could I do anything there? An experiment or two demonstrated that for a lone worker in his Oxford hermitage, even to "settle the enclitic $\delta\epsilon$ " was practically unachievable.

In the forties I went on to the study of what the Ch'ing litterateurs so happily called "*p'ien wen*," literally "double-harness style," first in Later Han prose compositions, then in the mid-Han *fu* (prose poems). Their attraction lay in the fact that in the first-century-B.C. compendium, the *Li Chi* ("Record of Rites"), there were lengthy passages, and even whole essays, in which there was continuous complementation of sentences and clauses, together with tighter forms of sentence structure. The study was encouraging, but doubts assailed me when I discovered that in post-Han literature the acknowledged masters of style were not so much concerned with clear statement and accurate description as with making "delicious hanging clusters of words." I then went to the Han scholiasts and the historical recorders to see what

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their respective styles revealed. This study on the whole reassured me. I came to the tentative conclusion that by the first century A.D. able writers had a command of ordered communication which earlier ages of writers had not possessed.

In order to check on these various impressions I made a special study of Lu Chi's *Wen Fu* ("Prose-poem on the Art of Letters") written in A.D. 301-302. That study proved highly illuminating as to methods of approach to the classical literature: first, find a document of manageable proportions, of certain authorship, certain date, and practically indubitable text, and then follow where it leads. This conclusion lies behind my book on the *Wen Fu* published in 1951 (Bollingen Series, No. xxix, New York, Pantheon Press).

The next step was then clear. Two acknowledged masters of double-harness description of objects (*wu*) were Pan Ku and Chang Heng, and within twenty to thirty years of each other they had composed their respective "*Fu* on the Two Capitals." Here were dateable documents by well-known authors, the extant texts in most admirable condition. Further, the two authors had under contemplation the previous Han regime in contrast to their own. What more could an ideological historian want in the way of reliable and illuminating data? In this fashion I came to these special studies, came to write this book. Three considerations dominate its method: (1) to get at the texture of the minds of the two authors and their contemporaries; (2) placing the authors in the witness box as to Han beliefs and institutions, to estimate their reliability; (3) to explicate the particular matters on which they gave evidence.

With regard to the style of composition, it has to a large extent been dictated by my aim to reach not one but two kinds of readers: the Sinologists whose familiarity with names and places makes explanation unnecessary, and also a certain particular Western type of experienced historian who desires to include the Far East within his purview. That there are

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such, long association with historians has demonstrated to me. I gather they have a suspicion that, apart from the desirability of excursions outside their cultural habitat, there is something to be learnt from that most historically-minded of all peoples, the Chinese. Since I have profited so much in my studies by exploring these historians' minds, I cannot but attempt to serve their interests. Not only so: surely the next step in historiographical research is by appreciation of the merits and demerits of Chinese historiography. Also, since it was in the Han era that "China" first saw itself as a world civilization, that era above all is relevant to the world-conscious historian.

Therefore, in these pages, the form of presentation involves an admixture of ABC information which the Sinologist does not require. Also, the more specialized documentation has been relegated to footnotes which in nine cases out of ten do not concern the general reader. One matter, which is possibly a moot point in discussion, is whether the Chinese historic culture is so unique that it stands in a class by itself. I have taken it for granted that in no sense is "China" a *lusus naturae*, but a phenomenon which is in all respects comparable to other such large-scale phenomena. My book seems to me to convey information which strengthens this impression. As a corollary stands the belief that the time-schedule of European and American cultural advance is not the archetype on the basis of which value judgements can reliably be made.

It remains to make grateful acknowledgement of outstanding help which I have received. First come the Chinese libraries: the Tsing Hua University Library and that of the Provincial University of Yunnan (1942-44). Then come the Western libraries: the Library of Congress in Washington (1947), the Harvard-Yenching Institute Library (1948), the University of California Library, Berkeley (1949), the Claremont Colleges Library (1950-52), the Oxford Chinese Fac-

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ulty Library, and the Cambridge University Library. I welcome this opportunity of apologizing to the librarians concerned for straining their patience from time to time.

Then there are Dr. Ch'en Shou-yi, in the earlier stages, and Mr. Wu Shih-chang in the later stages. Both these savants have rescued me from various serious interpretational errors. I am also indebted to Mr. Wu for his critical interest in my problems. It has been the more generous of him because his own book on the history of Chinese prose is still in the making. To Madame Maspero I am indebted for her gift of a copy of Henri Maspero's *Les Instruments Astronomiques des Chinois au Temps des Han*,¹ to Dr. Joseph Needham for his illuminating reactions to my questions on Chang Heng's type of mind and other such scientific problems.

I regret that Dr. Hulsewé's *Remnants of Han Law*, Vol. I (Leiden, 1955) reached me so late that its influence on my thinking has been only a tithe of what it doubtless will be. Professor Dubs' *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, Vol. III reached me too late even to be skimmed. In regard to his Vols. I and II (Baltimore, 1938 and 1944), I am under a debt, as all students of classical China are, to him and his colleagues for the valuable fruits of their labors. Yet more am I under a debt to Dr. Tjan Tjoe-som for his *Po Hu T'ung* (Leiden, 1949 and 1952).

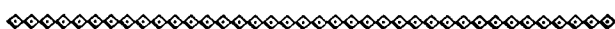
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June 1956

¹ *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, VI, Bruges, 1939, pp. 183-370.

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TWO CHINESE POETS

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

THE SHANG DYNASTY

(founded by T'ang the Victorious)

traditional dates 1766-1122 B.C.

THE CHOU DYNASTY

(founded by King Wu)

traditional dates 1122-256 B.C.

THE CH'IN DYNASTY

(founded by King Cheng of Ch'in)

221-207 B.C.

THE FORMER HAN DYNASTY (founded by Liu Pang)

206 B.C. - A.D. 8

Emperor Kao	206-195	Emperor Chao	86-74
Emperor Hui	194-188	Emperor Hsüan	73-49
Empress Lü	187-180	Emperor Yüan	48-33
Emperor Wen	179-157	Emperor Ch'eng	32-7
Emperor Ching	156-141	Emperor Ai	6-1
Emperor Wu	140-87	Emperor P'ing	1 B.C. - A.D. 5

The Infant Emperor A.D. 6-8

THE "NEW" DYNASTY

(Wang Mang the Usurper)

A.D. 9-22

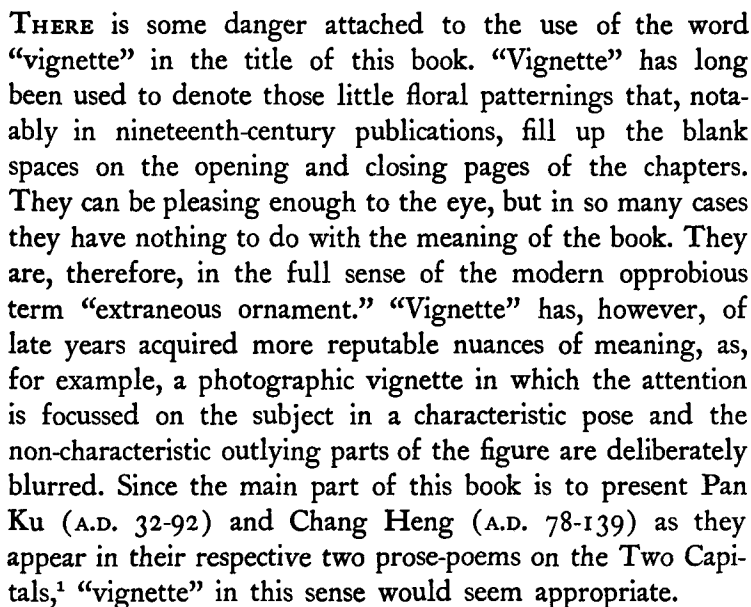
THE LATER HAN DYNASTY

(founded by Liu Hsiu)

23-219

Emperor Kuang Wu	25-57	Emperor Shun	126-144
Emperor Ming	58-75	Emperor Ch'ung	145
Emperor Chang	76-88	Emperor Chih	146
Emperor Ho	89-105	Emperor Huan	147-167
Emperor Shang	106	Emperor Ling	168-189
Emperor An	107-125	Emperor Hsien	190-219

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Further, in the eighteen-eighties George Saintsbury wrote "to finish off and vignette isolated sketches of manner, character, and thought with more precision . . . than is possible and suitable in prose" (see *Oxford Dictionary*, ad loc.). That usage also validates the term in connection with this book, written primarily for Western readers.

For the benefit of the general reader who may be unfamiliar with the early history of China, it is perhaps desira-

¹ An annotated French translation of the two prose-poems by Pan Ku may be found in G. Margouliès *Le "Fou" dans le Wen-suan*, Paris, 1926, pp. 31-74, and a German translation of the two by Chang Heng in E. von Zach, *Die Chinesischen Anthologie, Übersetzungen aus dem Wen Hsüan*, ed. I. M. Fang, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies xviii, 1958, vol. I, pp. 1-37. The von Zach translation was first published in *Sinologische Beiträge* 2 (1936).

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ble at this point to supplement the chronological chart at the beginning of this volume with a brief outline of the historical developments which led up to the creation of the LATER HAN society in which Pan Ku and Chang Heng, the two writers with whom this book is chiefly concerned, both lived.

The immensely long period known as the CHOU DYNASTY began with the conquest of the SHANG kings in Honan by powerful vassal chieftains from the west. The traditional date of conquest, 1122 B.C., is probably about a century too early. The Chou kings ruled in Shensi and exercised some sort of control over a large number of small vassal states scattered over the whole of northern China. The nobles who governed these states were generally related to the Chou kings either by blood or marriage. In 771 B.C. the Chou capital was sacked and the Chou king slain by barbarian invaders, and a remnant of the royal house set up a new capital farther east in LOYANG. From this circumstance the era ending in 771 B.C. is known as WESTERN CHOU and the era following the removal of the capital EASTERN CHOU. It will be seen that there is a parallel in the Han dynasty when the capital was moved from Ch'ang-an to Loyang in A.D. 24.

After the transfer of the capital, the control of the Chou kings over their vassals became more and more ineffectual. The vassal princes enlarged their states by opening up new lands, by the elimination of the "barbarian" peoples who had formerly lived side by side with the Chou settlements, and by the conquest of weaker rivals. But since no single state was strong enough to withstand unaided the onslaught of powerful external enemies like the barbarians of the north or the peoples of the Huai and Yangtze river valleys, a succession of HEGEMONS arose—rulers of outstandingly rich and powerful states who, acting nominally on behalf of the effete Chou kings, led confederacies of the Chou states in war and exacted tribute from them. This period (722-481 B.C.) is called the SPRING AND AUTUMN period after the name of the

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chronicles of the state of Lu which are our chief source for its history.

The last two centuries of the Chou dynasty, from 403 B.C. to the end of the dynasty, are known as the WARRING STATES period. In this era the Chou kings ceased to exercise even a nominal control over the other states. The rulers of the seven most powerful states called themselves kings and each aspired to unify China under his own sway. They ruled over territories as large as European countries with large populations which economic, technological, and cultural advances had raised to a level of civilisation vastly superior to that of Chou society in the early days of the dynasty. These great states were almost continuously engaged in war and diplomatic intrigue against each other. Finally the powerful western state of Ch'in eliminated all the other states, and in 221 B.C. the king of Ch'in became emperor of a unified China and founded the CH'IN DYNASTY. He abolished the feudal nobility, set up a great bureaucracy, standardised weights and measures and the Chinese script, built roads, canals, and the Great Wall of China, and extended his conquests into Korea and Indo-China. His dynasty did not long survive him, however, since these immense achievements were based on a ruthless and tyrannical oppression of the people, who quickly disposed of his incompetent and weakly successors. Of the various adventurers who strove for control in the ensuing anarchy, a soldier of humble origin called Liu Pang (later known as KAO TSU, the "August Founder" of the Han dynasty) eventually succeeded in establishing a new dynasty. This HAN DYNASTY had its capital at CH'ANG-AN,² near the modern Sian in Shensi.

Of the emperors who succeeded Kao Tzu, the most remarkable was the EMPEROR WU (140-87 B.C.), both for the

² The spelling adopted here and elsewhere for the name of this city is in accordance with the Wade-Giles system of romanisation. The name is no longer current, having been replaced, in modern times, by Sian. In the case of the other capital, Loyang, the name still exists today and so the conventional Western spelling has been employed.

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length of his reign and for the remarkable expansion of Chinese power and influence in Asia which took place during it. In the steppes north of China a nomad empire of the HUNS had come into being at about the same time as the Ch'in emperor's establishment of a unified empire in China. The exploits of Emperor Wu's armies drove back the Huns and ended for a time the hitherto constant threat of their incursions into Chinese territory. Chinese armies penetrated far into Central Asia, and the Ch'in conquests in Korea and in the south were renewed.

The splendours of Emperor Wu's reign resulted in considerable impoverishment of the economy, and the emperors following him were mostly incompetent. In A.D. 9 a member of the Empress' clan called WANG MANG overthrew the dynasty and usurped the imperial title. Wang Mang's ill-judged reforms of the economy led to great confusion and distress resulting in a great peasant uprising called the Red Eyebrows rebellion. This was closely followed by further risings led by various Han nobles. One of them, Liu Hsiu, eventually prevailed and became Emperor of a restored Han dynasty in A.D. 23. Wang Mang was killed and the imperial palaces burnt to the ground when Liu Hsiu's soldiery sacked Ch'angan. Millions are said to have perished in the fighting and massacres which took place during these disorders. This restored Han dynasty is usually called LATER HAN to distinguish it from the FORMER HAN dynasty deposed by Wang Mang. The capital was removed to Loyang. The first half-century of the Later Han period was a time of economic recovery and expansion. This was the period in which the first of the two authors with whom we are concerned lived. From about A.D. 80, however, there was a steady deterioration in the internal political situation, notably in the struggles between the powerful eunuch party at court and the scholar bureaucrats in the provinces, which ultimately led to the dynasty's overthrow.

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Apart perhaps from one or two Western historians of the calibre of Chavannes and Henri Maspero, the distinctive features of the Later Han regime about A.D. 100 are for the most part blurred and haphazardly distinguishable from those of a century earlier when Former Han was on its last legs. Yet it is common knowledge today that in the half-dozen generations from 100 B.C. to A.D. 100 something of extraordinary moment happened to the ideologically inchoate peoples who inhabited the vast continental region east of the Himalayas. That "something" has been traditionally denoted as the triumph of the *Ju Tao*, the doctrines upheld by the main bulk of the literates of that age. Recently the development of a more critical study of the records has led to the coining of a new term among Sinologists, "State Confucianism." The term is useful, as far as it goes, but it is submitted here that there is still a considerable blur in Sinologists' minds as to what actually happened.

Since those half-dozen generations were, in the fullest sense of the term, epoch-making in the history of the Chinese people, there is crying need for vignetting "sketches of manner, character, and thought," and for doing this on the basis of documents identifiable as to date and authorship. For this reason I came to a somewhat dangerous decision. Instead of giving complete translations of Pan Ku's and Chang Heng's respective prose-poems on Ch'ang-an, the old capital, and Loyang, the new capital, I summarized those parts of the texts where it seemed least damage would be done to the full explication of the authors' minds. (See Chapters III-VI. The indented material is direct translation; the remainder is summary and paraphrase.) Thus room was made within the bounds of one volume for four considerable chapters of critique (Chapters VII-X). In these the raw materials for vignettes of characteristic manners and modes of thought have been set down just as they emerged to view when the sentiments expressed in the poems were related to such other documents as appeared relevant. In the last chapter, after a

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final scrutiny of Pan Ku's and Chang Heng's reliability as contemporary witnesses, the more important of these vignettes-in-the-rough have been examined under systematic headings.

The quotation from Saintsbury contained these words: "sketches . . . with more precision . . . than is possible and suitable in prose." A provocative sentiment, calculated to surprise and even to arouse dissent from the research type of historian. Now, whatever may have been in Saintsbury's mind when he wrote those words, the reference to poetry as being more precise than prose can and should be is highly relevant to the subject matter in Chapters III to XI. The whole of this book centers round the four poems: very lengthy poems, containing prose elements but nonetheless highly poetical with their rhymes and their studied patterns of rhythmic sentence structure. In a word they are descriptive poems in which the authors' dominant aim was to depict certain objects (*wu*) of contemporary interest, not to explore the ramifications of their own emotions. Yet emotion comes in from time to time.

To the would-be reader in search of facts this feature of the documents under scrutiny may damn the book right away. Yet the rigorist historian, before turning his back on the evidence to be found in these poems, might do well to pause and consider three indisputable facts: (1) The two authors, Pan Ku and Chang Heng, were noted men in their day, their births and deaths are on record, as also considerable information about their careers. (2) Pan Ku was a historian by training and profession, of the highest repute in the annals of Chinese historiography; Chang Heng was a mathematically-minded astronomer, eminent as a trail-blazer in the scientific study of the heavens. (3) Both men wrote much in prose, but they elected to embody their respective depictions of the Two Capitals and the accompanying regimes in that new *fu* genre⁸

⁸ The *fu*, a literary medium which became very popular during the Han dynasty, was a sort of poetic essay, generally descriptive, in which prose and verse were mixed. Its most characteristic features are the consistent use of parallelism and a highly ornate vocabulary.

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to which the genius of Ssü-ma Hsiang-ju had given so sharp a dialectical edge.

Since external and internal evidence demonstrate that the two authors took immense pains to make their compositions effective appeals to their age, it would seem rather hazardous to assume that the precisional quality which characterized their professional studies should not inform their poetical efforts. Each had an axe to grind—possibly a personal one, possibly a nobly patriotic one—but since when did research historians refrain from examining documents because they showed signs of prejudice and *tendenz*? Does not the scientific approach to history take it as inevitable that every writer on his own period, even the recorder of statistics, has some particular conscious or unconscious slant to his mind?

The emphasis on these three facts has, it is hoped, given assurance on the evidential value of the four documents proposed for examination. There is a fourth consideration arising out of the epistemological axiom that rational knowledge comes by comparison, and the more clearly the compared objects can be envisaged the more precise and more reliable the results in knowledge. In the case under consideration the first object was the capital, Ch'ang-an, which had been looted and largely burnt some sixty years before Pan Ku wrote, and the Former Han regime which expired twenty-one years before that looting and burning. The second contrasted object was Loyang, capital of the Later Han regime of which Pan Ku was a court official. Some years after Pan Ku died, Chang Heng, having read Pan Ku's detailed descriptions of the Two Capitals, wrote a considerably longer comparison of them. Both Pan Ku and Chang Heng had each his own angle of vision, made his own particular emphases, but had his own inner compulsion to state his definite impressions. The results, the four poems, reveal agreements and disagreements. At numberless points the narratives give details which supplement the information given in one or the other document. The reflections on the varied phenomena

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treated are often strikingly individual. Comparison, however, cannot be completely *pari passu*, for Chang Heng was cognizant of events which occurred between A.D. 89, the last possible date for the completion of Pan Ku's poems, and A.D. 126, the year in which Chang Heng presented his poems to the throne. (See Chapter II for a discussion on the two dates.)

The conclusion stares us in the face that these four poems might well contain a considerable store of information. What is more, the store is a unique one, since nowhere else in the literature of the Han era can we find two such near-contemporary authors dealing with the same subjects of discourse in so intimately comparable a fashion. As to the relative intelligence and rational acumen of the two authors, that will be one line of enquiry in the critiques on the poems. But it is as well to make clear in an introductory chapter that their epistemological consciousness was not so naive as it is tempting to suppose with men belonging to so superstitious an age as that of Later Han. For example, in the language current in their day there was the term "*hsiang*" (representational image) standing in contrast to a "*wu*" (a concrete object of sense perception). Behind this distinction lay the recognition of the part played by the five senses in creating mental images. There was also the recognition that knowledge derived from hearsay had less veridical value than knowledge gained by direct observation. The poems reveal that Pan Ku and Chang Heng were mindful of this—although whether they and their contemporaries were consistent in their application of the distinction is open to question.

With regard to such scaffoldings to thought on concrete matters, no attempt is made here to list them in relation to the mid-Han literates: helpful as Fung's *History of Chinese Philosophy* and Bodde's translation of it are,⁴ the necessary data are still far from being classifiable on reliable semantic

⁴ Fung Yu-lan, *Chung-kuo chên-hsüeh shih* (2 vols.), Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1946. Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, Vols. I & II, tr. D. Bodde, Princeton University Press, 1952-53.

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foundations. But they are of the utmost importance, and it is hoped that this present study of two outstanding mid-Han minds may throw some light on the problems involved. The chief of these problems is, as all Sinologists are so painfully aware, to date with anything approaching certainty or precision the Five so-called "Confucian" Classics.⁵ They constitute the largest and most important, although by no means the only important, source of ideological information for the period. Historians can agree that their existence in recognizable shape is guaranteed by the listing of them in Liu Hsin's "Catalogue"⁶ of the date A.D. 1 or thereabouts. But the same passage reveals that there were variant texts of these Scriptures in the imperial library, whilst the researches of the Ch'ing scholars and modern critics have driven home the fact that for these "Five Scriptures" (with the possible exception of the "Spring and Autumn Annals") there is no conclusive evidence as to who the authors and compilers were, and how few or how many redactors and amplifiers had a hand in bringing these texts to the uncorrelated condition disclosed by Liu Hsin's "Catalogue." Since the inception of these documents dates far back in the Chou Dynasty, the vast bulk of the statements in them is only hypothetically dateable. Yet their influence in mid-Han times is writ large in every phase of thought and social observance, so that the historian today cannot afford to ignore them. When he tackles this problem, he finds himself in the situation of Gilbert and Sullivan's billiard sharper, "playing extravagant matches with a twisted cue on a cloth untrue and elliptical billiard balls."

From the point of view of the ideological historian here is perhaps the paramount incentive to the student to break

⁵ i.e. (1) the "Changes" (*I Ching*), (2) "History" (*Shu Ching*), (3) "Odes" (*Shih Ching*), (4) "Rituals" (*Li Chi*, etc.), and (5) "Spring and Autumn Annals" (*Ch'un Ch'iu*). In this book these five are collectively referred to as the Scriptures.

⁶ The "Monograph on Bibliography" (*I Wen Chih*) in Pan Ku's "History of the Former Han Dynasty" (*Han Shu*). The monograph was mostly written by Liu Hsin.

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out of that charmed Scripture circle and be content for a time to concentrate on dateable documents by well-known authors late in that key mid-Han age. In their four poems Pan Ku and Chang Heng make one or two references to "the Scriptures" in general. They do so in the respectful language one would expect from members of the Later Han court, but their outlook on life is by no means restricted to guidance from Scripture texts. Pan Ku, indeed, expresses his disgust at the benighted practice of proving by proof-texts. On the other hand, there is the fact that throughout the 2360 verses which make up the four poems⁷ the phrasing is constantly remindful of Scripture sentences.⁸ This, of course, is what one would expect from men whose education consisted mainly in learning to read and understand the Scriptures. But the research mind can hardly be content to be stopped by that reflection. New light on meaning comes from seeing those phrases caught out of their Scripture contexts, adapted to the poet's use in metrically formed sentences, sometimes in ways which might stagger the original authors.

The profit, however, goes beyond that. The vivid personality of each author is constantly in evidence, and by his mastery of language we are able to see things through his eyes: emperors and their palaces and entourages, their duties and amusements, as also the busy life of the city streets, the merchants and pedlars, the street-corner arguers, the gangsters in the suburbs lying in wait for the unwary, and the children in procession expelling the demons of disease. At the very least the people of that far-back age become more nearly alive as human beings, cease in a measure to be lay figures in the mass, vague representational images created in the

⁷ A small margin of error must be allowed for in this assessment. With Pan Ku's Preface (304 characters), the total number of characters comes at a rough estimate to well over 12,400.

⁸ The seventh-century commentary on *Wen Hsüan* by Li Shan consists mostly of illustration of the text by means of citations from the Scriptures and other works. In the case of Chang Heng's "*Fu* on the Eastern Capital" many of the citations are taken from *Chou Li*, suggesting that Chang Heng may have been familiar with that work.